121062

BURLINGAME
PUBLIC
LIB.


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2012 with funding from
internet archive

http://archive.org/details/nation172jannewy

THE Nation

America's Leading Liberal Weekly Since 1865

BURLINGAME PUBLIC LIBRARY Burlingame, Calif.

INDEX TO VOLUME 172

121962

JANUARY 6, 1951 to JUNE 30, 1951

The following letters are used to indicate the type of article:

A	Music
C	Moving Pictures
Ct	Poetry
D	Signed Article
E	Art
EP	Correspondence
M	Cartoon
MP	Drama
P	Editorial Article
S	Editorial Paragraph

Book reviews and reviewers are indexed separately in the Book Review Section.

Pages

1- 20 January 6	309-336 April 7
21- 48 January 13	337-356 April 14
49- 68 January 20	357-384 April 21
69- 96 January 27	385-404 April 28
97-116 February 3	405-432 May 5
117-144 February 10	433-452 May 12
145-164 February 17	453-480 May 19
165-192 February 24	481-500 May 26
193-212 March 3	501-528 June 2
213-240 March 10	529-548 June 9
241-260 March 17	549-576 June 16
261-288 March 24	577-596 June 23
289-308 March 31	597-624 June 30

A

PAGE

ACTH and cortisone, shortages and prices. L. Engel; S ... 276
A. R. See Roth, Andrew
A. V. C. See American veterans' committee
A. W. See Werth, Alexander
Abdullah, king of Jordan, and the grand mufti of Jerusalem. Brandel; Ct ... 23, 25
Academic freedom
  Hawkins case, University of Colorado; Hawkins cleared; EP ... 481
  In Los Angeles; case of Mrs. I. Swan. H. Bloom; S ... 488
  McCarthyism in the colleges; New York *Times* articles on McCarthyism; EP ... 454
  See also California, university of
Acheson, Secretary Dean G.
  Floundering on Asiatic policy. W. Shelton; S ... 123
  Getting at, in MacArthur hearings. W. Shelton; S ... 507
  Narrow escape in Chinese issue. W. Shelton; S ... 75
  Testimony in MacArthur hearings; EP ... 549
  Testimony. W. Shelton; S ... 553
Africa, Philip
  Industrialization a frail reed; C ... 95
Africa
  North, conditions in. N. Klein; C ... 356; see also ... 269
  South. See Union of South Africa
Agriculture. See Farming
Aid, economic, for foreign countries. See Economic aid for foreign countries
Alberta; social credit. M. Chapin; S ... 295
Alvarez del Vayo, Julio
  Asia as seen by Europe; S ... 198
  Austria; elections; S ... 459
  Big-four conference prospects; S ... 6
  Bolivia; elections; S ... 459
  China; and the United nations; S ... 487
  Communist China; counter proposal by Mao Tse-tung; S ... 75
  Council of foreign ministers, coming meeting; S ... 218
  Europe; after the elections; S ... 602
  Germany; elections in Lower Saxony; amnesty for war criminals; S ... 459
  Korean war; United nations action for solution of problem; S ... 53
  Left, challenge to; S ... 122
  Mediterranean, defense of; S ... 294
  Pan-American conference; regimenting the Americas; S ... 315
  Paris conference of deputy foreign ministers; path to deadlock; S ... 440
  Pontiff and peace; S ... 246
  Schuman plan doubts; S ... 390
  Spain:
    Falangist international; S ... 168
    "For what," Franco; book by J. A. Ansaldo; S ... 554
    Revolt against Franco; Barcelona strike, first tremor; S ... 266
    Strikes; Franco's "last days"; S ... 508
  Union of Soviet socialist republics; clear thinking needed; S ... 534
  United Nations:
    Accomplishments; narcotics control; S ... 582
    Chinese question; return to diplomacy; S ... 101
    Dilemma in question of Korea and China; S ... 26
    Reaction to MacArthur dismissal; S ... 365
Amendment, fourteenth. See Negroes
American Friends service committee; peace proposals; E ... 485
American medical association; meeting; address of D. Beck; public relations; EP ... 577
American veterans' committee convention; EP ... 531
Americas. See Pan-American conference
Anglo-Iranian oil company. See Persia
Ansaldo, Juan Antonio; book on Spain. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S ... 554
Appointment with danger. M. Farber; MP ... 497
Arabia, Saudi. See Saudi Arabia
Aramco. See Saudi Arabia
Argentina
  Closing of *La Prensa;* EP ... 146; EP ... 261
  Perón versus a free press. J. H. Scheuer; S ... 297
  War on *La Prensa,* by Péron; EP ... 214
Arizona; progress in non-segregation; EP ... 387
Armstrong, George W.; offers to colleges, for race discrimination, rejected and accepted; EP ... 483
Art, reviews of. See Farber, M.
Art, American; European view of; correction of article of November 25, by C. Greenberg. D. Sylvester; C, issue of January 13
Art and ideology. M. George; C ... 595; see also ... 471
Asia
  American policy; floundering of Acheson. W. Shelton; S ... 123
  As seen by Europe. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S ... 198
  Importance of; comparison with Europe. A. Roth; S ... 274
  Issue between Great Britain and United States over American policy. H. K. Smith; S ... 103
  War, undeclared. E. Snow; S ... 220
Asiatics; discrimination against; Armstrong offers to colleges rejected and accepted; EP ... 483
Atlantic pact; appointment of American admiral Fechteler as commander of naval forces; EP ... 193
Auden, W. H., and others
  Seek aid for K. Patchen; C ... 308
Auriol, President Vincent. See France
Austria; elections. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S ... 459
Authors' peace pledge. A. E. Coppard, and others; C ... 499
Automobile workers' convention. M. H. Vorse; S ... 342
Autumn garden, the. M. Marshall; D ... 257

B

B. B. C. on trial. C. A. Siepmann; S ... 465
Bialey, Dorothy, case of; most evil censorship; E ... 457
Baldwin, Faith
  Rescue of Spanish refugees and children; C ... 116; see also ... 79
Ballet theater; B. H. Haggin; S ... 142
Bank reserves. See United States — Economics
Bar association. See Lawyers
Barcelona strike. See Spain
Barry, Gerald
  Medicine, religion, and Irish politics; S ... 587
Bates, Walter C.
  Threat to New England public schools in Roman catholic attitude; C ... 432
Baxter and Whitaker. See Public relations
Beck, Dave; address before American medical association; EP ... 577
Beecher, John
  California; suppression of civil rights; S ... 603
Beef prices; action on; EP ... 433
  Buyers' strikes, and other food; EP ... 577
Belgium and beyond; vatican and the schools. P. Blanshard; S ... 277
Bell Aircraft; firing of J. Schuetz in loyalty case; EP ... 406
Ben Gurion, David. See Israel
Ben Gurion, David, and J. L. Lewis; cartoons. Brandel ... 407, 408
Bevan, Aneurin. See Great Britain—Politics
Bevin, Ernest; death; EP ... 357
  See also Great Britain—Politics
"Big four" powers. See Powers
Billy Budd. M. Marshall; D ... 189
Blanshard, Paul
  Protestantism in Italy; article of November 11, 1950; letter by A. Caliandro ... 95
  Vatican versus the public schools:
    I. Italy ... 59
    II. Netherlands (see also C, 143) ... 81
    III. France; S ... 201
    IV. Belgium and beyond; S ... 277
Bloom, Hannah
  Los Angeles school case of Mrs. I. Swan; S ... 488
Bolivia; elections. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S ... 459
Bomb shelters; building suggested in Los Angeles; EP ... 243
Books
  Bowdlerization. J. W. Krutch; S ... 423
  Censorship; books by M. Van Doren censored in New Jersey; EP ... 98
  Five-foot shelf, new. J. W. Krutch; S ... 39
  See also Authors
Born yesterday. M. Farber; MP ... 113
Bourdet, Claude
  Morocco wants freedom; S ... 269; see also C ... 356
Bowdlerization. J. W. Krutch; S ... 423
Bradley General Omar N.
  And Marshall. Brandel; Ct. ... 483, 484
Brandeis. M. Farber; MP ... 113
Brandel
  Cartoons:
    Ben Gurion and J. L. Lewis ... 407, 408
    Durante and Schulman ... 531, 532
    Grand mufti of Jerusalem and King Abdullah of Jordan ... 23, 25
    Hopalong Cassidy and President Tru-

PAGE

man 263, 264
Napoleon and Montgomery 243, 244
Mao and Ridgway 455, 457
Marshall and Bradley 483, 484
Wallace, H. A., and Vishinsky 195, 196
Brave bulls, the. M. Farber; MP 497
Brecher, Ruth E.
The chemicals we eat; S 584
Brecht, Bert, opera by. P. de Mendelssohn; S ..... 471; see also C 595
Brewer, Sam Pope. See New York *Times*
Bridges, Harry S.; sentencing of his lawyers. G. L. Joughin; S 30
British broadcasting company on trial. C. A. Siepmann; S 465
British commonwealth. See Commonwealth
Broadcasting. See Radio
Bromley, Dorothy Dunbar
Railroads and the fourteenth amendment; S 441
Browder, Earl
Seeks help to meet costs of trial; C 240
Budget, United States. See United States—Finances
Bullfighter and the lady, the. M. Farber; MP 497
Bush, Stephen Hayes
Judgment on A. Gide; C ..... 287; see also E 215
Business, everybody's. See Hutchison, K.
Business, United States. See United States—Economics
Butler, Senator John Marshall. See Maryland
land
Buyers' strikes. See United States—Economics

C

C. C. F. See Cooperative commonwealth federation
C. I. O. See Labor—Union
Caliandro, Anthony
Protestantism in Italy; comment on Blanshard article of November 11, 1950; C 95
California
Absence of leadership in politics; the year of the three-eyed sloth. C. McWilliams; S 300
Attacks on Chinese Americans; EP 23
Civil rights in; suppression. J. Beecher; S 603
"Fair trade." C. McWilliams; S ..... 463, 512; C 623
Farm labor manpower sought; EP 194
Government by public relations. See Public relations
Labor; employers interested in bringing in Asiatics; EP 243
Land of cotton; new. C. McWilliams; C 129
Lettuce, destruction enjoined; EP 482
Los Angeles; academic freedom in; case of Mrs. I. Swan. H. Bloom; S 488
Pauling case. See Pauling, L.
Trees, peril of; E 455
California university of
Court decision against imposition of loyalty-oath test; EP ..... 359; E 387
Loss of academic freedom as result of test-oath action; EP 51
Campaign, presidential, of 1952. See President, United States
Canada
Danger signals from. L. Roberts; S 314
Social credit and C. C. F. By M. Chapin; S 295
Capetown. See Union of South Africa
Captain Brassbound's conversion. M. Marshall; D 18
Carolus
Germany's bad conscience; S 416
Carruth, Hayden
On a certain engagement south of Seoul; P 616
Cartoons. See Brandel; Low, D.
Cartoons, American, exhibition. M. Farber; A 476
Cassidy, Hopalong, and President Truman. Brandel; Ct 263, 264
Catholic church. See Roman catholic church
Cattle and textiles; EP 551
Censorship
Books. See Books
Futility of; E 147
Most evil; case of D. Bailey; E 457
Motion pictures. See Motion pictures
Press. See New York *Times*
Where obscenity lies. V. Paget; C, issue of February 17
See also Civil rights
Chapin, Miriam
Social credit and C. C. F.; S 295
Charleston, South Carolina; segregation in schools; EP 501
Chase, Stuart
Paths to labor peace; S ..... 250; see also C 336

PAGE

Chemicals we eat. R. Brecher; S 584
"Chicagoan of the year"; Dr. P. L. Julian; EP 598
China
Membership in the United nations; which government? J. Alvarez del Vayo; S 487
Policy of the United States; Acheson testimony in MacArthur hearings. W. Shelton; S 553
China, Communist
Acheson's narrow escape, in issue. W. Shelton; S 75
Admittance to United nations security council, question of; EP 481
Aggression issue before the United nations; return to diplomacy. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S 101
Aggression issue in Washington. W. Shelton; S 102
Argument for recognition. W. W. Judell; C 116
Condemnation as aggressor by the United nations; S 120
Condemnation by United nations; by-passing of peace. L. Shultz; S 150
Guilt clause again. A. Guérard; C, issue of February 17
Counter proposal by Mao Tse-tung. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S 73
Dilemma of the United nations. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S 26
Mao poker-face. D. Low; Ct 128
Shooting of leaders of secret society, by communists. A. Roth; S 535
Chinese Americas, attacks, on, west coast; EP 23
Church, catholic. See Roman catholic church
Church and state. See Education
Civil rights
California; suppression in J. Beecher; S 603
Contempt charge against H. Schlesinger dismissed; EP 578
Fear of free men. F. L. Wright; C 527
See also Commission on internal security, etc.
Climbing above the cave. V. Watkins; P 40
Coal, British. See Great Britain—Economics
Cole, Marley
Mob rule in Crossville; S 539
Collegiate Chorale. B. H. Haggin; M 478
Colleges. See Education; names of colleges and universities
Collier, John
Praise for anniversary issue of *The Nation;* C 47
Colombia; dictatorship of L. Gomez; EP 481
Colorado; fair-employment-practices legislation; EP 387
Loyalty oath; resignation of G. H. Ball; EP 407
Colorado, university of; Hawkins case; professor cleared of "evasiveness" charge; EP 481
Columbia broadcasting system; loyalty tests. "The Observer"; S 227
Comic strips. M. Farber; A ..... 572; correction 595
Commerce. See Trade
Commission on internal security and individual rights (Nimitz commission); appointment; E 99
Delayed in getting to work. W. Shelton; S 409
Commonwealth (British); division in. A. Roth; S 57
Communism; industrialization not a good weapon against. P. Africa; C 95
Communist party
Conviction of eleven leaders upheld by supreme court; E 552
Ex-communists anonymous; suggestion of E. Dmytryk; EP 482
In Hollywood; inquiry to be reopened; EP 242
Fear and freedom; invitation to communists to speak at Wesleyan; C 335
Membership, obsolete; E 598
Trial of eleven leaders, in New York; charges against lawyers. G. L. Joughin; S ..... 30; see also C, 356; C 479
Communities, utopian, in America; illustrations sought. M. Holloway; C, issue of January 13
Congress
Bill to permit suits against members; EP 3
Conservatives in control. W. Shelton; S 26
Eighty-second, "do-less." W. Shelton; S 5
Reapportionment, needed. W. Shelton; S ..... 75, 533; see also C 624
Senate; ethical standards; E 312
Subscriptions to *The Nation* sent for needy members. P. Kerber; C 404

PAGE

Congress of industrial organizations (C. I. O.) See Labor—Union
Connecticut; "rotten boroughs" in. C. A. Dunham; C ..... 624; see also 75, 533
Conscientious objectors, committee for. J. B. Osgood; C 432
Conscription. See Universal military training
Constant, George. M. Farber; A 384
Consumers' "strikes." See United States—Economics
Cooperative commonwealth federation and social credit. M. Chapin; S 295
Coppard, A. E., and others
Writers' peace pledge; C 499
Coronation chair stone of Scone; return to England; EP 358
Corporations; taxation benefits for. W. Shelton; S 601
Cortisone and ACTH, shortages and prices. L. Engel; S 276
Cotton; new land of, California. C. McWilliams; S 129
Use of "wetback" labor from Mexico; E 408
Coudert, Frederic R., Jr.; charges against Truman; EP 21
Council of foreign ministers
Agenda, debate over; EP 337
Deadlock in preliminary meeting; EP 289
Deadlock, path to. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S 440
Meeting, coming. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S 218
Meetings, preliminary, for discussion of agenda; EP 241
Courtin' time. M. M.; D 594
Credit control. See United States—Economics
Crime investigation
Extension of. W. Shelton; S ..... 313; EP 309
Kefauver committee hearings in New York; EP 261
Kefauver hearings; revelations of corruption; televising of hearings; E 292
Report, and reception by public; EP 433
Criminals, war, nazi. See Germany
Crossville, Tennessee; mob rule in. M. Cole; S 539
Crossword puzzles. See pages at end of *The Nation* issues
Cushman, Howard
The New York *World*, in memoriam; S 203
Czechoslovakia; purge of; Gottwald next? H. Ripka; S 343

D

Dam, big, at Hell's canyon. R. L. Neuberger; S 272
"Dangerous thoughts," by "The Observer"
Columbia broadcasting system loyalty tests; S 227
F. B. I. reviews a book 86
Daniels, Doctor Christopher; attacks, in America, on British socialism. C. McWilliams; S ..... 9; see also C 116
Darkness at noon. M. Marshall; D 92
Davidson, Basil
Germany:
Rearmament; I. Unrepentant nationalism; S 126
II. Germans don't want to fight; S 156
Spain:
Impoverishment of the people; S 11
Political balance-sheet; S ..... 37; see also EP 21
Davis, Virginia
Clothes for Spanish refugees in France; C ..... 192; see also 79
Day in the country, a. M. Farber; MP 45
Day in the sun, a. M. Farber; MP 622
Defense, national. See United States
Defense mobilization office; Wilson's one-man war. W. Shelton; S 196
Defense production act. See United States—Economics
Deford, Miriam Allen
International language; C ..... 431; see also 302
De Gaulle, General Charles, and De Gaullism. See France—Politics (M. R. P.)
Del Vayo, Julio Alvarez. See Alvarez del Vayo, Julio
De Mendelssohn, Peter
Opera by B. Brecht; S ..... 471; see also C 595
Democratic party; and labor. W. Shelton; S 217
De Niro, Robert. M. Farber; A 92
De Pereda, Prudencio
Red straits; S 492
Desborough, Cary
Fiscal follies, France and the United States; C 68
Diplomatic service. See United States
Discrimination, racial and social in Stuyvesant town, New York city; EP ..... 501; article by J. B. Robison 514
Dmytryk, Edward; suggestion for Ex-communists anonymous; EP 482

PAGE

Documentary films. See Motion pictures
Dollar Steamship case; government officials accused of contempt of court; EP 406
Dombrowski, James A.
Evidence of hospital discrimination against Negroes sought; C 240
Don Carlo. B. H. Haggin; M 142
Donaldson, Postmaster general Jesse. See Postoffice department
Draft. See Universal military training
Drama, the. See K. H.; Marshall, M., for reviews
Drugs, cortisone and ACTH; shortages and prices. L. Engel; S 276
Dubuffet, J.; M. Farber; A 92
Dudley, Margaret W.
Praise for anniversary issue of *The Nation;* C 47
Dulles, John Foster; address against Hoover neutralism; E 4
Dunham, Charles A.
"Rotten boroughs" in Connecticut; C 24; see also 75, 533
Dupee, F. W.
Secret life of Edward Windsor; S 519
Durante, Jimmy, and R. Schuman. Brandel; Ct 531, 532

E

ECA. See Economic cooperation administration
Echevarria, Juan L.
Amnesty for Spanish refugees; C 287; see also 79
Economic aid for foreign countries
Bargain basement point four. F. Sternberg; S 35
Kem amendment for restriction; EP 577
Launching of Truman program (point four) not yet undertaken; E 265
Partners in reaction. F. Sternberg; S 611
Economic cooperation administration; blunders in Italy. M. Rossi; S 324
Education
Catholic; return to scholasticism; E 195; see also C 260
Medical schools, aid for, in proposed legislation; EP 407
"Monopoly" of. J. S. Thompson; C 143
Oath for teachers, proposed. J. M. Eklund; C 143
Schools, public, in New England; threat to, in Roman catholic attitude. W. C. Bates; C 432
Segregation in schools of Charleston, South Carolina; EP 501
Negro teacher's dilemma. J. S. Nash; S 589
Teachers' strike in Pawtucket, Rhode Island; unrest among other educators; EP 503; article by R. Williamson 561
Vatican versus the public schools, by P. Blanshard
I. Italy 59
II. Netherlands 81; see also C 143
III. France 201
IV. Belgium and beyond 277
See also Academic freedom
Eisenhower, General Dwight D.
Or MacArthur, for president; EP 357
Report in Washington. W. Shelton; S 123
Eklund, John M.
Oath by teachers, proposed; C 143
Election, presidential. See President, United States
Embargoes. See Trade
Enemy of the people, an. M. Marshall; D 18
Engel, Leonard
Articles on science:
Drugs, cortisone and ACTH, shortages and prices; S 276
Heart failure, new hope in; S 199
Laxatives; danger in improper use; S 609
Poisoned pork; S 461
Englewood, New Jersey, in turmoil. C. McWilliams; S 558; see also C 623; corrections 624
Engineer, industrial, S. Trone. A. Roth; S 83
Esperanto, use of, step to world union. G. P. Turner; C 95
Essays and asides
"A passion for literature"; book by E. Wilson, Classics and commercials: A literary chronicle. P. Miller; S 87
Five-foot shelf, new. J. W. Krutch; S 39
Interlingua as a fact. A. Guérard; S 302
Secret life of Edward Windsor. F. W. Dupee; S 519
Ethical standards in government. See United States—Government
Europe
After the elections. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S 602
American troops for; vote of no confidence in Truman. W. Shelton; S 341

PAGE

And Asia; comparative importance of the latter. A. Roth; S 274
Armament burden. W. Shelton; S 507
Economic cooperation; Schuman (Monnet) plan, treaty initialed; E 291
Schuman plan doubts. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S 390
Reaction to MacArthur dismissal. A. Werth; S 365
Views on Asia. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S 198
See also names of countries
Evening dusk (translated from Heine's The north sea). V. Watinks; P 471
Everybody's business. See Hutchison, K.
Excess-profits taxation. See United States—Finances

F

F. B. I. See Federal bureau of investigation
Facts on films. See Motion pictures—Documentary
Fair deal. See Truman, H. S.
Fair-employment-practices legislation in Colorado; EP 387
Fair trade. C. McWilliams; S 463, 512; see also C 623
Campaign in Missouri; EP 454
Supreme court decision; rush on stores in New York; EP 530
Falangism. See Spain
Farber, Manny
Best ten motion pictures; S 45
Lewton, Vladimir, death of; S 353
Reviews of art:
Abstraction in painting 162
Cartoons, American, exhibition 476
Comic strips 572; correction 595
Constant, George 384
Dubuffet, J. 92
De Niro, Robert 92
Furniture, modern 285; see also C 527
Gorky, Arshile 92
Kees, Weldon 92
Modigliano, Amadeo 476
Nesch, Rolf 384
Rothko, Mark 384
San Francisco artists 19
Smith, David 384
Smith, Kimber 92
Reviews of motion pictures:
Appointment with danger 497
Born yesterday 113
Branded 113
Brave bulls, the 497
Bullfighter and the lady, the 497
Day in the country, a 45
Day in the sun, a 622
Fourteen hours 306
I'd climb the highest mountain 237
Jofroi 45
Magnet, the 237
Magnificent Yankee, the 113
Manon 45
Miracle, the 45; see also 23, 104, 132, 147, 166, 192; letter in issuing of February 17, for censoring of picture
Operation disaster 113
Scarf, the 497
Sound of fury, the 188
Teresa 237
Thing, the 497
Ways of love 45
Farming
Labor. See Labor
Prices of products. See United States—Economics
Fechteler, Admiral William M., appointment as commander of Atlantic pact naval forces; EP 193
Federal bureau of investigation reviews a book. "The Observer"; S 86
Federal reserve board. See United States—Economics
Ferrer, José; attempt to bar him and others from awards; EP 291
Films. See Motion pictures
Finley, Joseph E.
Non-restriction against Negroes imperilled by Kansas City, Missouri, case; S 395
Five-foot shelf, new. J. W. Krutch; S 39
Flagstad, Kirsten. B. H. Haggin; M 382
Flahooley. M. Marshall; D 497
Florida; "Little Scottsboro" case. See Negroes
Food; prices; buyers' strikes; EP 577
The chemicals we eat. R. Brecher; S 584
Ford, deputy attorney general Peyton; accused of contempt of court in Dollar Steamship case; EP 406
Foreign ministers' meeting. See Council of foreign ministers
Foreign policies. see names of countries
Former OSS man
Jobless war criminals; C 191

PAGE

Formosa; disposal of; EP 529
Foster, Ashley
Seeks information on the reverend S. Knox; C, issue of May 19
Fourteen hours. M. Farber; MP 306
Fourteenth amendment. See Negroes
France
And Morocco; latter wants freedom. C. Bourdet; S 269
Auriol, President, visit to the United States and Canada; EP 309
Elections; no problems solved. A. Werth; S 580
Finances; follies, French and American. C. Desborough; C 68
Foreign policy:
After Pleven visit to Washington. A. Werth; S 176
Neutralism. A. Werth; S 130, 247
Neutrality; the Gilson affair; E 435
Rearmament, debate over. A. Werth; S 77
Rearmament problems; EP 309
Politics:
Communism, recession of. A. Werth; S 130
Elections; turning-point? A. W.; S 485
Gaullist threat. A. Werth; S 537; correction 596
M. R. P.; number 1 question. A. Werth; S 460
Move from the right. A. Werth; S 556
Program of Pleven government; EP 3
Search for a cabinet; coming elections; EP 213
Reaction to MacArthur dismissal. A. Werth; S 364
Workers, victory for. A. Werth; S 348
Franco, Francisco. See Spain
Free men. See Civil rights
Free trade. See Tariff
Freedom, academic. See Academic freedom; also names of institutions
Freedom of speech; Smith act for restriction upheld by supreme court; E 552
Freeze, wage and price. See United States—Economics
Friends (Quakers). See American Friends service committee
Fulbright, Senator. See United States—Government
Fulks, Clay
On socialist contributor to the *Monthly Review;* C 95; see also 144
Furniture, modern. M. Farber; A 285; see also C 527

G

Gambling
Revelations in Kefauver committee hearings. W. Shelton; S 293; E 292
Urge for, and investigation; EP 261
Gasperi, Alcide de. See Italy
Gaullists. See France—Politics
Genocide and morality; E 503
George, Manfred
On opera by B. Brecht; C 595; see also 471
Germany
Conference on, proposed; EP 49
Criminals, war:
Amnesty for. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S 459
Germany's bad conscience. Carolus; S 416
Jobless: Former OSS man; C 191
Release of EP, 69; EP, 117; letter by T. Taylor, 170; letter by M. Morgan 191
Does not want war. O. Pfaus; C, issue of February 17
Industry; labor wins voice with management. Carolus; S 516; see also EP 359
Labor; wins a round. Carolus; S 516
Lower Saxony, elections in; amnesty for war criminals. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S 459
Rearmament:
I. Unrepentant nationalism. B. Davidson; S 128
II. Germans don't want to fight. B. Davidson; S 156
And freeing of war criminals. L. Morgan; C 191
Issue in Washington. W. Shelton; S 102
Opposition of soviet Russia; E 24
Question, the. A. Werth; S 7
Resistance to Hitler; material sought. K. O. Paetel; C 288
Unity, proposed; conciliatory move by soviet Russia; EP 118
Western:
Nazism; Morrison visit to Germany, and comments on; EP 501
Rearmament. F. Kirchwey; S 147
Strike, threatened, by coal and steel workers; EP 97
Gide, André; hazards of immortality. A. J. Guérard; S 371

PAGE

Judgment on. A. Werth; S ..... 215; see also C 287, 308, 404
Gilson, Etienne, affair, and French neutrality; E 435
Gode, Alexander
Lincoln in interlingua; C ..... 431; see also 302
Gold Coast, Africa, self-government; EP 193
Gomez, Laureano. See Colombia
Gorky, Arshile, M. Farber; A 92
Gottwald, Klement. See Czechoslovakia
Government, United States. See United States
Government by public relations. See Public relations
Grand mufti of Jerusalem and King Abdullah of Jordan. Brandel; Ct 23, 25
Grasin, Lawrence
Korea's costly freedom; C ..... 356; see also C 288
Great Britain
Colonial policy; Gold Coast self-government; EP 193
Commonwealth. See Commonwealth
Economics:
Coal crisis. K. Hutchison; S 178
Comeback, shaky. K. Hutchison; S 33
Defense expenditures versus provision for civilian consumption; E 409
Gifts from Santa Claus. D. Low; Ct 34
Inflation; armament race, and labor discontent. A. R.; S 214
Outlook; E 339
Raw materials; first job for Shawcross. D. Low; Ct 484
Sacrifices for rearmament; E 119
Two opinions; trails that cross in the United States. D. Low; Ct 10
Welfare state and defense, balancing. D. Low; Ct 203
Finances:
Budget, honest. K. Hutchison; S 369
Slim now. D. Low; Ct 370
Foreign policy:
Issue with United States over Asia and attitude toward the United nations. H. K. Smith; S 103
Sulphur, diplomacy over. A. Roth; S 196
Labor; anti-strike law, and economic unrest. A. R.; S 214
Naval force; appointment of American admiral to command Atlantic pact ships; EP 193
Politics:
Anti-labor above all. D. Low; Ct 317
Attacks on British socialism by British lecturers in the United States. C. McWilliams; S ..... 9; see also C 116
Bevan takes post of minister of labor. A. R.; S 71
Bevan and Wilson resignations from cabinet; E 408
Bevan's rebellion. H. K. Smith; S 437
Bevin, death of; EP 357
Bevin resignation as foreign secretary; H. Morrison, successor; EP 241
Confusion among the tories. D. Low; Ct 175
Labor party; effect of Bevan and Wilson resignations; EP ..... 385; E 408
Tory attacks on Labor government fail; EP 165
Reaction to MacArthur dismissal. H. K. Smith; S 363
Greece; politics; portrait of a failure. C. Poulos; S 562
Green pastures, the. K. H.; D 305
Greenberg, Clement; correction of article (issue of November 25) on the European view of American art. D. Sylvester; C, issue of January 13
And the *New Leader*, sued by *The Nation* on libel charge; EP ..... 291; E 504
Griffis, Stanton; appointment as ambassador to Spain; EP 1
Guérard, Albert
Guilt clause again; C, issue of February 17
Interlingua as a fact; S ..... 302; see also C 431
Guérard, Albert J.
Gide, A., hazards of immortality; S 371
Guilt clause again. A. Guérard; C, issue of February 17
Guitar, Mary Anne
Documentary films; S 258, 429

H

Haggin, B. H.
Articles on music:
Collegiate Chorale 478
Don Carlo 142
Flagstad, K. 382
Israel Philharmonic 478
Metropolitan opera 333
National broadcasting company symphony orchestra 238

PAGE

New York Philharmonic broadcasts 478
Nikolaidi, Elena 93
Opera in English 430
Second symphony, by C. Ives 333
Symphonic music on the radio 190
Articles on the dance:
Ballet theater; S 142
New York city ballet company 286
Reviews of recorded music 19, 46, 67, 93, 114, 163, 210, 258, 286, 306, 354, 402, 450, 498, 525, 546, 573, 594
Strike of musicians, threatened; S 620
Hamilton, Talbot
Frank Lloyd Wright show; S 140
Seeks material on B. Latrobe; C 144
Hammer, Jacob D.
Snipers in the Korean war; C 288
Harnick, Sheldon
Non-violence, organized, call for; C 240
Haskell, Douglas
Defence of the Knolls; C ..... 527; see also 285
Hawaii, University of. See University of Hawaii
Hawaiian islands; labor in; EP 23
Hawkins, David, case of. C. McWilliams; S ..... 228; see also C 335
Cleared; EP 481
Hayes, H. Gordon
Price control; S 106
Health. See Medicine
Heart failure; new hope in. L. Engel; S 199
Helfgott, Roy
Monthly Review not socialist; C, issue of January 13; see also 95, 144
Hell's canyon dam. R. L. Neuberger; S ..... 272; see also C, issue of May 12
High ground, the. M. Marshall; D 210
Highways, toll. K. Hutchison; S 422
Hill, Captain Charles A., Jr., absolved of "disloyalty"; EP 119
Holloway, Mark
Seeks illustrations of American utopian communities; C, issue of January 13
Hollywood. See Motion pictures
Hoover, Herbert; address for neutralism; E 4
Hopalong Cassidy and President Truman. Brandel; Ct 263, 264
Hospitals; evidence of discrimination against Negroes sought. J. A. Dombrowski; C 240
House of Bernarda Alba, the. M. Mitchell; D 66
Hunt, Senator Lester C.; bill to permit suits against members of congress; EP 3
Hutchison, Keith
Business prospects for 1951; S 14
Coal crisis in Great Britain; S 178
Credit control; issue between Federal reserve board and Secretary Snyder; S 109
Everybody's business 14, 33, 85, 109, 178, 206, 253, 279, 320, 369, 397, 422, 445
Farm product prices, control of; S 206
Free trade: Fading dream; S 445
Great Britain's shaky comeback; S 33
Harvest of profits; S 397
Iran, impasse in; S 320
Man-power, allocation of; S 154
Man-power balance sheet; S 124
Saint Lawrence seaway; S 253, 279
Toll roads; S 422
Hydraulic power. See Water power

I

Ibn Saud. See Saudi Arabia
I'd climb the highest mountain. M. Farber; MP 237
Ideology and art. M. George; C ..... 595; see also 471
Illness. See Medicine
Immigration laws; McCarren proposed revision; EP 264
In memoriam. M. Van Doren; P 280
India
Aid for (wheat):
Confusion in Washington. W. Shetlon; S 486
Debate in Washington. W. Shelton; S 507
Delay in extending aid; EP ..... 263; EP 311
Hungry India. J. Lyon; S 230
Threat of famine; issue in Washington. W. Shelton; S 102
To be sent by United States on loan-gift basis; EP 386
Land reform; zemindars and due process. J. Lyon; S 468
Magazine exchange requested. H. Vaswani; C 96
Indo-China; fighting, intensified, by Vietminh forces; EP 597
Industrial engineer, S. Trone. A. Roth; S 83
Industrial strength, United States. See United States—Defense, national
Industrialization a frail reed. P. Africa; C 95
Inflation. See United States—Economics
Institute of Pacific relations; raid on; EP 146

PAGE

Interest. See United States—Economics
Interlingua as a fact. A. Guérard; S ..... 302; see also C 431
Internal security. See Commission on internal security, etc.
International situation; views of Stalin, in *Pravda*; E 166
Iran. See Persia
Ireland; medicine, religion, and politics. G. Barry; S 587
Isolationism. See United States — Foreign policy
Israel
After three years. A Rosenfeld; S 392
Aggression against, by Syria, rewarded. F. Kirchwey; S 483
Needs and problems; visit of Ben Gurion to the United States 453
Israel Philharmonic. B. H. Haggin; M 478
Italy
Blunders of E. C. A. in. M. Rossi; S 324
Elections; grim future of de Gasperi. M. Rossi; S 607
Elections, municipal: S. Sprigge; S ..... 490; see also C 548
Elections, municipal, approach of, and issues; EP 434
Elections; results in doubt; E 579
Protestantism in; comment on P. Blanshard article of November 11, 1950; A. Caliandro; C 95
Schools, public; vatican versus the public schools. P. Blanshard; S ..... 59; see also C 143
Ives, Charles; second symphony. B. H. Haggin; M 333

J

J. O. C.
Vote in Italy; C ..... 548; see also 490
Japan
Peace treaty with: conditions; H. Tiltman; S ..... 509; see also EP ..... 597; C 623
Rearmament, and economic conditions. R. P. Martin; S 224
Reversal of democratic reforms; EP ..... 597; see also ..... 509; C 623
Jarrell, Randall
The knight, death, and the devil; P 566
Jefferson military college; Armstrong offer to, for race discrimination, rejected; EP 483
Jehovah's witness; mob action against, in Tennessee. M Cole; S 539
Jofroi. M. Farber; MP 45
Johnston, Eric; relations with C. E. Wilson. W. Shelton; S 217
Joughin, G. Louis
Defense of hated men; S ..... 30; see also C ..... 356; C 479
Joy, Charles R.
Tragedy of the Spanish refugees; S ..... 79; see also C ..... 116; C ..... 192; C 287
Judell, Walter W.
Argument for recognition of communist China; C 116
Julian, Dr. Percy L., "Chicagoan of the year"; EP 598
Junger, Ernest; material on, sought, K. O. Paetel; C 288

K

K. H.
The green pastures; D 305
Kansas City, Missouri. See Missouri
Karger, Robert
Tax solution; C ..... 192; see also 28
Kefauver, Senator, and committee. See Crime investigation
Kem amendment. See Economic aid for foreign countries
Kerber, Paul
Sends check for *Nation* subscription for needy congressmen; C 404
Kiepe, Paul
Hell's canyon dam; C, issue of May 12; see also 272
King and I, the. M. Marshall; D 353
King Lear. M. Marshall; D 18
King of Friday's men, the. M. Marshall; D 210
King Richard II; D 113
Kirchwey, Freda
Apprehensive allies; S 72
Germany, rearmament; S 147
Israel and Syria dispute; aggression rewarded; S 483
Liberalism; cohorts of fear; S 339
Liberation by death; S 215
MacArthur recall; S 360
MacArthur's sanctuary; his testimony on war in Korea; United States policy; S 435
Malik move for peace in Korea; S 599
Peace: Rumor and reality; S 505
Satellites or allies? S 99
United nations vote condemning communist China aggression; S 120

PAGE

Klein, Nicholas
North Africa, conditions in; C 356; see also 269
Knight, death, and the devil, the. R. Jarrell; P 566
Knoll, H. and F., defended. D. Haskell; C 527; see also 285
Knox, the reverend Samuel; information sought. A. Foster; C, issue of May 19
Korea, southern; mistreatment of soldiers, and graft; EP 577
Korea, war in
Advance of United nations forces; move beyond thirty-eighth parallel debated; E 264
Allies for the United States; how to win; C 144
Attacks by Republicans on Truman administration; EP 405
Charges against Truman, of illegal sending of troops; EP 21
Confusion sown by MacArthur address to congress; E 388
Crossing the thirty-eighth parallel; EP 165
Effect on migrant labor situation in the southwest; E 408
Liberation by death. F. Kirchwey; S 215
MacArthur offer of a cease-fire; EP 289
Millions for destruction. H. Mears; C, issue of May 26
Motive for move of Chinese communists; EP 2
Peace; rumor and reality. F. Kirchwey; S 505
Peace move by Malik. F. Kirchwey; S 599
Peace "feelers." W. Shelton; S 507
Peace prospects dim; EP 145
Peace talk; EP 529
People of Korea, sufferers; EP 145
Snipers, work of. J. D. Hammer; C 288; see also C 356
Spread of, possible; views of MacArthur; EP 405
Stalemate; truce proposal by MacArthur; criticism of him; EP 309
Stalemate, double; E 244
Stalin's views; interview in *Pravda;* E 167
Undeclared war. E. Snow; S 220
United nations dilemma. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S 26
United States policy. F. Kirchwey; S 435
See also China; China, communist; Formosa; MacArthur, General Douglas
Krutch, Joseph Wood
Bowdlerization; S 423
Five-foot shelf, new; S 39
Lewis, Sinclair; S 179; see also C 260
Labor
California; employers interested in bringing in Asiatics; EP 243
See also Labor—Farm
Cooperation in defense mobilization, despite clashes with C. E. Wilson; EP 338
Farm; manpower sought for California, Texas, and elsewhere; EP 194
Hawaiian; EP 23
Migrant; "wetback", from Mexico; E 408
Peace, paths to. S. Chase; S 250; see also C 336
Union:
Absence of leaders from national defense set-up. W. Shelton; S 25
Activities of J. Schuetz, and firing by Bell Aircraft; EP 406; EP 502
And the democrats. W. Shelton; S 217
Auto workers' convention; M. H. Vorse; S 342
C. I. O. and illness of Murray; possible successor. W. Shelton; S 409
Revolt against C. E. Wilson. By W. Shelton; S 217
Strikes; railroad switchmen's; EP 145
Support of government in international crisis; squeeze on labor; E 166
Wilson, Charles E., policy. W. Shelton; S 267
Wage stabilization board. See United States—Economics
Wages; stabilization; situation; E 579
Wages and price freeze; EP 97
See also Man-power; names of countries
Labor party, British. See Great Britain—Politics
Language
Interlingua as a fact. A. Guérard; S 302; see also C 431
World, Esperanto, step to world union. G. P. Turner; C 95
Lapin, A.; denial of passport to. A. Richmond; C 239
Lash, John S.
Negro teacher's dilemma; S 589
Lasker, Loula D.
Praise for anniversary issue of *The Nation;* C 47

PAGE

L

Laski, Harold; appeal for scholarship fund. G. Williams; C 432
Latin America. See Pan-American conference
Latrobe, Benjamin; material sought. T. Hamlin; C 144
Lawyers
Defense of hated men. G. L. Joughin; S 30; see also 356
Loyalty oaths opposed by New York bar association; EP 23
Laxatives; danger in improper use. L. Engel; S 609
Left, challenge to. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S 120
Lens, Sid
Cooperation between labor and employers; C 336; see also 250
Lettuce, California; destruction enjoined; EP 482
Lewis, Frank W.
Crossword puzzles. See pages at end of *The Nation* issues
Lewis, John L., and D. Ben Gurion. Brandel; Ct 407, 408
Lewis, Sinclair. J. W. Krutch; S 179; see also C 260
Lewton, Vladimir, death of. M. Farber; S 352
Libel suits
The Nation against the *New Leader* and C. Greenberg; E 504
National farmers' union against Utah farm bureau federation; EP 503
Liberals and liberalism
American, decline of. J. Naab; C, issue of January 13
Call for a third party. P. Siekevitz; C 239
Cohorts of fear. F. Kirchwey; S 339; see also C 451
Constructive liberalism wanted. R. E. Maciver; C 239
Liberation by death. F. Kirchwey; S 215
Liberia; election; EP 405; EP 531
Lightman, J. Bentley
Spanish as international language; C 431; see also 302
Lincoln in interlingua. A. Gode; C 403; see also 302
Little blue light, the. M. Marshall; D 450
"Little Scottsboro" case. See Negroes
Loans. See United States—Economics
Lobbies in Washington, work of. W. Shelton; S 507
Looking backward. See *Nation, The*
Los Angeles. See California
Low, David
Cartoons:
Anti-labor above all 317
British economy; gifts from Santa Claus 34
British finances; slim now 370
Confusion among the tories 175
Iranian oil wealth 456
Mao poker-face 128
Raw materials for Britain; first job for Shawcross 484
Trails that cross in the United States 10
Welfare state and defence, balancing 203
World peace council and United nations and peace talks 249
Lowe-Porter, H. T.
Praise for anniversary issue of *The Nation;* C 47
Lowenthal, Max; book, The federal bureau of investigation. "The Observer"; S 86
Loyalty
Attempt to bar accused Hollywood players from awards; EP 291
Case of David Hawkins. C. McWilliams; S 228
Colorado law; resignation of G. H. Ball from university; EP 407
Columbia broadcasting system tests. "The Observer"; S 227
Hill, Captain Charles A. Jr., Negro, absolved of "disloyalty"; EP 119
Mob action against Jehovah's witnesses in Tennessee. M. Cole; S 539
Nebraska public-employees'-oath law. W. Weston; C 595
Oaths opposed by New York city bar association; EP 23
"Oaths" rejected by teachers; a proposed oath. J. M. Eklund; C 143
Pauling case. See Pauling, L.
Raid on Institute of Pacific relations; EP 146
"Reasonableness," standard of; EP 433
Review board; EP 433
Schuetz case; firing by Bell Aircraft, and reinstatement; EP 406; EP 502
Texas oath; new law; EP 531

PAGE

See also Commission on internal security and individual rights; names of colleges an universities
Lyon, Jean
Hungry India; S 230
Land reform in India; S 468

M

M. M. See Marshall, Margaret
M. R. P. See France—Politics
MacArthur. General Douglas
Address to congress; confusion sown by general; E 388
As possible presidential candidate in 1952. W. Shelton; S 457
Break with Truman over policies; EP 337
Cease-fire offer; EP 289
Criticized; his truce proposal; EP 309
Hearings:
Acheson testimony. W. Shelton; S 553; EP 549
Adjournment; EP 597
Confusion over, in Washington. W. Shelton; S 486
Disclosures of government information; EP 501
Getting at Acheson. W. Shelton; S 507
Politics in the controversy; views of E. T. Weir; EP 551
Testimony. H. K. Smith; S 439
Testimony; his sanctuary. F. Kirchwey; S 435
Testimony; MacArthur address in Texas. W. Shelton; S 581
In Texas. J. McCully; S 605
Joins the G. O. P. By W. Shelton; S 389
McCarthy-MacArthur axis. W. Shelton; S 581
Or Eisenhower, for president; EP 357
Recall. F. Kirchwey; S 360
Truman still president. W. Shelton; S 409
Showdown. W. Shelton; S 362
Views on possible spread of Korean war; EP 405
Maciver, Roderick E.
Wanted, constructive liberalism; C 239
Magazines; request from India for exchange. H. Vaswani; C 96
Magnet, the. M. Farber; MP 237
Magnificent Yankee, the. M. Farber; MP 113
Mails. See Postoffice department
Make a wish. M. Marshall; D 403
Malik move for peace in Korea. F. Kirchwey; S 599
Man-power
Allocation of. K. Hutchison; S 154
For defense. See United States—Defense, national
Share of labor in control, in mobilization program. W. Shelton; S 149
Manon. M. Farber; MP 45
Mao Tse-tung. See China, Communist
Mao Tse-tung and Ridgway. Brandel; Ct 455, 457
Marshall, General George C., and Bradley. Brandel; Ct 483, 484
Marshall, Margaret
Reviews of plays:
Autumn garden, the 257
Billy Budd 189
Captain Brassbound's conversion 18
Courtin' time 594
Darkness at noon 92
Enemy of the people, an 18
Flahooley 497
High ground, the 210
House of Bernarda Alba, the 66
King and I, the 353
King Lear 18
King of Friday's men, the 210
Little blue light, the 450
Make a wish 403
Moon is blue, the 257
Peer Gynt 139
Romeo and Juliet 284
Rose tattoo, the 161
Second threshold 44
Seventeen 620
Springtime for Henry 284
Stalag 17 477
Taming of the shrew, the 429
Tree grows in Brooklyn, a 403
Twentieth century 18
Martin, Martin A., and others
Justice denied in Martinsville case; C 212
Martin, Robert P.
Japanese rearmament and economic conditions, S 224
Martin, William McChesney, Jr.; appointment as Federal reserve board chairman; EP 263
Martinsville case. See Negroes
Maryland senatorial election
Investigation. W. Shelton; S 267
Protest against seating of J. M. Butler as senator; EP 3

PAGE

Tydings-Butler controversy; E ... 312
McCarren, senator Pat; proposed revision of immigration laws; EP ... 264
Move for repeal. O. O. Van Horn; C ... 624
McCarthy, Senator Joseph R.; spread of McCarthyism; E ... 312
McCarthy-MacArthur axis. W. Shelton; S ... 581
McCarthyism. See Academic freedom
McCloy, John J.; action in freeing nazi criminals; EP ... 117
McCully, John
MacArthur in Texas; S ... 605
McGee, Willie, case; death by association. M. Mostert; S ... 421
McGrath, J. Howard
Praise for anniversary issue of *The Nation;* C ... 47
McWilliams, Carey
Attacks on British socialism by lecturers in the United States; S ... 9; see also C ... 116
California, new land of cotton; S ... 129
Case of David Hawkins; S ... 228; see also C ... 335
Englewood, New Jersey, in turmoil; S ... 558; see also C ... 623; corrections ... 624
"Fair trade"; S ... 463, 512; see also C ... 623
Politics on the west coast; the year of the three-eyed sloth; S ... 300
Public-relations agents, government by; S ... 346, 366, 418
Mears, Helen
Millions for destruction; C, issue of May 26
Meat prices, action on; EP ... 433
Medical schools. See Education
Medicine
Danger in improper use of laxatives. L. Engel; S ... 609
Heart failure, new hope in. L. Engel; S ... 199
See also ACTH
Mediterranean, defense of. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S ... 294
Metropolitan opera. B. H. Haggin; M ... 333
Mexican labor in the United States. See Labor—Migrant
Migrant labor. See Labor
Military aid for Europe. See Europe
Military training, universal. See Universal military training
Miller, Perry
"A passion for literature"; on book, "Classics and commercials", by E. Wilson; S ... 87
Ministers, foreign. See Council of foreign ministers
"Miracle, the" (motion picture); censorship of. See Motion pictures—Censorship
"Mr. Point Fourth," S. Trone. A. Roth; S ... 83
Missouri
"Fair trade" campaign; EP ... 454
Non-restriction against Negroes imperilled by Kansas City case. J. E. Finley; S ... 395
Modigliano, Amadeo. M. Farber; A ... 476
Monnet (Schuman) plan. See Europe—Economic cooperation
Montgomery and Napoleon. Brandel; Ct ... 243, 244
Monthly Review; socialist contributor to. C Fulks; C ... 95; see also ... 144
Moody, Blair; successor of Vandenberg. W. Shelton; S ... 409
Moon is blue, the. M. Marshall; D ... 257
Moore, Marianne
We call them the brave; P ... 423
Morgan, Lester
Freeing of war criminals, and rearmament of Germany; C ... 191; see also EP ... 117
Morgenthau, Hans J., view on industrialization contested. P. Africa; C ... 95
Morocco wants freedom. C. Bourdet; S ... 269; see also C ... 356
Morrison, Herbert; visit to Germany, and comments on; EP ... 501
See also Great Britain—Politics
Mostert, Mary
McGee case; death by association; S ... 421
Savagery in South Africa; C ... 336
Motion pictures
Attempt to bar accused Hollywood players from awards; EP ... 291
Best ten; selection by M. Farber; S ... 45
Censorship:
Miracle, the; approval of censorship by Cardinal Spellman; EP, 23; review of picture by M. Farber, 45; articles by G. Seldes, 104, 132; editorial, 147; editorial paragraph, 166; letter by Seldes, 192; letter, issue of February 17
"Prince of peace, the"; censorship suggested. G. Walker; C, issue of May 12

PAGE

Where obscenity lies. V. Paget; C, issue of February 17
Documentary. M. A. Guitar ... 258, 429
Inquiry into Hollywood communism to be reopened; EP ... 242
Lewton, V., death of. M. Farber; S ... 353
See also Farber, M., for reviews
Mouvement republicain populaire. See France—Politics
Muenzinger, Karl F.
Case of D. Hawkins; C ... 335; see also ... 228
Murder case convictions, Trenton. See New Jersey
Murder, race. See Genocide
Murray, Philip; illness; possible successor. W. Shelton; S ... 409
Music, recorded, and reviews of music. See Haggin, B. H.
Musicians; threatened strike. B. H. Haggin; M ... 620
Muste, A. J.
Counter-revolutionary United States foreign policy; C ... 48
Peace treaty with Japan; C ... 623,; see also ... 509; EP ... 597
Praise for anniversary issue of *The Nation* ... 47

N

Naab, John
Decline of American liberalism; C, issue of January 13
Napoleon and Montgomery. Brandel; Ct ... 243, 244
Narcotics, control of; action by United nations. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S ... 582
Nathan, J. B., frame-up of. A. Ransome; C ... 527
Nation, The
Libel suit against C. Greenberg and the *New Leader;* EP ... 291; E ... 504
Looking backward, 1903 ... 227
Praise for anniversary issue; letters ... 47
Recommended for reading by officials. C. Wise; C ... 192
Subscriptions, and certificates of merit, for Chicago high-school students; EP ... 502
Subscriptions sent for needy members of congress. P. Kerber; C ... 404
National association for advancement of colored people; request for support. W. White; C ... 96
National broadcasting company symphony orchestra. B. H. Haggin; M ... 238
National farmers' union verdict for libel against Utah state farm bureau federation; EP ... 503
Naval forces, Atlantic pact; appointment of American admiral Fechteler; EP ... 193
Nazis. See Germany
Nebraska; public-employees'-oath law. W. Weston; C ... 595
Negroes
Arizona progress in non-segregation; EP 387
Convictions of two, in "Little Scottsboro" case, reversed by United States supreme court; E ... 359
Death sentences of Martinsville, Virginia, men affirmed; EP ... 671; C ... 212
Decision in Illinois against libeling Negroes as a group; EP ... 263
Discrimination against; Armstrong offers to colleges rejected and accepted; EP ... 483
Discrimination against, in Stuyvesant town, New York city; EP ... 501; article by J. B. Robison ... 514
Double standard of justice in criminal cases in the south; the Martinsville case. M. A. Martin, and others; C ... 212
Hill, Captain Charles A., Jr., absolved of disloyalty; EP ... 119
Hospital discrimination against; evidence sought. J. A. Dombrowski; C ... 240
Jim Crow practices; railroads and the fourteenth amendment; cases of Mrs. L. B. Perez and others. D. D. Bromley; S ... 441
Julian, Dr. Percy L., named "Chicagoan of the year"; EP ... 598
McGee, Willie, case; death by association. M. Mostert; S ... 421
Murder case, Trenton; prejudice against lawyers for convicted men. G. L. Joughin; S ... 30; see also C ... 356; C ... 479
National association for the advancement of colored people; request for support. W. White; C ... 98
Non-restriction imperilled by Kansas City, Missouri, case. J. E. Finley; S ... 395
Teacher's dilemma. J. S. Lash; S ... 589
Segregation in schools, Charleston, South Carolina; EP ... 301
Nesch, Rolf. M. Farber; A ... 384
Netherlands; schools, and the vatican P. Blanshard; S ... 81

PAGE

Neuberger, Richard L.
Hell's canyon dam; S ... 272; see also C, issue of May 12
New England public schools; threat to, in Roman catholic attitude. W. C. Bates; C ... 432
New Jersey; lawyers for convicted Trenton six men; prejudice against. G. L. Joughin; S ... 30; see also C ... 356; C ... 479
New Leader, The, and C. Greenberg; sued by *The Nation* on libel charge; EP ... 291
New Statesman and Nation, liberalism of. F. Kirchwey; S ... 339; see also C ... 451
New Year, greeting to; EP ... 1
New York city ballet company. B. H. Haggin; S ... 286
New York Philharmonic broadcasts. B. H. Haggin; M ... 478
New York *Times*
Madrid correspondent, S. P. Brewer; credentials canceled by Franco; EP ... 385
Seigel articles on McCarthyism in colleges; EP ... 454
Sulzberger articles on Spain; E ... 168
New York *World;* in memoriam. H. Cushman; S ... 204
Newspapers
Censorship. See New York *Times*
Trial by, in Florida Negroes' case; E ... 359
Nikolaidi, Elena. B. H. Haggin; M ... 93
Nimitz commission. See Commission on internal security and individual rights
Nineteen hundred and fifty-one, greeting to; and resumé of 1950; EP ... 1
No comment ... 13, 339
Non-violence, organized, call for. S Harnick; C ... 240
North Africa. See Africa
Noyes, Charles E.
Taxes versus controls; S ... 28
Nutrition. See Food

O

Oaths, test. See Loyalty
Objectors, conscientious, committee for. J. B. Osgood; C ... 432
O'Brien, Justin
Judgment on A. Gide; C ... 288; see also E ... 215; C ... 404
"Observer, The," See "Dangerous thoughts"
O'Dwyer, William; appraisal of, in Kefauver committee report; EP ... 433
Office of price stabilization. See United States—Economics
Oil. See Persia; Saudi Arabia
On a certain engagement south of Seoul. H. Carruth; P ... 616
Opera, by B. Brecht. P. de Mendelssohn; S ... 471
In English. B. H. Haggin; M ... 430
Operation disaster. M. Farber; MP ... 113
Osgood, James B.
Conscientious objectors; C ... 432

P

Paetel, Karl O.
Seeks material on E. Junger, and on German resistance to Hitler; C ... 288
Paget, Victor
On censorship; C, issue of February 17
Paine, Thomas, memorial in England. Mrs. E. Watling; C ... 240
Palmer, Cecil; attacks, in America, on British socialism. C. McWilliams; S ... 9; see also C ... 116
Pamp, Frederic E., Jr.
Education for values; C ... 260
Pan-American conference, Washington; regimenting the Americas. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S ... 315
Party, third. See Liberals and liberalism
Passport; denial to A. Lapin. A. Richmond; C ... 239
Patchen, Kenneth; aid for, requested. W. H. Auden and others; C ... 308
Pauling, Linus; withdrawal of invitation to visit University of Hawaii; EP ... 338; see also C, with editorial comment ... 499
Pawtucket, Rhode Island, schools and politics. R. Williamson; S ... 561; see also EP ... 503
Peace
Big Four talks; negotiations for; E ... 24
Labor. See Labor
Pledge, writers'. A. E. Coppard, and others; C ... 499
Talks; World peace council and United nations. D. Low; Ct ... 249
Peer Gynt. M. Marshall; D ... 139
Perón, Juan D. See Argentina
Persia
Agreement on oil with Anglo-Iranian oil company; EP ... 241
Assassination of Ali Razmara; E ... 241; EP ... 261

PAGE

Assassination; move to expropriate Anglo-Iranian oil company; and politics; EP 261
Impasse in. K. Hutchison; S 320
Oil dispute with Great Britain; E 455
Oil nationalization; situation; EP 530
Oil wealth. D. Low; Ct 456
Persuasion, right of. T. W. Phillips; C 116
Petroleum. See Persia; Saudi Arabia
Pfaus, Oscar C.
Germans don't want war; C, issue of February 17
Phillips, T. W.
Right of persuasion; C 116
Phonograph records. See Haggin, B. H.
Piedmont college, Armstrong offer to, for race discrimination, accepted; EP 483
Pius XII, pope. See Roman catholic church
Plays. See K. H., and Marshall, M., for reviews
Pleven, René. See France—Politics
Poems
Climbing above the cave. V. Watkins 40
Evening dusk (translated from Heine's The north sea). V. Watinks 471
In memoriam. M. Van Doren 280
On a certain engagement south of Seoul. H. Carruth 616
The knight, death, and the devil. R. Jarrell 566
We call them the brave. M. Moore 423
Point four. See Economic aid for foreign countries
Politics and schools in Pawtucket. See Education
Pope, the. See Roman catholic church
Pork, poisoned. L. Engel; S 461
Port Washington, Long Island; another Englewood. Port Washington Resident; C 623; see also 558; corrections 624
Postoffice department; deficit, proposals by Postmaster general Donaldson. W. Shelton; S 313
Poulos, Constantine
Greece: Portrait of a failure; S 562
Power, water. See Water power
Powers, big, conference of, proposed. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S 6
Prensa, La. See Argentina
President, United States
Eisenhower or MacArthur; EP 357
Issues in 1952; Republicans for MacArthur. W. Shelton; S 457
Tenure. P. J. Scheips; C 432; see also E 216
War-making power; E 52
Press, the. See Newspapers
Prices. See United States—Economics
Prince of peace, the; film; censorship suggested. G. Walker; C, issue of May 12
Profits. See United States—Economics
Propaganda, improvement of; EP 51
Protestantism in Italy. See Italy
Public affars committee; fifteenth anniversary; EP 551
Public relations, government by. C. McWilliams; S 346, 366, 418
Government by Whitaker and Baxter, and their client, American medical association; EP 577
Puzzles, crossword. See back pages of *The Nation* issues

Q

Quakers. See America Friends service committee

R

Race discrimination. See Asiatics; Negroes
Race murder. See Genocide
Radio
B. B. C. on trial. C. A. Siepmann; S 465
Symphonic music. B. H. Haggin; M 190
Railroad workers. See Labor—Union
Railroads and the fourteenth amendment. D. D. Bromley; S 441
Ransome, Arthur
Frame-up of J. B. Nathan; C 527
Razmara, Ali, assassination of; EP 241; EP 261
Reaction, partners in; aid for foreign countries. F. Sternberg; S 611
Rearmament; rising tempo. F. Sternberg; S 322
Reconstruction finance corporation
Investigation; EP 193
Move to kill, by Republicans; EP 262
Reorganization plan; EP 358
Recorded music. See Haggin, B. H.
Red straits. P. de Pereda; S 492
Refugees, Spanish. See Spain
Republican party
Civil war in. W. Shelton; S 75
MacArthur as possible candidate for president. W. Shelton; S 457
McCarthy-MacArthur axis. W. Shelton; S 581

PAGE

Reversal of stand on Reconstruction finance corporation; EP 262
Reserves, bank. See United States—Economics
Rhea, Frank A.
Praise for anniversary issue of *The Nation;* C 47
Richard II, king; D 113
Richmond, Al
Denial of passport to A. Lapin; C 239
Ridgway, General Matthew B., and Mao-Tse-tung. Brandel; Ct 455, 457
Right of persuasion. T. W. Phillips; C 116
Rights, civil. See Civil rights
Ripka, Hubert
Czechoslovakia, purge of; Gottwald next? S 343
Roads, toll. K. Hutchison; S 422
Roberts, Leslie
Danger signals from Canada; S 413
Robison, Joseph B.
Stuyvesant town, story of; S 514
Rockefeller report on economic aid for foreign countries. F. Sternberg; S 61
Roman catholic church
And educataion:
Attitude toward public schools in New England. W. C. Bates; C 432
Return to scholasticism; E 195; see also C 260
Vatican versus the public schools. P. Blanshard; I. Italy, 59; II. Netherlands, 81 (see also C, 143); III. France, 201; IV. Belgium and beyon 277
Pontiff and peace. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S 246
Protestantism in Italy; comment on Blanshard article of November 11, 1950; letter by A. Caliandro 95
See also Motion pictures—Censorship
Romeo and Juliet. M. Marshall; D 284
Rose tattoo, the. M. Marshall; D 161
Rosenfeld, Alvin
Israel after three years; S 392
Rossi, Mario
Elections in Italy; grim future of de Gasperi; S 607
Italy; E. C. A. blunders; S 324
Roth, Andrew
Asia;
Importance of; comparison with Europe; S 274
Commonwealth, the:
Division in; S 57
Communist China:
Shooting of leaders of secret society, by communists; S 535
Great Britain:
Bevan becomes minister of labor; S 71
Economic and labor discontent; rearmament; S 214
"Mr. Point Four": Solomon Trone; S 83
Sulphuric diplomacy; C 196
Rothko, Mark. M. Farber; A 384
Russia, soviet. See Union of soviet socialist republics

S

Saar, controversy over; EP 550
Sacher, Harry
Conviction of lawyers who defended communist leaders; C, with reply by G. L. Joughin 479; see also 30
Saint Lawrence seaway. K. Hutchison; S 253, 279
San Francisco artists. M. Farber; A 19
Saskatchewan; social credit. M. Chapin; S 295
Saudi Arabia; income from Aramco, oil company, collected by Ibn Saud; EP 22
Sawyer, Secretary of commerce Charles; accused of contempt of court in Dollar Steamship case; EP 406
Saxony. See Germany
Scarf, the. M. Farber; MP 497
Scheips, Paul J.
Presidential tenure; C 432; see also E 216
Scheuer, James H.
Perón versus a free press; S 297
Schlesinger, Hyman; contempt charge against him dismissed; EP 578
Scholasticism, return to; E 195; see also C 260
Schools. See Education
Schuetz, James; firing by Bell Aircraft in loyalty case; and reinstatement; EP 406; EP 502
Schultz, Theodore W.
Redirecting farm policy; S 55; see also C 143
Schuman, Robert, and J. Durante. Brandel; Ct 531, 532
Schuman (Monnet) plan. See Europe—Economic cooperation
Science, articles on. See Engel, L.
Scone, stone of; return to England; EP 358

PAGE

Scotland; nationalism; return of stone of Scone; EP 358
"Scottsboro case, little." See Negroes
Second threshold. M. Marshall; D 44
Security, internal. See Commission on internal security, etc.
Segregation, race. See Negroes
Seldes, Gilbert
Issues and pictures; censorship of "The Miracle"; S 104, 132; see also 23, 45; letter, correction by Seldes 192; C 260
Senate committee hearings on crime. See Crime investigation
Seventeen. M. M.; D 620
Shakespeare, William; discovery of notes perhaps by him; EP 311
Shawcross, Sir Hartley William. See Great Britain—Economics
Shelters, bomb; building suggested in Los Angeles; EP 243
Shelton, Willard
Articles from Washington:
Acheson floundering on Asiatic policy 123
Acheson testimony in MacArthur controversy 553
Acheson's narrow escape 75
Aggression charge against communist China 102
Civil war in the G. O. P. 75
Commission (Nimitz) on internal security and individual rights 169
Commission delayed in getting to work 409
Congress, eighty-second, "do-less" 5
Congress; rotten boroughs 75, 533
Conservatives' control of congress 26
Crime investigation, extension of 313
Defense: confusion over 486
Defense production act; Truman message on revision 409
Eisenhower report 123
Europe's armament burden 507
Failure of leadership 245
Foreign policy, debate on 314
Foreign policy; Truman message on the state of the union 24
Gambling; revelations in Kefauver committee hearings 293; see also E 292
Korean war; peace "feelers" 507
Labor's share in man-power control in mobilization program 149
Lobbies in Washington, work of 507
MacArthur case, showdown in 362
MacArthur; confusion over, in Washington 486
MacArthur hearings; getting at Acheson 507
MacArthur joins the G. O. P. 389
MacArthur's testimony 439
Maryland election investigation 267
McCarthy-MacArthur axis 581
Moody, Blair, successor of Vandenberg 409
Murray, P., and possible successor 409
Postoffice department deficit 313
Presidential campaign of 1952; Republicans for MacArthur 457
Press conference with C. E. Wilson on defense mobilization 25
Reapportionment of congress 75, 533
Revolt of labor against C. E. Wilson 217
Taft's stand on foreign policy 54
Taxation benefits for corporations 601
Troops for Europe; vote of no confidence in Truman 341
Truman still president after recall of MacArthur 409
Wheat for India; confusion over 486
Wheat for India; debate over 507
Wilson, C. E.; labor policy 267
Wilson's one-man war 197
Sherman, Louis
Defense of Doctor Pauling; with editorial comment C 499, see also EP 338
Shipman, Merl H.
Farm relief programs supported; S 143; see also 55
Shultz, Lillie
By-passing of peace in condemnation of communist China; S 150
Sickness. See Medicine
Siekevitz, Philip
Call for a third party; C 239
Siepmann, Charles A.
B. B. C. on trial; S 465
Smith, David. M. Farber; A 384
Smith, Howard K.
Bevan's rebellion; S 437
British reaction to MacArthur dismissal; S 363
Great Britain; issue with the United States over Asia and attitude toward the United nations; S 103
Smith, Kimber, M. Farber; A 92
Smith act upheld by supreme court; E 552
Snow, Edgar
Undeclared war in Asia; S 220

PAGE

Snow, Mrs. Ione. See California—Los Angeles
Snyder, John W. See United States—Economics
Social credit and C. C. F. By M. Chapin; S ... 295
Socialism; *Monthly Review* articles. R. Helfgott; C, issue of January 13; see also ... 95, 144
Soldiers, American, for Europe. See Europe
Sound of fury, the. M. Farber; MP ... 188
South Africa. See Union of South Africa
Soviet Russia. See Union of soviet socialist republics
Spain
- Appointment of ambassador Griffis; EP ... 1
- Barcelona strike, and anti-Franco movement throughout Spain; EP ... 289
- Cancellation of credentials of S. P. Brewer, New York *Times* correspondent; EP ... 385
- Falangist international. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S ... 168
- "For what," Franco; book by J. A. Ansaldo. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S ... 554
- Franco policy has minority support; recognition brings anti-American outbursts; EP ... 21; see also ... 37
- Franco's war prediction; financial shakiness; EP ... 118
- Impoverishment of the people; what price Franco? B. Davidson; S ... 11
- Overtures to, an offense against democracy; EP ... 69
- Political balance-sheet. B. Davidson; S 37; see also EP ... 21
- Refugees from; tragedy of. C. R. Joy; S 79; see also C, 116, C, 287, C ... 192
- Reports from inside show disaffection ... 411
- Republic, twentieth anniversary; conditions in country, political and economic; EP ... 357
- Revolt against Franco; Barcelona strike, first tremor. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S ... 266
- Strikes; EP ... 453
- Strikes; Franco's "last days"; J. Alvarez del Vayo; S ... 508
- Sulzberger articles in the New York *Times*; E ... 168
- Troubles, internal, and the international situation; EP ... 311

Speech, freedom of. See Freedom of speech
Sprigge, Sylvia
- Elections in Italy; S 490; see also C ... 548

Springtime for Henry. M. Marshall; D ... 284
Stage, the. See K. H.; Marshall, M., for reviews
Stalag 17. M. M.; D ... 477
Stalin, Joseph. See Union of soviet socialist republics
Standards, ethical, in government. See United States—Government
State and church. See Education
State department. See Acheson, Dean G.; United States—Diplomatic service; United States—Foreign policy
Sternberg, Fritz
- Aid for foreign countries; partners in reaction; S ... 611
- Bargain basement point four; S ... 35
- Complaints of our allies; S ... 443
- Rearmament, cost of; S ... 322
- War, total, cost of; S ... 173

Stocks, bull market. K. Hutchison; S ... 85
Stone of Scone, return to England; EP ... 358
Strength, industrial, of the United States. See United States—Defense, national
Strikes. See Labor; Musicians
Strikes of buyers. See United States—Economics
Strout, Richard L.
- *New Statesman and Nation*: liberals' debate; with reply by F. Kirchwey; C 451; see also ... 339

Stuyvesant town. See New York city
Subversion over the centuries. P. de Pereda; S ... 492
Sulphur, diplomacy over. A. Roth; S ... 196
Sulzberger, Cyrus L.: New York *Times* articles on Spain. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S ... 168
Supreme court, United States. See United States supreme court
Sylvester, David
- Correction of article of November 25 on European view of American art, by C. Greenberg; C, issue of January 13

Symington, Muriel
- Truman hypocrisy in foreign policy; C ... 192

Symphonic music on the radio. B. H. Haggin; M ... 190
Syria; aggression against Israel rewarded. F. Kirchwey; S ... 483

PAGE

T

Taft, Senator Robert A; charges against Truman; EP ... 21
- Stand on foreign policy. W. Shelton; S ... 54

Taming of the shrew, the. M. Marshall; D ... 429
Tariff
- Attack on reciprocity act; EP ... 97
- Free trade: fading dream. K. Hutchison; S ... 445

Taxation, federal. See United States — Finances
Taylor, Telford
- Freeing of nazi criminals; S ... 170

Teachers. See Education
Technology, articles on. See Engel, L.
Television; public attention to Kefauver committee hearings on crime; E ... 292
Tennessee; mob rule in Crossville. M. Cole; S ... 539
Teresa. M. Farber; MP ... 237
Test oaths. See Loyalty
Texas
- Farm labor manpower sought; EP ... 194
- Loyalty oath; new law; EP ... 531
- MacArthur in. J. McCully; S ... 605

Textiles and cattle; EP ... 551
Theater, the. See K. H.; Marshall, M., for reviews
Thing, the. M. Farber; MP ... 497
Third party. See Liberals and liberalism
Thompson, Joseph S.
- "Monopoly" of education; C ... 143

Tibbits, Ethel C.
- To win allies in Korean war; C ... 144

Tiltman, Hessell
- Japan's peace treaty; S 509; see also EP 597; C ... 623

Times, New York. See New York *Times*
Town in turmoil, Englewood, New Jersey. C. McWilliams; S ... 558
Trade
- Fair. See Fair trade
- Restriction in Kem amendment on aid for countries trading wth soviet bloc; EP ... 577
- Two-way embargo; E ... 532

Treasury-Federal reserve board agreement; EP ... 263
Tree grows in Brooklyn, a. M. Marshall; D ... 403
Trees. California, peril of; E ... 455
Trenton, New Jersey. See New Jersey
Trial by printer's ink, in Florida Negroes' case; E ... 359
Trichinosis from poisoned pork. L. Engel; S ... 461
Trone, Solomon, "Mr. Point Four." A. Roth; S ... 83
Troops, American, for Europe. See Europe
Truman, President Harry S.
- Attacks on administration, by Republican leaders, over Korea; EP ... 405
- And the two-term limit; E ... 216
- Budget message; EP ... 49
- Cartoon; Truman and Hopalong Cassidy. Brandel ... 263
- Charges against, by Republicans; EP ... 21
- Failure of leadership. W. Shelton; S ... 245
- Fair dealer; E ... 71
- Hypocricy in foreign policy. M. Symington; C ... 192
- Message on revision of defense production act. W. Shelton; S ... 409
- Message on the state of the union; foreign policy. W. Shelton; S ... 24
- Point four. See Economic aid for foreign countries
- Still president after recall of MacArthur. W. Shelton; S ... 409
- Support of C. E. Wilson; EP ... 213
- Vote of no confidence in the president, in matter of sending troops to Europe. W. Shelton; S ... 341

Turner, Glenn P.
- Step to world union, use of Esperanto; C ... 95

Twentieth century. M. Marshall; D ... 18
Tydings, Senator Millard. See Maryland

U

U. A. W. convention. M. H. Vorse; S ... 342
Union of South Africa
- Loans to, proposed; EP ... 98
- Race riots of Capetown; EP ... 551
- Savagery in. M. Mostert; C ... 336

Union of soviet socialist republics
- And the United States:
  - Negotiations. F. Kirchwey; S ... 99
  - Does Russia expect war? A. Werth; S ... 7
  - Peace proposals by American friends service committee; E ... 485
- Behind communist move into Korea; EP ... 2
- Clear thinking on, needed. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S ... 534
- Stalin interview in *Pravda*, on international situation; E ... 167

PAGE

Union, world, step to, use of Esperanto. G. P. Turner; C ... 95
Unions, labor. See Labor
United automobile workers' convention. M. H. Vorse; S ... 342
United Nations
- Accomplishments. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S ... 582
- And World peace council, and peace talks. D. Low; Ct ... 249
- Chinese membership; which government? J. Alvarez del Vayo; S ... 487
- Employees' demands for independence and security; EP ... 194
- Functions of, various interpretations; EP ... 165
- Korean war; action for solution of problem. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S ... 53
- Narcotics control; action on. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S ... 582
- Reaction to MacArthur dismissal. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S ... 365
- Security council admittance of communist China, question of; EP ... 481
- Security council rewards aggression by Syria against Israel. F. Kirchwey; S ... 483
- wey; S ... 483

United States
- Defense, national:
  - Confusion over. W. Shelton; S ... 486
  - Industrial strength; EP ... 49
  - Labor cooperation, despite clashes with Wilson; EP ... 338
  - Man-power mobilization. K. Hutchison; S ... 124
  - Man-power problem; EP ... 50
  - Press conference with C. E. Wilson; absence of labor leaders from planning. W. Shelton; S ... 25
  - Report by C. E. Wilson; E ... 312
  - Truman message on revision of defense production act. W. Shelton; S ... 409
- Diplomatic service:
  - Personnel abroad; EP ... 550
- Economics:
  - Business, signs of minor recession; EP ... 310
  - Consumers' "strikes"; Office of price stabilization action on prices; EP ... 213
  - Credit control; issue between Federal reserve board and Secretary Snyder. K. Hutchison; S ... 109
  - Credit restriction by increase of bank reserves; EP ... 3
  - Defense production act; Truman message on revision. W. Shelton; S ... 409
  - Defense production act; endangered; E ... 579
  - Farm-prices policy; redirecting. T. W. Schultz; S 55; see also C ... 143
  - Interest and inflation; E ... 243
  - Industrialization a frail reed. P. Africa; C ... 95
  - Lettuce destruction in California enjoined; EP ... 482
  - Military and civilian expenditures; complaints of our allies. F. Sternberg; S ... 443
  - Price control; issue of farm products. K. Hutchison; S ... 206
  - Price control, plan for. H. G. Hayes; S ... 106
  - Price control and freeze needed; EP ... 69
  - Price control endangered; E ... 579
  - Price control; price breaks and buyers' strikes; EP ... 577
  - Prices of beef, action on; EP ... 433
  - Prices; fair-trade decision; rush on stores in New York; EP ... 530
  - Profits, harvest of. K. Hutchison; S ... 397
  - Prospects for 1951. K. Hutchison; S ... 14
  - Rearmament expenditures. F. Sternberg; S ... 322
  - "Socialism" or defense? E ... 71
  - Wage and price freeze; EP 97; EP ... 117
  - Wage stabilization board, revamping of; EP ... 385
- Finances:
  - Budget message of the president; EP ... 49
  - Federal reserve board-Treasury agreement on government securities; EP ... 263
  - Follies, French and American. C. Desborough; C ... 68
  - Proposal to put income-tax burden on poor, by Western tax association; EP ... 290
  - Surplus, mounting; EP ... 310
  - Taxation, higher, need for; EP ... 453
  - Taxation benefits for corporations; bonanza, unlimited. W. Shelton; S ... 601
  - Taxes versus controls. C. E. Noyes; S 28; see also C ... 192
- Foreign policy:
  - Apprehensive allies. F. Kirchwey; S ... 72
  - Asiatic; floundering of Acheson. W. Shelton; S ... 123

PAGE

Attacks on Truman administration, by Republicans; EP 405
Cost of total war. F. Sternberg; S 173
Counter-revolutionary. A. J. Muste; C 48
Debate on. W. Shelton; S 313
Effect on allies and Asian countries; EP 549
Hoover and Taft policies; "retreatism"; EP 21
In Korea. F. Kirchwey; S 435
Issue with Great Britain over Asia and attitude toward United States. H. K. Smith; S 103
Neutralism; E 4
Satellites or allies? F. Kirchwey; S 99
Taft's stand. W. Shelton; S 54
Truman hypocrisy. M. Symington; C 192
Truman message on the state of the union. W. Shelton; S 24
War-making power, congress or president; E 52
Government:
Raising of ethical standards urged by Senator Fulbright; E 312
United States supreme court
Decision on fair trade; EP 530
Decision upholding Smith act on restriction of freedom of speech; E 552
Reversal of convictions of two, in "Little Scottsboro" case; E 359
Universal military training; man-power for national defense; EP 50
University of California. See California, university of
University of Colorado. See Colorado, university of
University of Hawaii. See Pauling, L.
Utah; verdict for libel for National farmers' union against State farm bureau federation; EP 503
Utopian communities, American; illustrations sought. M. Holloway; C, issue of January 13

V

Valentine, Alan, resignation; EP 69
Van Horn, Olive O.
Move for repeal of McCarran act; C 624
Vandenberg, Arthur H.; death; EP 386
Successor, B. Moody. W. Shelton; S 409
Van Doren, Mark; censorship on his books in New Jersey; EP 98
In memoriam; P 280
Vaswani, Hiro
Request for exchange of magazines with India; C 96
Vatican, the. See Roman Catholic church
Vayo, Julio Alvarez del. See Alvarez del Vayo, Julio
Vela, Raymond M.
Praise for anniversary issue of *The Nation*; C 47
Vietminh. See Indo-China
Vishinsky, Andrei, and H. A. Wallace. Brandel; Ct 195, 196
Vorse, Mary Heaton
U. A. W. convention; S 342

W

Wage and price freeze. See United States—Economics
Wage stabilization board. See United States—Economics
Wages. See Labor
Walker, Gerald
Film, The prince of peace; C, issue of May 12
Wall street. See Stocks
Wallace, Henry A., and A. Vishinsky. Brandel; Ct 195, 196
War
British thoughts of. A. Werth; S 223
Criminals, nazi. See Germany
Does Russia expect war? A. Werth; S 7
Liberation by death. F. Kirchwey; S 215
Millions for destruction. H. Mears; C, issue of May 26
Total, cost of. F. Sternberg; S 173
War-making power, congress or president; E 52
Warner, Edith
No blasphemy in The Miracle; C 260
Washington, despatches from. See Shelton, W.
Water power; Hell's canyon dam. R. L. Neuberger; S 272; see also C, issue of May 12
Watkins, Vernon
Climbing above the cave; P 40
Evening dusk (translated from Heine's The north sea); P 471
Watling, Mrs. E.
Paine memorial in England; C 240
Ways of love. M. Farber; MP 45
We call them the brave. M. Moore; P 423
Weir, E. T.; on politics in the MacArthur controversy; EP 551

PAGE

Weldon, Kees. M. Farber; A 92
Werner, Max; death; EP 51
Werth, Alexander
Death of A. Gide; S 215; see also letters 287, 308, 404
France:
Communism, recession of; S 130
Economic situation; nationalization of Renault; S 318
Election results; no problems solved; S 580
Elections; turning-point? S 485
Foreign policy; after Pleven visit to Washington; S 176
M. R. P.; number 1 question; S 460
Neutralism; S 130, 247
Politics; Gaullist threat; S 537; correction 596
Politics; move from the right; S 556
Reaction to MacArthur dismissal; S 364
Rearmament, debate over; S 77
Workers, victory for; S 348
Germany:
Rearmament question; S 7
Great Britain:
Thoughts on war; S 223
Soviet Russia:
Does Russia expect war? 7
Wesleyan university; invitation by undergraduates to communists. J. E. Williams; C 335
West coast politics; absence of leadership; year of the three-eyed sloth. C. McWilliams; S 300
Western tax-association; proposal to put income-tax burden on poor; EP 289
Weston, Warren
Nebraska public-employees'-oath law; C 595
"Wetbacks." See Labor—Migrant
Wheat for India. See India
Whitaker and Baxter. See Public relations
White, Walter
Request for support of National association for the advancement of colored people; C 96
Williams, G.
Appeal for Laski scholarship fund; C 432
Williams, John E.
Fear and freedom; invitation to communists to speak at Wesleyan; C 335
Williamson, Roger
Pawtucket, Rhode Island, schools and politics; S 561; see also EP 503
Wilson, Charles E., incapacity for direction of economic mobilizaton; EP 213
Labor policy. W. Shelton; S 267
Press conference on defense mobilization; S 25
Relations with E. Johnston. W. Shelton; S 217
Revolt against, by labor. W. Shelton; S 217
See also United States—Defense, National
Wilson, Edmund; book, "Classics and commercials." P. Miller; S 87
Wilson, Harold. See Great Britain—Politics
Wilson, Woodrow; opinions in 1903 227
Windsor, Duke of; secret life. F. W. Dupee; S 519
Wise, Christine
The Nation articles recommended for officials; C 192
World, New York; in memoriam. H. Cushman; S 204
World bank; bids for future bond issues; EP 147
World peace council and United nations, and peace talks. D. Low; Ct 249
World union, step to, use of Esperanto. G. P. Turner; C 95
Wright, Frank Lloyd, show. T. Hamlin; S 140
When free men fear; letter by Wright 527
Writers' peace pledge. A. E. Coppard, and others; C 499

Z

Zelmanoff, Seymour
Fair trade; C 623; see also 463, 512
Zemindars (India) and due process. J. Lyon; S 468

BOOK REVIEWS

Books are indexed under author and title and in some cases under subject.

The following explanatory letters are used in the index:

B	Book review
AN	Brief annotation
R	Reviewer

PAGE

A

Adamastor
White man boss; B 473
Adams, Mildred; R 16; see also letter 95
Aeneid of Virgil, the. A verse translation by R. Humphries; B 231
Age of longing, the. A. Koestler; B 207
Agee, James
The morning watch; B 400
All about H. Hatterr. G. V. Desani; B 571
Altick, Richard D.
The scholar adventurers; B 16
American Jew, the: Character and destiny. L. Lewisohn; B 89
American painting. V. Barker; AN 113
America's colonial experiment. J. W. Pratt; B 234
Amlie, Thomas R.
Let's look at the record; B 593
And the war came. The north and the secession crisis, 1860-1861. K. M. Stampp; B 328
Anderson, Sherwood, two books on; B 472
Angoff, Charles
Journey to the dawn; B 236
Arendt, Hannah
The origins of totalitarianism; B 280
Armstrong, Hamilton Fish
Tito and Goliath; B 110
Asbury, Herbelt
The great illusion. An informal history of prohibition; AN 43, 113
Aspects of Japan's labor problems. M. S. Farley; B 90
Atkinson, Brooks
Once around the sun; AN 572
Atom at work, the. J. Sacks; AN 160
Atomic energy, three books on; AN 160
Atomic energy and the hydrogen bomb. G. Wendt; AN 160
Auden, W. H.
Nones; B 524
Auden, W. H.; R 231

B

Babcock, Donald C.
For those I taught; AN 448
Barbary shore. N. Mailer; B 568
Barea, Arturo
The broken root. Translated by I. Barea; B 330
Barghoorn, Frederick C.
The soviet image of the United States: A study in distortion; B 137
Barker, Virgil
American painting; AN 113
Barth, Alan
The loyalty of free men; B 88
Barth, Alan; R 41
Battle against disloyalty, the. N. Weyl; B 520
Bazin, Hervé
Viper in the fist. Translated by W. J. Strachan; B 401
Beck, F., and W. Godin (pseudonyms)
Russian purge and the extraction of confession. Translated by E. Mosbacher and D. Porter; B 616
Berryman, John
Stephen Crane; B 187
Beyond the mountains. K. Rexroth; B 328
Biacolli, Louis, and M. Garden
Mary Garden's story; B 475
Blanshard, Paul
Communism, democracy, and catholic power; B 590
Blesh, Rudi, and H. Janis
They all played ragtime; B 283
Bornstein, Joseph
The politics of murder; B 426
Boulding, Kenneth
A reconstruction of economics; B 65
Bowen, Elizabeth
Early stories; B 158
Bowers, Claude G.
Pierre Vergniaud; B 15
Brebner, J. B.; R 62
Broken root, the. A. Barea. Translated by I. Barea; B 320
Brome, Vincent
H. G. Wells: A biography; B 496
Brooke, Jocelyn
The image of a drawn sword; B 284

PAGE

Buber, Margarete
Under two dictators. Translated by E. Fitzgerald; B 616
Buchler, Justus; R 619
Bunyan, John, the story of, and puritan England. V. Brittain; B 330
Buoyant billions. B. Shaw; B 565
Burned bramble, the. M. Sperber. Translated by C. Fitzgibbon; B 568
Burned-over district, the. The social and intellectual history of enthusiastic religion in western New York, 1800-1850. W. R. Cross; B 282
Burns, Robert, biography. D. Daiches; AN 525
Business cycles and national income. A. H. Hansen; B 255

C

Callaghan, Morley
The loved and the lost; B 351
Calomiris, Angela
Red masquerade; B 91
Cannon, Joseph G., biography. B. Bolles; AN 333
Carruth, Hayden; R 91, 209, 328, 524
Case of comrade Tulayev, the. V. Serge; B 568
Cather, Willa. A critical introduction. D. Daiches; B 281
Catton, Bruce
Mr. Lincoln's army; B 255
Catullus, poems of. Assembled, etc. by W. A. Aiken; AN 138
Cautious revolution, the: Britain today and tomorrow. E. Watkins; B 184
Celebration at dark. W. J. Smith; AN 256
Chase, Richard; R 380, 591
Chute, Marchette
An introduction to Shakespeare; AN 593
Clare, John
Selected poems; AN 256
Clark, Walter Houston
The Oxford group: Its history and significance; B 428
Classics and commercials: A literary chronicle of the forties. E. Wilson; R 87
Clawson, Marion
Uncle Sam's acres; AN 525
Clifton, Allan S.
Time of fallen blossoms; B 208
Closing of the public domain, the. E. L. Peffer; AN 525
Collected later poems of William Carlos Williams, the; B 209
Communism, democracy, and catholic power. P. Blanshard; B 590
Compton-Burnett, Ivy
Darkness and day; B 427
Conant, James B.
Science and common sense; B 329
Concept of mind, the. G. Ryle; B 235
Conclusive evidence. A memoir by V. Nabokov; AN 572
Congress: Corruption and compromise. H. H. Wilson; B 399
Cook, Robert C.
Human fertility: The modern dilemma; B 494
Courbet, Gustave, biography. M. Zahar; B 17
Crane, Stephen, biography. J. Berryman; B 187
Crane and Fitzgerald; comparison by Zabel, 187; see also letter 288
Creekmore, Hubert; R 523
Croce, the king, and the allies. Translated by S. Sprigge; B 182
Cross, Whitney R.
The burned-over district. The social and intellectual history of enthusiastic religion in western New York, 1800-1850; B 282
Cunningham, J. V.
The helmsman; AN 138
The quest of the opal; AN 138

D

Daiches, David
Robert Burns; AN 525
Willa Cather. A critical introduction; B 281
Darkness and day. I. Compton-Burnett; B 427
Davis, Edward H.
Letter on the spell of Ingersoll 356; see also 207
Dearing, Charles L., and W. Owen
Toll roads and the problem of highway modernization; B 422
Desani, G. V.
All about H. Hatterr; B 571
Dickinson, Emily, letters of. Two books; B 380
Distichs for a dancer. C. E. Harper; AN 138
Disturber of the peace: The life of H. L. Mencken. W. Manchester, With an introduction by G. W. Johnson; B 350
Dividing of time, the. E. Sewell; B 351
Dobyns, Henry F.
On Schlesinger review of Powdermaker book, Hollywood, the dream factory; letter, with reply by Schlesinger, 212; see also letter by Schlesinger 260
Double root, the. J. Holmes; B 91
Doughty, Howard, Jr.; R 565
Dragons in amber. W. Ley; AN 237
Dreiser, Theodore, biography. F. O. Matthiesse; ■ 398; see also letter 595
Dryden, John
The prologues and epilogues of. A critical edition. W. B. Gardner; AN 305
Dupee, F. W.
Henry James; B 377
Dupee, F. W.; R 400, 519

E

Early stories. E. Bowen; B 158
Eaton, Charles Edward
The shadow of the swimmer; AN 448
Eleven years in soviet prison camps. E. Lipper; B 616
Ellis, Havelock
The genius of Europe; AN 593
Emily Dickinson's letters to Dr. and Mrs. Josiah Gilbert Holland. Edited by T. Van W. Ward; B 380
Enemy of the people, an. A. Miller; B 423
England of Elizabeth, the: The structure of society. A. L. Rowse; B 567
Europe between democracy and anarchy. F. A. Hermens; B 522

F

Failure in Japan. R. B. Textor; B 614
Faison, S. Lane, Jr.; R 17, 64, 569
Correction of review of book on Renoir (in issue of December 23, 1950), by W. Pach; letter, issue of January 20
Far side of paradise, the. A. Mizener; B 180
Farley, Miriam S.
Aspects of Japan's labor problems; B 90
Faulkner, William
Notes on ■ horsethief; B 233
Fearey, Robert A.
The occupation of Japan, second phase: 1948-50; B 90
Federal bureau of investigation, the. M. Lowenthal; R 86
Feis, Herbert
The road to Pearl harbor; AN 257
Feuchtwanger, Lion
This is the hour. A novel about Goya. Translated by H. T. Lowe-Porter and F. Fawcett; B 618
Fiedler, Leslie A.; R 381
Firbank, Roland
Three more novels of. Introduction by E. Jones; B 381
First poems. J. Merrill; AN 138
Fitzgerald, F. Scott, biography of. A. Mizener; B 180
Fitzgerald and Crane; comparison by Zabel, 187; see also letter 288
Florence Nightingale: 1820-1910. C. Woodham-Smith; B 424
For those I taught. D. C. Babcock; AN 448
Francisco de Goya. J. Lopez-Rey; B 569
Frankenberg, Lloyd; R 618
Franklin, Benjamin; letters of Franklin and Jane Mecom. Edited, with an introduction, by C. Van Doren; AN 66
From here to eternity. J. Jones; B 254
From wealth to welfare: The evolution of liberalism. H. K. Girvetz; B 42

G

Game of hide and seek, a. E. Taylor; B 427
Garden, Mary, and L. Biancolli
Mary Garden's story; B 475
Genius of Europe, the. H. Ellis; AN 593
Genzmer, George; R 350
Georgian literary scene, the, 1910-1935. F. Swinnerton; AN 353
Gibbs, Henry
Twilight in South Africa; B 233
Gide, André, article on: hazards of immortality. A. J. Guérard 371
Girvetz, Harry K.
From wealth to welfare: The evolution of liberalism; B 42
Godin, W., and F. Beck (pseudonyms)
Russian purge and the extraction of confession. Translated by E. Mosbacher and D. Porter; B 616
Goya, Francisco de, biography of. J. Lopez-Rey; B 569
Goya, novel about (This is the hour). L. Feuchtwanger. Translated by H. T. Lowe-Porter and F. Fawcett; B 618
Great illusion, the. An informal history of prohibition. H. Asbury; AN 43, 113
Greek poetry for everyman. Chosen and translated by F. L. Lucas; AN 237
Greenberg, Eliezer; R 63, 236
Greenberg, Martin; R 426
Grendon, Felix; R 89
Guérard, Albert
Letter on A. Reyes 95
Guérard, Albert; R 15, 302, 496
Guérard, Albert J.
A. Gide; hazards of immortality 371
Gunther, John
The riddle of MacArthur: Japan, Korea, and the far east; B 135
Gunther, Violet M.; R 593
Gustave Courbet. M. Zahar; B 17

H

H. G. Wells: A biography. V. Brome; B 496
Halsband, Robert; R 16, 545
Handlin, Oscar; R 255
Hansen, Alvin H.
Business cycles and national income; B 255
Harbage, Alfred; R 567
Harper, Carol Ely
Distichs for ■ dancer; AN 138
Harrod, James, biography. K. H. Mason; AN 497
Haskins, Caryl P.
Of societies and men; AN 496
Heffner, Richard D.; R 234, 328, 398
Hell bomb, the. W. L. Laurence; AN 160
Helmsman, the. J. V. Cunningham; AN 138
Henry James. F. H. Dupee; B 377
Hermens, Ferdinand A.
Europe between democracy and anarchy; B 522
Hertzberg, Arthur; R 89
His eye is on the sparrow. An autobiography by E. Waters and C. Samuels; B 303
Hitler directs his war. The secret records of his daily military conferences. Selected and annotated by F. Gilbert; B 111
Hoffman, Paul G.
Peace can be won; B 379
Hofstadter, Richard; R 398; see also letters 595
Hollywood, the dream factory, by H. Powdermaker; review by A. Schlesinger challenged by H. F. Dobyns; letter, with reply by Schlesinger 212; see also letter by Schlesinger 260
Holmes, John
The double root; B 91
Honey gorged, the. Letters, selected, of J. Keats. Edited with an introduction by L. Trilling; B 543
Horney, Karen
Neurosis and human growth; B 232
Hough, Henry Beetle
Once more the thunderer; AN 66
Howe, Irving
Sherwood Anderson; B 472
Howe, Irving; R 233, 543, 568
Hoyle, Fred
The nature of the universe; B 569
Hughes, H. Stuart; R 111, 280
Hughes, Langston
Montage of ■ dream deferred; AN 256
Human fertility: The modern dilemma. R. C. Cook; B 494
Humphries, Rolfe
A verse translation of the Aeneid of Virgil; B 231
Humphries, Rolfe; R 138, 448
Hutchison, Keith; R 184, 422
Hyde, Douglas
I believed; B 91

I

I believed. D. Hyde; B 91
Image of ■ drawn sword, the. J. Brooke; B 284
India afire. C. and H. Wofford, Jr.; AN 525
Ingersoll, Robert G., letters of. With a biographical introduction by E. I. Wakefield; B 207; see also letter 356
"Interlingua-English"; B 302
Introduction to Shakespeare, an. M. Chute; AN 593
Introducton to poetry. M. Van Doren; B 565

J

James, Henry, biography. F. W. Dupee; B 377
James Harrod of Kentucky. K. M. Mason; AN 497
James Whitcomb Riley as I knew him. M. B. Mitchell; B 65
Janis, Harriet, and R. Blesh
They all played ragtime; B 283
Japan, two books on; B 90
Jelagin, Juri
Taming of the arts. Translated by N. Wreden; B 523
Jones, Ernest; R 112, 158, 254, 376, 427, 495
Jones, James
From here to eternity; B 254
Journey into light. I. Ross; AN 333
Journey to the dawn. C. Angoff; B 236

PAGE

Joyce, James, an approach to: "The sacred river." L. A. G. Strong; AN ... 353
Junod, Dr. M.
Warrior without weapons; AN ... 305

K

Keats, John
Letters, selected. Edited with an introduction by L. Trilling; B ... 543
Keene, Francis; R ... 182, 474
Kees, Weldon; R ... 283
Key poets; AN ... 138
King's story. a. Duke of Windsor; B ... 519
Kinzer, Robert, and E. Sagarin
The Negro in American business; AN ... 43
Kirst, Hellmut
The lieutenant must be mad. Translated by R. and C. Winston; B ... 476
Koestler, Arthur
The age of longing; B ... 207
Kogon, Eugen
The theory and practice of hell. Translated by H. Norden; B ... 63
Koreans and their culture, the. C. Osgood; AN ... 257
Kraft, Joseph; R ... 159, 330
Krutch, Joseph Wood; article on Sinclair Lewis ... 179
Krutch, Joseph Wood; R ... 207
(see also letter, 356), ... 281, 329, 423, 565

L

La Piana, George; R ... 331
Laurence, William L.
The hell bomb; AN ... 160
Lebowitz, Martin; R ... 333
Lenormand, H. R.
Renee. Translated by F. Frenaye; B ... 522
Let's look at the record. T. R. Amlie; B ... 593
Letters of Robert G. Ingersoll the. With a Mecom, Edited, with an introduction, by C. Van Doren; AN ... 66
Letters of Emily Dickinson. Edited by M. L. Todd; introduction by M. Van Doren; B ... 380
Letters of Robert G. Ingersol, the. With a biographical introduction by E. I. Wakefield; B ... 207; see also letter ... 356
Letters of T. Roosevelt. Volumes I and II; B ... 374
Levin, Harvey; R ... 65, 352
Lewis, Janet
Poems, 1924-1944; AN ... 138
Lewis, Sinclair
World so wide; B ... 446
Lewis, Sinclair, death of. Article by J. W. Krutch ... 179
Lewisohn, Ludwig
The American Jew; Character and destiny; B ... 89
Ley, Willy
Dragons in amber; AN ... 237
Lieutenant must be mad, the. H. Kirst. Translated by R. and C. Winston; B ... 476
Life records of John Milton, the. Volume II, 1639-1651. Edited by J. M. French; B ... 448
Linklater, Eric
Mr. Byculla; B ... 284
Lipper, Elinor
Eleven years in soviet prison camps; B ... 616
Logan, Rayford W.; R ... 233, 473, 544
Lomax, Alan
Mr. Jelly Roll; B ... 283
Lopez-Rey, José
Francisco de Goya; B ... 569
Loved and the lost, the. M. Callaghan; B ... 351
Lowenthal, Max
The federal bureau of investigation; B ... 86
Loyalty of free men, the. A. Barth; B ... 83
Lucien Leuwen. Stendhal. Translated by L. Varèse; B ... 185

M

MacArthur, the riddle of: Japan, Korea, and the far east. J. Gunther; B ... 135
Mailer, Norman
Barbary shore; B ... 568
Make light of it. W. C. Williams; B ... 158
Malin, Patrick Murphy; R ... 520
Man and boy. W. Morris; B ... 571
Man who was loved, the. J. Stern; B ... 495
Manchester, William
Disturber of the peace: The life of H. L. Mencken, with an introduction by G. W. Johnson; B ... 350
Marburg, Anita; R ... 227
Marcelin, Pierre, and P. Thoby-Marcelin
The pencil of God; B ... 112
Mary Garden's story. M. Garden and L. Biancolli; B ... 475
Mason, Kathryn Harrod
James Harrod of Kentucky; AN ... 497
Mather, Stephen, biography. R. Shankland; AN ... 525

PAGE

Matthiessen, F. O.
Theodore Dreiser; B ... 398; see also letter ... 595
Mayer, George H.
The political career of Floyd B. Olson; B ... 615
McCollum, Vashti Cromwell
One woman's fight; AN ... 450
McWilliams, Carey
Witch hunt: The revival of heresy; B ... 41
McWilliams, Carey; R ... 42, 428
Mencken, H. L., biography of. W. Manchester. With an introduction by G. W. Johnson; B ... 350
Merrill, James
First poems; AN ... 138
Mezerik, A. G.
The pursuit of plenty: The story of man's expanding domain; B ... 304
Michener, James A.
Return to paradise; B ... 446
Milano, Paolo; R ... 136
Miller, Arthur
An enemy of the people; B ... 423
Miller, Perry; R ... 87, 207
Milton, John, the life records of. Volume II, 1639-1651. Edited by J. M. French; B ... 448
Mr. Byculla. E. Linklater; B ... 284
Mr. Jelly Roll. A. Lomax; B ... 283
Mr. Lincoln's army. B. Catton; B ... 255
Mitchell, Minnie Belle
James Whitcomb Riley as I knew him; B ... 65
Mizener, Arthur
The far side of paradise; B ... 180
Modern France, problems of the third and four republics. Edited by E. M. Earl; B ... 542
Modern poetry: American and British. Edited by K. Friar and J. M. Brinnin; AN ... 448
Moehlman, Conrad H.
The wall of separation between church and state; B ... 590
Montage of a dream deferred. L. Hughes; AN ... 256
Moorehead, Alan
The villa Diana; B ... 474
Morning watch, the. J. Agee; B ... 400
Morris, Wright
Man and boy; B ... 571
Musical comedy in America. C. Smith; B ... 184
My six convicts: A psychologist's three years in Fort Leavenworth. D. P. Wilson; AN ... 333

N

N D 12: New directions in prose and poetry; B ... 545
Nabokov, Vladimir
Conclusive evidence; a memoir; AN ... 572
Nagai, Takashi
We of Nagasaki; AN ... 304
Nagel, Ernest; R ... 235
Nature of the universe, the. F. Hoyle; B ... 570
Negro, the, and the communist party. W. Record; B ... 544
Negro in American business, the. R. Kinzer and E. Sagarin; AN ... 43
Neuberger, Richard L.; R ... 350
Neurosis and human growth. K. Horney; B ... 232
New barbarian, the. W. Palmer; AN ... 256
Nice American, the. G. Sykes; B ... 618
Nightingale, Florence, biography. C. Woodham-Smith; B ... 424
Nineteen fifties come first, the. E. G. Nourse; B ... 186
Nones. W. H. Auden; B ... 524
Notes on a horsethief. W. Faulkner; B ... 233
Nourse, Edwin G.
The nineteen fifties come first; B ... 186
Noyes, Charles E.; R ... 186, 255, 379, 446

O

"Observer, The"
On M. Lowenthal and "The federal bureau of investigation" ... 86
Occupation of Japan, the; second phase: 1948-50. R. A. Fearey; B ... 90
Of societies and men. C. P. Haskins; AN ... 496
Oliver, Douglas L.
The Pacific islands; AN ... 257
Olson, Floyd B., the political career of. G. H. Mayer; B ... 615
Once around the sun. B. Atkinson; AN ... 572
Once more the thunderer. H. B. Hough; AN ... 66
One woman's fight. V. C. McCollum; AN ... 450
Open society and its enemies, the. K. R. Popper; B ... 159
Origins of totalitarianism, the. H. Arendt; B ... 280
Osgood, Cornelius
The Koreans and their culture; AN ... 257
Owen, Wilfred, and C. L. Dearing
Toll roads and the problem of highway modernization; B ... 422

PAGE

Oxford group, the: Its history and significance. W. H. Clark; B ... 428

P

Pach, Walter
Correction of review of book on Renoir (in issue of December 23, 1950); letter ... 68
Pacific islands, the. D. L. Oliver; AN ... 257
Palmer, Winthrop
The new barbarian; AN ... 256
Patch, Blanche
Thirty years with G. B. S.; B ... 565
Pattern for industrial peace. W. F. Whyte; AN ... 450
Peace can be won. P. G. Hoffman; B ... 379
Peffer, E. Louise
The closing of the public domain; AN ... 525
Pencil of God, the, P. Marcelin and P. Thoby-Marcelin; B ... 112
Phelps, Robert; R ... 284
Philosophy of the arts. M. Weitz; B ... 17
Piaget, Jean
The psychology of intelligence; B ... 333
Pichon, Charles
The vatican and its role in world affairs. Translated by J. Misrahi; B ... 331
Pierre Vergniaud. C. G. Bowers; B ... 15
Plievier, Theodor
The world's last corner. Adapted from a translation by R. Peck; B ... 476
Poems, 1924-1944; AN ... 138
Poetry, books of (Verse chronicle) 138, 256, 448
Policy for the west. B. Ward; B ... 62
Political career of Floyd B. Olson, the. G. H. Mayer; B ... 615
Politics of murder, the. J. Bornstein; B ... 426
Popper, Karl R.
The open society and its enemies; B ... 159
Position of America, the, and other essays. A. Reyes. Selected and translated by H. de Onís; B ... 16; see also letter on Reyes, by A. Guérard ... 95
Powdermaker, Hortense; review of her book, Hollywood, the dream factory, by A. Schlesinger, Jr., challenged by H. F. Dobyns; letter, with reply by Schlesinger, 212; see also letter by Schlesinger ... 260
Prologues and epilogues of John Dryden, the. A critical edition. W. B. Gardner; AN ... 305
Psychology of intelligence, the. J. Piaget; B ... 333
Pursuit of plenty, the: The story of man's expanding domain. A. G. Mezerik; B ... 304
Pratt, Julius W.
America's colonial experiment; B ... 234

Q

Quest of the opal, the. J. V. Cunningham; AN ... 138

R

Rackliffe, John
On review of book on Dreiser, by F. O. Matthiessen: letter 595; see also ... 398
Ramsey, Frederic, Jr.; R ... 184, 303
Rau, Santha Rama; R ... 208
Reconstruction of economics, a. K. Boulding; B ... 65
Record, Wilson
The Negro and the communist party; B ... 544
Red masquerade. A. Calomiris; B ... 91
Reed, Stephen W.; R ... 494
Region of the summer stars, the. C. Williams; AN ... 256
Reichenbach, Hans
The rise of scientific philosophy; B ... 619
Renee. H.-R. Lenormand. Translated by F. Frenaye; B ... 522
Renoir, book on; correction of review by S. L. Faison, Jr.; letter by W. Pach ... 68
Return to paradise. J. A. Michener; B ... 446
Rexroth, Kenneth
Beyond the mountains; B ... 328
Reyes, Alfonso
Position of America, the, and other essays. Selected and translated by H. de Onís; B ... 16; see also letter on Reyes, by A. Guérard ... 95
Reynaud, Paul
Unite or perish; AN ... 593
Riddle of MacArthur, the: Japan, Korea, and the far east. J. Gunther; B ... 135
Riley, James Whitcomb, as I knew him. M. B. Mitchell; B ... 65
Rise of scientific philosophy, the. H. Reichenbach; B ... 619
Road to Pearl Harbor, the. H. Feis; AN ... 257
Robert Burns. D. Daiches; AN ... 525
Roberts, Donald A.; R. ... 330, 448
Rommel, the desert fox. D. Young; AN ... 160
Roosevelt, Theodore, letters of. Volumes I and II; B ... 374
Röpke, Wilhelm
The social crisis of our times; B ... 352

PAGE

Ross, Ishbell
Journey into light; AN 333
Rowse, A. L.
The England of Elizabeth: The structure of society; B 567
Russia, soviet, three books on; B 616
Russian purge and the extraction of confession. F. Beck and W. Godin (pseudonyms). Translated by E. Mosbacher and D. Porter; B 616
Ryle, Gilbert
The concept of mind; B 235

S

Sacks, Jacob
The atom at work; AN 160
Sacred river, the: An approach to James Joyce. L. A. G. Strong; AN 353
Sagarin, Edward, and R. Kinzer
The Negro in American business; AN 43
Sansom, George; R 614
Sapirstein, Milton R.; R 232
Sartre, Jean-Paul
Troubled sleep. Translated by G. Hopkins; B 136
Schapiro, J. Salwyn
The world in crisis; B 39
Schapiro, J. Salywn; R 522, 542
Schevill, James
Sherwood Anderson: His life and work; B 472
Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr.; his review of Powdermaker book, Hollywood, the dream factory, challenged by H. F. Dobyns; letter, with reply by Schlesinger, 212; see also letter by Schlesinger 282
Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr.; R 91, 282
Schneider, Elisabeth; R 17
Scholar adventurers, the. R. D. Altick; B 16
Schwartz, Delmore; R 180
Science and common sense. J. B. Conant; B 329
Selected poems. J. Clare; AN 256
Serge, Victor
The case of comrade Tulayev; B 568
Sewell, Elizabeth
The dividing of time; B 351
Shadow of the swimmer, the. C. E. Eaton; AN 448
Shankland, Robert
Steve Mather of the national parks; AN 525
Shaw, Bernard; Thirty years with G. B. S. By B. Patch; B 565
Shaw, Bernard
Buoyant billions; B 565
Shaw, Irwin
The troubled air; B 592
Sheffer, Eugene J.; R 522
Sherwood Anderson. I. Howe; B 472
Sherwood Anderson: His life and work. J. Schevill; B 472
Sinclair, Upton
On Zaubel comparison of Fitzgerald and Crane; C 288; see also 187
Sky clears, the. Poetry of the American Indians. Edited by A. G. Day; AN 160
Slave ship, the. B. E. Werner. Translated by E. Wilkins and E. Kaiser; B 545
Slichter, Sumner H.
What's ahead for American business; B 446
Smith, Cecil
Musical comedy in America; B 184
Smith, Henry Nash; R 472
Smith, William Jay
Celebration at dark; AN 256
Social crisis of our times, the. W. Röpke; B 352
Soutine. M. Wheeler; B 64
Soviet image of the United States, the: A study in distortion. F. C. Barghoorn; B 137
Soviet Russia, two books on; B 91
Three books on; B 616
Spender, Stephen
Autobiography; World within world; B 376
Sperber, Manès
The burned bramble. Translated by C. Fitzgibbon; B 568
Spielberger, Charles; R 569
Stampp, Kenneth M.
And the war came. The north and the secession crisis, 1860-1861; B 328
Stepanchev, Stephen; R 592
Stern, James
The man who was loved; B 495
Steve Mather of the national parks. R. Shankland; AN 525
Stevenson, Elizabeth; R 37
Stewart, George R., and other professors of the university of California
The year of the oath; B 64
Stephen Crane. J. Berryman; B 187
Strauss, Harold; R 90, 135

PAGE

Strong, L. A. G.
The sacred river: An approach to James Joyce; AN 353
Such darling dodos. A. Wilson; B 158
Sukhotin-Tolstoy, Tatiana
Diaries of; "The Tolstoy Home." Translated by A. Brown; B 327
Swados, Harvey; R 351, 401, 446, 475, 545, 571
Swinnerton, Frank
The Georgian literary scene, 1910-1935; AN 353
Sykes, Gerald
The nice American; B 618
Sykes, Gerald; R 185

T

Taming of the arts. J. Jelagin. Translated by N. Wreden; B 523
Taylor, Elizabeth
A game of hide and seek; B 427
Textor, Robert B.
Failure in Japan; B 614
Theodore Dreiser. F. O. Matthiessen; B 398; see also letter 595
Theory and practice of hell, the. E. Kogon. Translated by H. Norden; B 63
They all played ragtime. R. Blesh and H. Janis; B 283
Thirty years with G. B. S. By B. Patch; B 565
This is the hour. A novel about Goya. L. Feuchtwanger. Translated by H. Lowe-Porter and F. Fawcett; B 618
Thoby-Marcelin, Philippe, and P. Marcelin
The pencil of God; B 112
Thomas, Norman; R 590
Three more novels of Roland Firbank. Introduction by E. Jones; B 381
Time of fallen blossoms. A. S. Clifton; B 208
Tito and Golaith. H. F. Armstrong; B 110
Toll roads and the problem of highway modernization. W. Owen and C. L. Dearing; B 422
Tolstoy home, the. Diaries of Tatiana Sukhotin-Tolstoy. Translated by A. Brown; B 327
Troubled air, the. I. Shaw; B 592
Troubled sleep. J.-P. Sartre. Translated by G. Hopkins; B 136
Twilight in South Africa. H. Gibbs; B 233
Tyrant from Illinois. B. Bolles; AN 333

U

Uncle Sam's acres. M. Clawson; AN 525
Under two dictators. M. Buber. Translated by E. Fitzgerald; B 616
Unite or perish. P. Reynaud; AN 593

V

Valiant pilgrim. The story of John Bunyan and puritan England; V. Brittain 330
Van Doren, Mark
Introduction to poetry; B 565
Vatican, the, and its role in world affairs. C. Pichon. Translated by J. Misrahi; B 331
Vergniaud, Pierre, biography. C. G. Bowers; B 15
Verse chronicle. See Poetry
Villa Diana, the. A. Moorehead; B 474
Viper in the fist. H. Bazin. Translated by W. J. Strachan; B 401
Virgil
The Aeneid. A verse translation by R. Humphries; B 231

W

Wall of separation between church and state, the. C. H. Moehlman; B 590
Walsh, Warren B.; R 616
Walt Whitman. F. Schyberg. Translated by E. A. Allison. Introduction by G. W. Allen; B 591
Ward, Barbara
Policy for the west; B 62
Warrior without weapons. Dr. M. Junod; AN 305
Water and the power, the. A. N. Williams; B 350
Waters, Ethel, autobiography; B 303
Watkins, Ernest
The cautious revolution: Britain today and tomorrow; B 84
We of Nagaskai. T. Nagai; AN 304
Weitz, Morris
Philosophy of the arts; B 17
Wells, H. G., biography. V. Brome; B 496
Wendt, Gerald
Atomic energy and the hydrogen bomb; AN 160
Werner, Bruno E.
The slave ship. Translated by E. Wilkins and E. Kaiser; B 545

PAGE

Werner, M. R.; R 88, 374
Weyl, Nathaniel
The battle against disloyalty; B 520
What's ahead for American business. S. H. Slichter; B 446
Wheeler, Monroe
Soutine; B 64
White man boss. Adamastor; B 473
Whitman, Walt, biography. F. Schyberg. Translated by E. A. Allen. Introduction by G. W. Allen; B 591
Whyte, William Foote
Pattern for industrial peace; AN 450
Willa Cather. A critical introduction. D. Daiches; B 281
Williams, Albert N.
The water and the power; B 350
Williams, Charles
The region of the summer stars; AN 256
Williams, William Carlos
Collected later poems of; B 209
Make light of it; B 158
Wilson, Angus
Such darling dodos; B 158
Wilson, Donald Powell
My six convicts: A psychologist's three years in Fort Leavenworth; AN 333
Wilson, Edmund
Classics and commercials: A literary chronicle of the forties; R 87
Wilson, H. H.
Congress: Corruption and compromise; B 399
Wilson, H. H.; R 615
Windsor, duke of. A king's story; B 519
Witch hunt: The revival of heresy. C. McWilliams; B 41
Wofford, C. and H., Jr.
India afire; AN 525
Wolff, Robert Lee; R 110
Woodham-Smith, Cecil
Florence Nightingale; B 424
World in crisis, the. J. S. Schapiro; B 39
World so wide. S. Lewis; B 446
World within world. The autobiography of S. Spender; B 376
World's last corner, the. T. Plievier. Adapted from a translation by R. Peck; B 476
Wuliger, Robert; R 64

Y

Year of the oath, the. G. R. Stewart and other professors of the university of California; B 64
Young, Desmond
Rommel, the desert fox; AN 160
Young, Marguerite; R 65

Z

Zabel, Morton Dauwen
Comparison of Crane and Fitzgerald 187; see also letter 288
Zabel, Morton Dauwen; R 187, 424, 475
Zahar, Marcel
Gustave Courbet; B 17

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JANUARY 6, 1951 NUMBER 1

To a Brave New Year

THE late 1950 was the kind of year in the affairs of the country that few of us can look back on with pleasure. As for the bare chronology, there had of course been many worse years, some, like 1940 for example, far worse. That was the year, just a decade ago, when the Nazis successively overran Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, and finally France; when Adolf Hitler jigged in the streets of Paris and three-fourths of the British army was lucky to escape from Europe in the hell of Dunkirk; when the Luftwaffe opened up on England by smashing the town of Coventry, and Molotov visited Berlin for an amicable chat with Hitler on the "New Order." Compared with that unbroken chain of disasters, 1950 was mild indeed, with only the triumph of communism in China and our own defeat in North Korea to be mentioned in the same breath.

But chronologies tell little of spirit, morale, political atmosphere, or leadership, and in these matters the United States sagged badly in 1950. The year saw the techniques of the old Dies committee magnified many times in their evil and transplanted to the floor of the Senate in the person of Joseph McCarthy. It saw the use of the "big lie" employed in American politics consciously and deliberately in an effort to discredit the Administration through the State Department.

This was the year of the McCarran act, a year in which fear spread poison on all levels of American life. It was not enough to convict the Communist leaders for "conspiring to teach the desirability" of overthrowing the government at some vague future time, but Jean Muir had to be barred from the television screen as "Mother Aldrich" because someone said she had once been a "fellow-traveler." The mania for loyalty oaths spread from the college campus to the gambling dens of Reno. Not only were all employees of the Columbia Broadcasting System ordered to bare their political pasts, but at least in New York all volunteers for civilian defense work had to do likewise. A woman who, we will say, belonged to the League Against War and Fascism back in 1936 could not sign up as a nurse's aid in 1950 without recording her membership in that organization, thereby branding herself as at least retroactively "subversive."

In keeping with our fears at home was the resurgence of infantilism in our view of the world. Among some the Hoover thesis prevailed—that the best hope of humanity was for the mighty United States to pull into its shell and avert its gaze while the rest of the world fell into the Soviet orbit. To others, the Administration included, rigid intransigence appeared to be the only alternative to appeasement. A slave to his implacable opponents, Mr. Acheson seemed bent on outdoing them in scorning all thought of an eventual settlement with the Russians. And this, in turn, stimulated the latent anti-Americanism abroad and deepened the mistrust, in Europe and in Asia, of our capacity to lead the nations of the West.

So it was at the year's end. It need not—in fact it dare not—be so in 1951. We have been through just this kind of rough weather before—in the years preceding the Civil War and those leading up to World War II. But if we are to come through intact, there must again be a change in climate. Some Republican leaders will have to be jolted into remembering that they are Americans first—they didn't remember it when they tripped up Acheson on the eve of the Brussels conference; the Administration will have to show more vision, more flexibility, and more understanding of our allies than it has yet displayed; and Americans in general will have to insist that their Senators and Representatives observe at least the standards of justice and decency that obtain in a magistrate's court. But above all, in this new year of 1951, we need to hear again and again, and to believe deeply, the counsel of Franklin D. Roosevelt that "there is nothing to fear but fear itself."

The Shape of Things

THE EIGHT WEEKS THAT HAVE PASSED SINCE his announcement on November 2, 1950, that it would be a long, long time before he sent an ambassador to Spain, must have seemed sufficient to Mr. Truman to fulfil his prediction, for last Wednesday he named Stanton Griffis to the post. The President and his Secretary of State are probably weary of being criticized for every step they take in foreign affairs, but they must understand that no other single action could have caused greater damage to the democratic cause than this last surrender to Hitler's heir. As Mr. del Vayo points out on page 6, it is absolutely impossible to convince the peoples

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

To a Brave New Year 1
The Shape of Things 1
American Neutralism 4

ARTICLES

The "Do-less" 82d *by Willard Shelton* 5
Big Four Prospects *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 6
Does Russia Expect War? *by Alexander Werth* 7
Knights in Shining Buicks *by Carey McWilliams* 9
What Price Franco? II. The Poor Get Poorer *by Basil Davidson* 11
No Comment 13
Everybody's Business: Yesterday and Tomorrow *by Keith Hutchison* 14

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

The Eternal Girondin *by Albert Guérard* 15
Reyes of Mexico *by Mildred Adams* 16
Concerning Scholars *by Robert Halsband* 16
Sense on Aesthetics *by Elisabeth Schneider* 17
The Art of Courbet *by S. Lane Faison, Jr.* 17
Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 18
Art *by Manny Farber* 19
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 19

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 394 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 20

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Contributing Editor: Robert Bendiner
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

of the world that we are fighting for democracy when we go out of our way to cuddle up to the Caudillo. The French reaction alone should have been sufficient to sustain the President in his original resolve. Socialist members of the French Cabinet—who certainly are not extremists, having given strong support to the Atlantic Pact—threatened to resign if a French ambassador were sent to Madrid and refused to be moved by arguments about the gravity of the international situation. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to which both the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. belong, has taken a similar stand. Providing a final ludicrous touch to the American decision is the fact that Franco's envoy, José F. Lequerica, is one of the worst Spanish fascists. As war-time ambassador to Vichy, he was an open enemy of the United States, on one occasion proposing a toast to Japanese victory. Having surrendered on principle, the State Department is in no position to be squeamish, but even so, a remnant of decency would have spared Americans the humiliation of accepting this man.

*

DID THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS MOVE INTO Korea on Moscow's order—the popular American theory—or did they act independently and against the Kremlin's wishes in order to assert China's dominance in that embattled land? This question has been raised by dispatches in the New York *Times* from Tokyo and Belgrade which, relying apparently on quite different sources of information, arrive at rather similar conclusions. The unsigned Tokyo story, dated December 24, declared that according to "authenticated information" gathered by members of the U. N. commission in Korea, the Chinese intervened only after they noted that North Korean leaders trained in China were being supplanted by men who had received their revolutionary education in Russia. Since the Chinese "volunteers" took over, this situation has been reversed. On December 26 M. S. Handler, filing from Belgrade, summarized an editorial in the Titoist *Review of International Affairs* which asserted that the Soviet government, uneasy at the growth of Communist China's influence in Asia, decided to enhance its own prestige in the Far East by promoting a military operation to bring all Korea under Russian control. Its plans were thwarted, first, by the defeat of its North Korean puppets by the U. N. forces, and, second, by the contrasting victory of the Chinese, who are now in control of territory where the Russians were formerly paramount. "The government of the U. S. S. R.," declares the *Review*, "will doubtless be forced to perceive that the attempt to impose its tutelage on Peking was just as unrealistic as the American de jure ignoring of the People's Republic of China." Although they do not provide conclusive evidence by any means, these stories certainly support the theory that in the long run the historical rivalries

between Russia and China will dissolve the ideological cement that has bound Peking to Moscow.

*

IN A LONG OVERDUE MOVE TO RESTRICT credit the Federal Reserve Board has decreed a 2 per cent increase in member-bank reserves. This action in effect freezes $2 billion of bank funds, which potentially could have supported a total expansion of $12 billion in loans. It follows the acknowledged failure of the Federal Reserve System to secure a voluntary restriction of credit. The difficulty about that method was that it placed on the individual banker the burden of discriminating between essential and non-essential loans at the risk of offending good customers and losing business to less conscientious competitors. Possibly in the absence of official appeals for restraint the total volume of borrowing would now be even greater than it is, but in any case the $7 billion growth in bank credit recorded in the past six months is far too large to be healthy. As the Federal Reserve announcement says "this is an unprecedented rate of expansion and has contributed to the excessive rise in the money supply." Certainly the easy availability of credit and its relative cheapness despite some hardening of money rates have encouraged speculative buying for inventory. In order to meet higher reserve requirements the banks will have to reduce their total earning assets. If they do this by refusing to renew old loans and looking harder at requests for new ones, the objective of the Federal Reserve will be achieved. But what if they seek to replenish loanable funds by selling government securities? In that event the Federal Reserve will have to decide whether it is going to support the market by adding to its own holdings of government bonds, which would stultify its action in increasing reserve requirements, or whether it is going to discourage such bank sales by letting bond prices fall. If it chooses the second course it will again find itself in conflict with the Treasury unless Secretary Snyder has been persuaded that a rise in interest rates may prove less expensive than further inflation.

*

PREMIER RENE PLEVEN HAS GAINED THE backing of the National Assembly for a program which seeks to reconcile rearmament and recovery, and he can thus show Washington that the funds necessary to create the new divisions demanded in Brussels will be forthcoming, while reassuring French taxpayers as to the sacrifices to be asked of them. M. Pleven forced the adoption of a military budget of two billion dollars for 1951, the highest in France's history. In an all-night session he won a series of votes of confidence by margins varying from 91 to 146—a remarkable accomplishment under prevailing circumstances. His program must now be approved by the Council of the Republic, where the followers of General de Gaulle, sharply critical of earlier West European rearmament plans, form the largest single group. It is generally thought that M. Pleven will get his bill through the Council, but if it should be defeated there, the constitution requires a two-thirds' vote in the Assembly to override the defeat. Other hazards must be overcome by the Pleven government in 1951. The problem of electoral reform will grow more acute as France prepares to go to the polls; to date all attempts to find a compromise solution have failed. And apart from the internal political and financial difficulties threatening an insecure Cabinet, there will be mounting international tension and the burning problem of Germany's rearmament.

*

SINCE WE GO TO PRESS BEFORE THE NEW Congress meets, we do not know what the Senate's reaction will be to the announcement by Senator Clinton Anderson, New Mexico Democrat, that he will protest the seating of John Marshall Butler, Republican Senator-elect from Maryland. Democrats and Republicans should seriously consider the fraud and chicanery that marked Butler's campaign against his defeated opponent, Millard Tydings. Maryland was blanketed with half a million copies of a dodger purporting to expose Tydings's "record" and reproducing a faked picture showing Tydings beside Earl Browder, former Communist leader. This picture was created by a Washington *Times-Herald* executive, now Butler's aide, engraved in the *Times-Herald* plant, printed on *Times-Herald* presses. Butler knew about the fake, assented to it, and benefited from it. Political campaigns are frequently dirty, but in the past the Senate has been sufficiently jealous of its honor to deny membership to persons guilty of far less serious offenses than the distribution of spurious "composite" photographs.

*

SENATOR LESTER C. HUNT OF WYOMING IS not so well known as he should be. A conservative Democrat, little heard since he took his seat two years ago, he is the first Senator who seems determined to do something concrete about the menace of McCarthyism. The Senator has brought in two measures, the first of which calls for a constitutional amendment stripping members of Congress of the immunity from lawsuit which they have traditionally enjoyed and too often abused. Recognizing the difficulty and the time involved in getting the Constitution amended, Mr. Hunt has further proposed a simple statutory change that would permit an individual who considers himself defamed by a member of Congress to sue the government, just as he might if he were injured by a government-owned truck. The Rankins and McCarthys might still feel free to slander under the latter proposal, but at least the victim could ultimately receive judicial clearance and compensation. With the active backing of Senator Kefauver of

Tennessee, Hunt has gone far to destroy the shabby tradition that the Senate is an exclusive club whose members owe more consideration to one another than to their constituents. "If situations should confront us," he said, "when we . . . are no longer able to control our own members by the rules of society, justice, and fair play, then we must take drastic steps to control them." McCarthy's incredibly brazen attempt to coerce radio networks and newspapers to drop Drew Pearson should awaken even the Hearst press to the fact that unbridled members of Congress may be as great a menace as a tyrannical executive. If Hunt is right in saying that "the American citizen wishes no longer to tolerate such high-handed, irresponsible actions," here is the American citizen's chance to prove it. Let his Senator and his Representative hear from him, quickly and clearly. Congress does not often consider reforming itself.

American Neutralism

LET us face it! Public reaction to Mr. Hoover's speech proposing retreat from Europe and concentration on the defense of a "Western Hemisphere Gibraltar of Civilization" indicates a widespread revival of blind isolationism. The ex-President's address has been editorially commended by newspapers across the country, including a number hitherto regarded as "internationalist." It has inspired a tremendous spate of letters from readers, a majority of which, according to a survey made by the Associated Press, seem to favor the policy of withdrawal.

It is not difficult to riddle intellectually the Hoover program, and that job has been ably performed by many writers and public men, including leading Republicans. John Foster Dulles, in his broadcast address to the American Association for the United Nations, said on December 29: "You can plan on paper what it seems should be an impregnable line of defense, a China Wall, a Maginot Line, a Rock of Gibraltar, an Atlantic and Pacific Moat. But the mood that plans such a defense carries within itself the seeds of its own collapse. . . . A United States which could be an inactive spectator while the barbarians overran and desecrated the cradle of our Christian civilization would not be the kind of a United States that could defend itself."

It is also easy to demonstrate the economic absurdity of Mr. Hoover's military calculus, as Secretary Acheson did when he declared in his review of 1950: "The Soviet Union, holding in unhappy bondage the peoples of Eastern Europe, wields enough power without making the Soviet imperialists a gift of the productive capacity and technical skills of Western Europe, plus the strategic resources and man-power of the Middle East and Asia."

Arguments such as these, however, which appeal to the mind, are not likely to have much impact on the emotions stirred up by Mr. Hoover. A sampling of letters to the press suggests that millions of our people are terrified of involvement in a world war and, in particular, fear that Europe will prove a bigger and worse Korea. The A. P. survey quotes one very significant, and apparently typical, letter from a California woman, which says: "Bring our boys back, fortify this nation, and the foreign nations will leave us alone." This indicates a kind of American "neutralism," the prevalence of a mood from which real appeasement could grow. Why die for Copenhagen or Paris or Bagdad or Bangkok? Let Stalin have Europe and Asia. That might satisfy his ambitions or, better still, provide him with a fatal surfeit of undigestible conquests—ex-Ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy's wishful notion.

Mr. Hoover did not create this mood, but he has given it a rationale. The European peoples, he told his listeners, are feeble and disunited. They have not the will to defend themselves; why, then, should we pour out our blood and treasure to defend them? True, the evidence with which he supported these charges was sketchy in the extreme, but many of his listeners were not in a position to assess the accuracy of such remarks as that the British Commonwealth has 150,000,000 people, an estimate which neglected some 400,000,000 in India, Pakistan, and Ceylon. Moreover, many Americans have been conditioned to believe our allies both feeble and faithless by the strident campaigns carried on in recent months by the Scripps-Howard, Hearst, and other papers.

Whatever motives may have inspired these campaigns —a desire to pressure Europe into underwriting our bankrupt China policy was the most obvious—their total effect has been to conjure up a spirit of defeatism which has now been further strengthened by Mr. Hoover. Seeking to allay this spirit, Mr. Dulles stressed in his speech recent democratic achievements of this country, domestic and international, which he claimed had served to check Soviet expansion. "Communism," he said, "pitted its youth against what it thought was our isolationism; its revolutionary practices against what it thought was our static mood. It found to its dismay a people who, when under pressure, did not decompose into factionalism and frustration."

Mr. Dulles, we fear, was putting a bolder face on the situation than the facts warrant, for if the present "great debate" has revealed anything, it is that "factionalism and frustration" are very much with us. Perhaps by bringing these evils into the open we shall dispel them, but not, we think, until the Administration convinces the people that its policy is genuinely designed to prevent war and not merely to prepare for it. This requires attention to moral as well as military "situations of strength" and as great resolution in opposing appeasement of reactionaries at home and abroad as in resisting appeasement of communism.

The "Do-less" 82d

By WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, December 29

THE conservative coalition will be so strengthened in the Eighty-second Congress, which assembles on January 3, that President Truman's Fair Deal domestic program will have little or no chance of enactment. The sharpest conflicts will therefore be over foreign policy and the simple matter of who shall pay for rearmament.

In his State of the Union message Mr. Truman will presumably ask again for action on health insurance and an improved farm program. He may argue, and he should, that civil-rights legislation is more vital than ever now that communism has shifted its emphasis from the class conflict to discrimination based on color and race—an approach that is extremely persuasive in Asia. He may argue, and he should, that keeping union labor in the Taft-Hartley strait-jacket is poor advertising for American democracy. He may urge the repeal of the McCarran anti-subversive law because its stringencies damage rather than promote internal security and make people abroad, even our friends, wonder whether this country is so befuddled by its struggle with communism that it is ready to sacrifice basic freedoms.

But nothing will happen. Southern Democrats, Western Democrats of the McCarran stripe, and conservative Republicans will have control. Taft, McCarran, Senator Russell and Representative Cox of Georgia, and Republican House Leader Joe Martin will be the masters.

Martin and Cox have already served notice that they intend to make an effort on January 3 to restore to the House Rules Committee the power to keep legislation from reaching the floor—the power of which it was stripped in January, 1949. Half a dozen important bills passed by the Eighty-first Congress were able to be brought to a free vote in the House only because the Rules Committee could no longer exercise its veto. Such bills would not be likely to pass in the Eighty-second Congress even if the drive to change the rules were beaten, but Martin and Cox want to insure that in some more liberal future Congress the Rules Committee will be able to block progressive measures.

In the Senate the Administration will be harassed by the fire directed at Secretary of State Acheson, the implementing of the McCarran law, and the results of the New Deal and Fair Deal domestic reforms. The new Judiciary subcommittee proposed by McCarran to act as a watch dog over the anti-subversive law and as a permanent Senate un-American activities committee can be a constant threat to Mr. Truman. Many Republicans are persuaded that McCarthyism pays off at the polls.

Things will look worse for the Administration if the lethargy and indecisiveness of its supporters permit Senator McFarland of Arizona to be elected the new Senate majority floor leader in the democratic caucus on January 2. The liberals are pushing the candidacy of Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming, but they waited so long before starting the O'Mahoney drive that McFarland got a tremendous start. Supported by two of the most astute political managers in the Senate, Hayden of Arizona and Russell of Georgia, McFarland will be elected if the Southern and silver-state Democrats can be rallied without exception behind him.

This would be a preposterous situation. McFarland voted for the Kerr natural-gas bill and the McCarran bill and was paired in favor of the basing-point bill—all of which President Truman vetoed. The practical job of the majority floor leader is to maneuver the Administration's program through the Senate. By his political philosophy and parliamentary skill O'Mahoney is far better equipped to represent the Administration, and Mr. Truman would be glad to have him. The last-minute strategy of O'Mahoney's supporters is to detach some of McFarland's prospective Southern supporters by introducing a third candidate, Senator Sparkman of Alabama. The theory is that if MacFarland is blocked in the first ballot, Sparkman's votes will swing to O'Mahoney; certainly Sparkman and O'Mahoney are closer in their general views than Sparkman and McFarland. Reports leaked out yesterday that the White House was "not officially" opposed to McFarland. That is difficult to credit, and if true, it reflects a failure to comprehend what is involved.

The picture is not so grim in the field of foreign policy. If a "great debate" shapes up, with Taft frankly adopting the suicidal withdrawal-from-Europe program of Herbert Hoover and trying to seize G. O. P. foreign-policy leadership from the absent Senator Vandenberg, the balance of power in the closely divided Senate is likely to be held by the liberal Republicans—Morse, Aiken, Tobey, and Margaret Smith. The coalition to save the North Atlantic Treaty Organization will probably be made up of Democrats and Republican liberals.

Grave crises may arise as Congress wrestles with foreign policy. The neo-isolationists have undoubtedly been strengthened by Republican election gains, and Senator Knowland's amendment of the Yugoslav-aid bill to provide equal funds for Chiang Kai-shek might have passed had it come before the incoming Eighty-second Congress. Moreover, injudicious and ill-considered policies toward Asia may be forced on the Administration by what is considered the necessity of compromising with the Republicans. In the present national danger, however, a majority of the next House and Senate can be expected to vote responsibly, and the Taft and Knowland followers are not likely to prevail.

On the question of who is to pay for mobilization strong Administration leadership will be needed to achieve genuine equality of sacrifice. Prerequisites to the

control of wages are a new national rent-control law and the courage to adopt such drastic measures as are required to hold down purchasing power and control food prices. Enforced saving and subsidized food production are not likely to be popular in a conservative Congress, but a $75,000,000,000 budget—$50,000,000,000 for armaments—creates problems that must be met with imagination and decision.

Any conceivable program for our own military preparedness is likely to be accepted. The real tests of the Administration's strength will come on the tax measures and the plan for economic stabilization. It is not yet clear whether stabilization will be boldly proposed in one of the four major messages scheduled to be sent to Congress during January—on the State of the Union, the budget, the economic report, and taxes.

Big Four Prospects

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

AS LONG ago as October 19 the Soviet Union served notice, in official communications to the governments of the United States, Great Britain, and France and through statements in its press, that the rearming of West Germany would cause a major crisis. Whatever happens now, no one will be able to talk of a Pearl Harbor, of treachery and a surprise attack. In Europe the warning has been taken seriously. "Le réarmament allemand, c'est la guerre," is believed by many people, and they therefore welcome every new attempt to bring about a rapprochement between the West and Russia.

It was under the pressure of public opinion, horrified at the thought of a repetition of the Korean experience in Europe, that the Western powers accepted "in principle" the Soviet proposal for a conference of the Big Four. They accepted it with visible reluctance. Many weeks were spent in a preliminary exchange of views among Paris, London, and Washington. At a meeting of ambassadors M. Parodi of France argued for the usefulness of Big Four talks even if they took up only the German question. But he encountered the firm opposition of Mr. Bruce, the American ambassador at Paris, who insisted that the West's reply should make merely general allusion to the Soviet offer and should lay down conditions which Moscow would find difficult to accept at present. This was the line followed. And in order that there might be no doubt about the unwillingness of the United States to enter into negotiations with Russia, Washington accompanied the dispatch of the reply with the usual warning that the American people should not place too much hope in a conference. A strange way to seek international reconciliation!

Opinion in France and England continues to exert pressure on the governments of the two countries to dissociate themselves from a policy which closes the door to any understanding with Russia. The "neutralist" movement in France is gaining strength. When I wrote about this movement from Paris last summer, it was limited in the main to intellectual circles. Since then it has spread rapidly. Georges Bidault, the former Premier, writing in *Aube-Dimanche*, tried to belittle its importance, but he betrayed his concern over its extension. "The propaganda for neutrality," he said, "although neither noisy nor organized, has greater influence than its content warrants." Many factors, indeed, are operating to prevent the United States from pursuing to the bitter end its policy of containing Russia in Europe by force.

American officials are disturbed because their warnings to the Defense and Foreign Ministers of the Atlantic Pact nations at the Brussels meeting have as yet failed to speed up European rearmament. They fear that time is running short. But there are other things to worry about. Let us suppose that, by some miracle, France could place fifteen motorized divisions in the field tomorrow. There would remain the problem of the soldiers' morale. Where would you find tens of thousands of French mechanics who would put their hearts into fighting in a coalition army made up of Germans, Spanish Falangists, and fascists collected from here, there, and everywhere?

The American military intelligence service in Korea has been called inefficient. But the American intelligence service whose mission is to gauge the political temper of Europe is evidently no more competent. It seems able to discover only negative qualities in Europeans—the apathy of the French, the egoism of the British, the cowardice and lack of fighting spirit of Europeans in general. It fails to perceive the signs of health and strength in their revolt against neo-Hitlerism and their refusal to be forced into an alliance with a half-Nazi Germany and a dictator like Franco.

Obsessed by the thought of the 175 Russian divisions ready to march, Western strategists think only of how to dispatch the greatest possible number of men to this or that threatened point, entirely forgetting the political side of the war—and therefore heading straight for disaster. They don't realize that the Russian troops, being animated by a common ideology, are a stronger force, quite apart from their numbers, than a heterogeneous body of men in which anti-fascists would have to fight at the side of fascists and for a cause which could never be sold to them as a war of liberation. It may be possible to make the American people believe that the Western allies are the defenders of democracy, even while the Spanish dictator's power is bolstered by loans, by the appointment of an American ambassador to Madrid, and by all the current talk of including Spain in the Atlantic coalition. But Europeans only laugh when they are exhorted to die for such a cause.

"Let the Americans fight their own wars" is what the British say, according to Ludwell Denny, a Scripps-Howard correspondent now in England. He reports having heard this from men and women on the streets of London, in the clubs and pubs, and even in the House of Commons.

The lack of an idea to fight and die for makes the thought of war still more repugnant and creates an atmosphere favorable to negotiation. The Kremlin knows this, and if nothing comes of its recent proposal for a conference, it will repeat the offer in one form or another in 1951. Impetus will thus be given to the growing movement in favor of trying every possible means of reaching a settlement before embarking on war.

The idea of Big Four talks will dominate the international scene in coming months, and American diplomacy will do well to seize the opportunity thereby offered to extricate itself from its present difficulties.

Does Russia Expect War?

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, December

FROM a study of the Soviet press and from the little news that still leaks out of the country, one can get some idea of how Moscow estimates the chances of general war in 1951. To begin with, the Russians seem a good deal happier today than they were last summer. Whether they were directly or only indirectly responsible for the invasion of South Korea, they were profoundly disturbed by the sharp American reaction to it. For all their screaming about the United States having forced the U. N.'s hand and the Security Council's decisions being "illegal," they felt acutely uncomfortable about the turn of events. World opinion held that the North Koreans did not have a good "moral case," and Moscow went out of its way therefore to dissociate itself from them and to give them openly only "the most heartfelt moral support." In August, when the American forces were all but thrown into the sea at Pusan, Boris Kefimov drew funny cartoons of a tophatted Syngman Rhee swimming across the Pacific with an American general on his back; but the Soviet government refused to supply the 100 tanks the North Koreans needed. American "preventive war" speeches were not without effect, and Moscow was unwilling, at that moment, to support the North Koreans at the risk of precipitating a world war.

After the Inchon landing, Russian propaganda used the North Korean débâcle as an opportunity to stir up anti-American hatred throughout Asia. It made the most of the mass bombings, of the Americans' "contempt for yellow life," of the destruction of the industries "so lovingly" set up by the People's Democracy in North Korea, and of the atrocities committed by Syngman Rhee's police. However, as long as the fighting was south of the Thirty-eighth Parallel neither the Chinese nor the Russians chose to budge. Russian nervousness at the possibility of becoming involved *at that time* may be seen from the extreme moderation with which the Soviet press handled the two air incidents—the shooting down of a Soviet plane based on Port Arthur and the bombing by an American plane of an airfield near Vladivostok. "Do you really imagine," one Russian observer remarked, "that we did not have the means to shoot down that bomber, so many miles inside our territory? We simply wanted no unpleasantness that we could help."

When MacArthur "allowed" the South Koreans to cross the Thirty-eighth Parallel, the U. N.'s feeble acceptance of the *fait accompli* marked the beginning of a new Russian—and Chinese—policy in relation to Korea. The Kremlin insists on getting very detailed, if not always accurate, reports on world opinion, and now it noted the increasing confusion about the right and wrong of the Korean war. Not only throughout Asia but in Europe too MacArthur began to symbolize "American imperialism" and to be regarded more and more generally as the "butcher of the Korean people" and the patron of the obscene Syngman Rhee. Soon Russia and China found themselves on the side of the angels. Moscow observed with glee the impressive consolidation of opinion in the Soviet-Asiatic bloc and the growing divisions among the Western powers. America was becoming the "obvious" aggressor. Why did it have to push on to the borders of Manchuria? For what purpose of "defense" did it need Formosa?

The Russian press gave prominence to the Chinese warnings against crossing the Parallel, though it said little at first about the appearance of Chinese "volunteers." Russian opinion would have dreaded Chinese intervention in the summer but by December welcomed it wholeheartedly. The violent reaction in England and Western Europe to Truman's atom-bomb statement of November 30 showed that Moscow had guessed right about the West's attitude toward the bomb. Europe also evinced the expected unqualified opposition to becoming in-

---

ALEXANDER WERTH, foreign correspondent of the New Statesman and Nation *(London), is a staff contributor of* The Nation.

volved in a war with China; and Vishinsky could now well afford to tell the Americans, in effect, to "get the hell out of Korea."

Russian commentators, unlike West European observers, have been careful not to draw any clear distinction between MacArthur and Truman. Truman, not MacArthur, is Enemy Number One. MacArthur is an underling, and to treat Truman as his helpless victim is absurd. MacArthur is merely a blundering general, but Truman is the Man of America's Rearmament.

"The American rout in Korea" has been signaled over and over again in the Russian press in the last few weeks. One reads: "We are quite confident, since November 30, that no atom bombs will be dropped on Manchuria, or anywhere else for the present. And if they are, then what?" The implication is clear: the Chinese would then occupy Korea and Indo-China, and if the United States started dropping atom bombs on Russia—well, then the Red Army would get its industrial and oil "replacements" in the Middle East and Western Europe. If the atom bomb should be dropped by the United States, little doubt would be left in anybody's mind as to the de facto aggressor.

Europe's reaction to the Korean crisis, in the Russian view, has not only revealed a rift among the Allies but, more important, strengthened isolationist and anti-European sentiment in the United States. *Pravda* has been going through American papers with a fine-tooth comb, picking up every crumb of evidence of a growing isolationism. The Russians are not banking on any fundamental disunity among the Western allies, but the Korean war appears to them to be a blatant demonstration of American political stupidity. They wonder, though, whether this stupidity is not now being cured—and the rift between the United States and Europe being healed—by the British, who have impressed upon America the necessity of giving Europe priority over the Far East and so saved the Western alliance.

If MacArthur is a joke to the Russians, German rearmament is not. They might be persuaded to regard an Atlantic army composed of Americans, British, and French as a *bona fide* defense force—if only because Britain and France would exercise restraint on the Americans. But a West German army which sooner or later might try to "unite" Germany or "liberate" German territories taken over by Czechoslovakia and Poland would be a real menace. The Russian offer to hold a four-power conference with a view to preventing the rearmament of Germany seems, therefore, to be dictated by genuine fear of a revised Wehrmacht. The memory of the only army that ever marched right across European Russia is a very grim one.

All the news from Russia today suggests that the Soviet authorities pride themselves on not having lost their heads over American and Western rearmament and on not having, in any visible way, suspended their huge "peace plans." An important armaments industry exists of course in Russia, but there is little evidence as yet that other industries are being converted to war production. The emphasis is rather on the further expansion of housing, on better living conditions, and on the pleasure of peace. At party and factory meetings the possibility of atom bombs being dropped on Russia is not discounted, but the line taken is that with the growing dispersal of industry and improved anti-aircraft defense, Soviet military power cannot be knocked out by atom bombs and that it can retaliate by marching into Western Europe and the Middle East and by dropping its own bombs on America. It is believed, moreover, that the reluctance of Western Europe to become involved in any sort of war will ultimately isolate the United States. The moral factor also counts: since Russia is committed by its whole propaganda against being the first to drop the bomb, America is bound to be the atomic aggressor, the most "criminal" kind of aggressor, in the eyes of many millions. Running through these discussions is the theme that even if the Americans are able to drop bombs on Moscow, it will not "pay" them, for "the harder you hit a Russian, the angrier he becomes."

IN THE end the most important question is whether or not Russia will "tolerate" the creation of a West German army. I have not found the slightest allusion in the Russian press to the possibility of a "preventive war" being started by the Soviets to forestall such a development. But after the screaming about the aggressive designs of the Atlantic Pact, especially since Germany has threatened to become part of it, it would take very little to make an invasion of Western Europe acceptable to the well-conditioned Soviet people and, still more, to the Red Army. Everything suggests that if the Soviet government is prepared for a showdown in Western Europe an "internal" German conflict will break out first and the East will then come forward as the "unifier" of Germany, before the West German Wehrmacht has time to do so. Only in the event of an atomic attack by the United States will the Red Army come into action in a full-fledged offensive.

Probably an agreement on Germany is still possible. The Russians would demand German demilitarization; failing that, they might agree to the formation of a limited armed police force in West Germany, the equivalent of the people's police in the eastern zone. If not even a limited agreement can be achieved, it is fairly easy to see Moscow working up a savage anti-German and anti-American mystique throughout the Slav and Mongol world. In revolutionary terms the destruction of Russian cities might be a price worth paying for the total isolation of the United States.

Both the Soviet government and the Russian people

would doubtless prefer to have no war; the danger is that, with their phobia about Germany, they might think it a matter of life and death to prevent German rearmament. Once rearmament starts, there may be no limit to it, whatever is said at present. Also, the American military rout and political fiasco in Korea and Europe's reaction to the atom bomb have perhaps made Russia less war-shy than it was two months ago. Germany, as America's strongest land weapon, is the real center of Russia's worries, even if the new Wehrmacht does not become a major force for a couple of years. The West must finally decide which is more dangerous—to rearm or not to rearm Germany. Judging by the violence of the Russian reaction, rearmament seems the greater risk. At any rate, before the West takes this step, it might be well advised to find out what guaranties of security Russia is willing to offer if it refrains. Brussels has given us a breathing space; but while demilitarization still seems possible, it would be unrealistic to demand in return—as some have suggested—the political "westernization" of the whole of Germany. The de facto partition of a demilitarized Germany seems the most that can be achieved at present. It is a lesser evil than an armaments race in the two zones.

Knights in Shining Buicks

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles

THERE was a time when the British sent us lords and dukes in quest of big game and heiresses. Then came an invasion of novelist-lecturers. Now a new type is visiting these shores, bent on describing Britain's agony in the throes of socialism.

Among the more successful of these heralds of calamity is Dr. Christopher Daniels of London, who has spoken from coast to coast on the crazy inefficiencies and Gestapo tyranny of the British health and medical program. According to Dr. Daniels, it was N. Lenin who first hit upon the idea that the way to gain control of a nation's economy was to gain control of its doctors. Socialism must be introduced "insidiously and through the emotions," and "the most emotional things" the Bolsheviks could think of were "birth, death, and sickness"; therefore "the cornerstone of the arch of a socialized state is a socialized system of medicine."

When Dr. Daniels appeared before the Chicagoland Council of the National Association of Foremen at the Union League Club in Chicago, he was introduced as "a physician, surgeon, dentist, and lawyer" who had been granted a "traveling fellowship" under the National Educational Program of Harding College, Searcy, Arkansas. There is no reason to doubt that Harding College arranged Dr. Daniels's tour and paid his expenses, but the question remains: Who made it possible for Harding College to award Dr. Daniels a traveling scholarship? And who provided the handsome Buick in which he went from meeting to meeting? Moreover, how does one qualify for a Harding College "traveling fellowship"; what are the standards and who are the judges?

It should be noted that the reception accorded Dr. Daniels by his colleagues in the medical profession was in sharp contrast with that met by visiting British physicians who favor national health insurance. For example, when Sir Heneage Ogilvie of Guy's Hospital, London, addressed the Western Surgical Association in 1949, he was asked if he liked the British system of health insurance. He replied that he did and gave his reasons. For his frankness Sir Heneage was accused of a breach of etiquette, and it has been suggested that he should not be cordially received on a second visit.

Even more effective than Dr. Daniels's tour was one made by Cecil Palmer, a lesser London publisher who some years ago dissolved his business in order to devote "more of his time to the crusade for individual freedom." Palmer is the founder of one of the principal "resistance" movements to British socialism—the British Society for Individual Freedom, which may be described as the counterpart of Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council. He is an old and intimate friend of Hart's and was brought to this country by Hart in February, 1949, and presented to various influential groups as an expert economist. The visit was shrewdly timed. The November, 1948, election had pretty clearly demonstrated the tactical absurdity of attempting to pin a Communist label on the Truman Administration. Almost before the returns were tallied, the master-minds of American big-business propaganda announced their discovery that, after all, socialism had always been "the real menace." The logical way to develop this theme was to import disgruntled Britishers to treat the luncheon-club circuit to eyewitness accounts of Britain's decay. Their words would be testimony, not propaganda.

Palmer was an instant success. What he had to say about the "failure" of socialism in Britain was just what his audiences wanted to hear. According to Arnold

---

CAREY McWILLIAMS, a staff contributor, has written a number of books, the latest of which is "Witch Hunt: The Revival of Heresy."

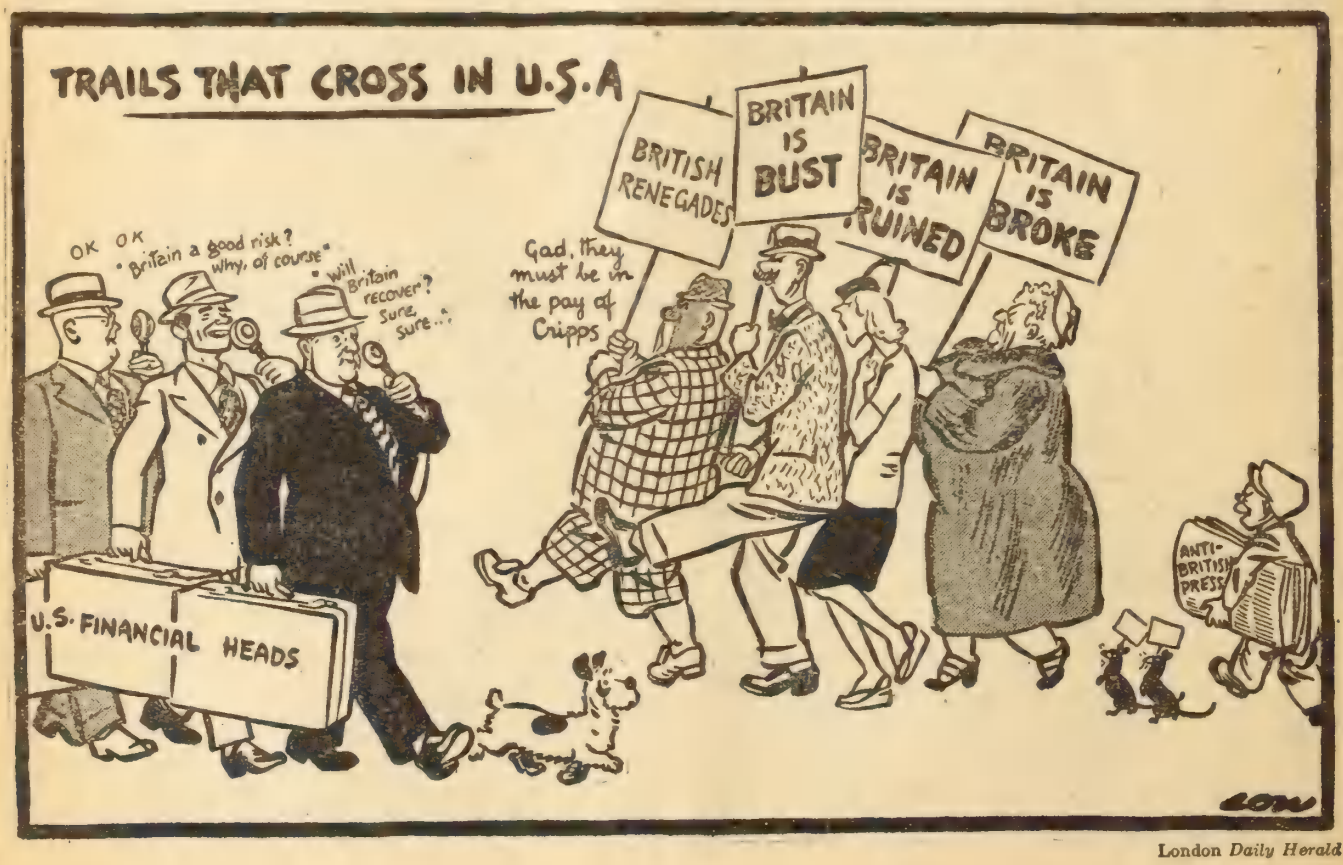
Forster of the Anti-Defamation League, in his book "A Measure of Freedom," Palmer's arrangements with Hart called for his receiving living and traveling expenses plus one-half of the gate receipts from his lectures, with a guaranty of $100 a week. With expert showmanship Hart arranged a large dinner meeting for Palmer in Washington. This meeting, which was attended by many Representatives and Senators, paved the way for Palmer's visit at the White House. The White House visit, negotiated by former Senator Albert W. Hawkes of New Jersey, provided the perfect send-off for Palmer on his cross-country junket.

ON HIS arrival in Los Angeles in March, after a highly successful tour, Palmer was treated by the press as if he were royalty. A large luncheon meeting at the Biltmore Hotel was sponsored by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce and the Merchants and Manufacturers Association and presided over by former Senator Hawkes. Some 1,200 persons attended it as "guests," among them as many foremen and plant superintendents as could be gathered in. The theme of Palmer's address was that Britain is "drinking the poison of communism out of the cup of socialism."

Returning to the East, Palmer spoke at the Waldorf-Astoria on October 26 at a huge $10-a-plate dinner arranged in his honor by Merwin K. Hart. Among those present were J. Howard Pew, Lammot du Pont, Representative Ralph W. Gwinn of New York, Senator James P. Kem of Missouri, former Senator Hawkes, and some of Hart's other friends, including Allen Zoll and Conde McGinley, publisher of an anti-Semitic sheet. The purpose of this dinner was achieved when Palmer was invited to speak at the convention of the National Association of Manufacturers. After making his speech at the convention he was given a standing ovation.

In the spring of 1950 Palmer came again to this country. On March 23 he spoke at Occidental College in Los Angeles on the theme "Socialism: Destroyer of British Freedom." Officers of the college say they did not know that Palmer had first visited the United States under the auspices of Hart's National Economic Council. Palmer was suggested as a speaker by Mrs. Morgan Padelford of Pasadena, who gave assurance that his fee would be paid by her father, former Senator Hawkes. Mrs. Padelford, a rather formidable Pasadena society dowager, is president of the local chapter of Pro-America.

A little later Palmer spoke on the same theme at Claremont College, having been suggested by Mrs. Padelford and by certain trustees. Pasadena at the time was in a frenzy of excitement over a local election called to approve a proposed increase in the school tax. Mrs. Padelford was one of the leading opponents of the measure, which was decisively rejected by the voters. During the campaign Pasadena voters were showered with propaganda on the familiar theme "progressive education is communism"; all this bore the imprint of Allen Zoll's National Council for American Education. (Zoll's background and his relations with Hart are documented in Arnold Forster's book.) Palmer's speech at a luncheon



London *Daily Herald*

sponsored by the Federal Action Committee of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce was reprinted by the Chamber of Commerce as a pamphlet under the title "Socialism in Practice" and has been widely distributed.

A few other names, facts, and dates will bring the Daniels and Palmer tours into sharper focus. On March, 23, 1949, Freedom's Foundation, dedicated to the proposition that Americans must rally "to help check and then reverse the rapid encroachment of socialism," was incorporated in New York, with Don Belding of the advertising agency of Foote, Cone, and Belding as president and chairman of the board. Harding College, which arranged Dr. Daniels's tour, has received three cash awards from Freedom's Foundation.

On October 18, 1949, Representative Ralph W. Gwinn told a luncheon group at the California Club in Los Angeles that the "fight against socialism is practically lost" but that we must still fight on. The luncheon was sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce and Dr. James W. Fifield's Spiritual Mobilization Organization. Dr. Fifield is also a winner of a Freedom's Foundation award. The next day the Chamber of Commere announced the formation of the Federal Action Committtee for the purpose of "reversing the socialistic trend in America." Don Belding's name was high on the list of members. On the same day Rear Admiral Leslie E. Gehres, retired, lashed out at socialism at a luncheon meeting, calling it "the chief peril" to American freedom; and soon afterward Walter S. Hallanan, chairman of the National Petroleum Council, at still another luncheon meeting denounced British socialism as "the real peril"—particularly because the British were using American loans to develop their oil reserves in the Middle East.

Russia, of course, is still "the enemy," but Britain has become the Dreadful Case History. This shift in emphasis accounts for the parade of British Knights in Shining Buicks. It is unfortunate that the attempt to use "British socialism" to smear American liberalism undermines Anglo-American relations at a critical period. Perhaps the Buchanan Committee on Lobbying can be induced to take a look at Freedom's Foundation, including its tax-exempt status, and also at Harding College and its "traveling fellowships." Isn't everyone nowadays in favor of "full disclosure"?

What Price Franco?

BY BASIL DAVIDSON

II. The Poor Get Poorer

Madrid, December 15

I AM told that two lions escaped recently from the Madrid Zoo. After a few months of varied experiences, they met to exchange gossip, and one of them, who was exceedingly fat, asked the other, who was exceedingly thin, how it came about that he had fared so ill. "I went up into the hills," the thin one replied, "and never got enough to eat. There's no nourishment in these Spaniards." The fat one said: "You should have copied me, brother. I stayed in Madrid. And I wandered around until I came to a big building where well-fed people walked in and out all day long. I've been eating one of them every day, but there are so many that the others don't notice."

This story circulated in Madrid as a comment on the Instituto Nacional de Previsión, one of the two semi-governmental social-welfare agencies. The Instituto and its fellow, the Montepios, collect enormous sums by forced levies on employed and employers ostensibly for social purposes. A small part of this revenue is spent on welfare and the rest placed at the service of the government, the two agencies being the main buyers of the public issues of the Bank of Spain. Since 75 per cent of all capital issues in the first six months of 1950 were made by the Bank of Spain, the institutes are invaluable contributors to the Treasury.

Another function of these and similar establishments is to provide employment—and the perquisites of employment, such as motor cars and graft—for the bureaucratic oligarchy of Franco's dictatorship. The existence of this oligarchy is the chief explanation of the government's failure to take any real measures to deal with the economic crisis, which is becoming worse with every month that passes. Ever since the civil war the civil and military henchmen of the regime have grown fat through the process of channeling a large part of the country's available wealth into their pockets. This wealth, as all statistics and all reliable opinions combine to show, has been constantly diminishing, and the oligarchy, therefore, demands an ever-greater share.

The evidence for the growing impoverishment of Spain can be briefly summarized, though its consequences in terms of human suffering are now so monumental that

---

BASIL DAVIDSON, a staff correspondent of the New Statesman and Nation *(London), went to Spain at the request of* The Nation. *The third article of this series will consider the political balance sheet in Spain.*

they defy brevity. Official statistics (see *Annuario Estadistico, 1950*) are certainly approximate, but they are all one has to go by, and they can be relied upon not to discredit the regime any more than is inevitable. While the population continues to grow at a rate which is probably not less than 250,000 a year—so that, allowing for a million deaths from the civil war, there are at least 2,000,000 and perhaps as many as 3,000,000 more mouths to feed than in 1936—the production of food steadily declines. The wheat crop in the ten years 1926-35 averaged 41,248,000 quintals; in 1948, the last year for which official figures have been published, it was only 24,263,000 quintals, and the years between show a continuous drop. The production of barley has declined from an average of 22,237,000 quintals to 13,332,000, of oats from 6,374,000 to 3,730,000, of rice from 3,000,000 to 2,212,000, of maize from 4,461,000 to 3,879,000, and of potatoes from 44,501,000 to 26,745,000. The only crops which have more or less maintained their pre-civil-war averages are olive oil and lentils; all vegetables other than lentils have fallen sharply.

Allowing for the bigger population, this means that the per capita consumption of Spanish wheat—not to speak of other foods—can be only about half what it was before the civil war. To counter such an appalling situation, which has struck with particular ferocity at the third of the population living in towns, Franco has had to import wheat from every possible source. In 1948 and 1949 the Argentine helped him greatly, but Perón refuses to extend further credit, and Franco has nothing but promises with which to pay. New York banks have made two or three small loans, mostly for the purchase of food, but these have been secured against gold; and Franco's gold reserve, in consequence, is now so small that the Bank of Spain refuses to admit exactly what it is. The fiduciary currency issue, notwithstanding, continues to expand, and twice in the past year the government has had to raise the legal limit—facts which speak volumes for the runaway inflation now raging. Taking imported wheat into the calculation, one may say that the average Spaniard gets about two-thirds as much bread as he did before the civil war. In the current winter the government expects to have to import 350,000 tons of wheat in order to maintain even the tiny official ration—a small roll a day. It is this fact which has made the admission of Spain into such U. N. agencies as the Food and Agriculture Organization of overriding importance to the dictatorship.

THE decline in food production seems to have two principal causes. The first is the almost total neglect of soil conservation and improvement. No more than 1 per cent of the national budget was allocated to agriculture in 1950, a typical year, while 55 per cent went to the armed forces and the security services of the Ministry of the Interior. The government is importing only about one-third as much of the vitally needed nitrogenous fertilizers as the Republic imported. In several long journeys across the central plateau of Castile, where agriculture is extensively practiced in conditions much like those of southern Italy, I saw no modern equipment of any kind. The mule and the donkey are still the principal means of traction; the steel plow is rare.

The second cause of declining food production is even more intimately related to the nature of the regime: growers are subjected to a strait-jacket of controlled prices intended ostensibly to bring cheap wheat to market but resulting in fact in a dwindling acreage under cultivation and an unlimited black market in bread. These controls act as one more instrument for the individual enrichment of members of the bureaucracy: the opportunities afforded for "private deals" in food are apparently unlimited.

The condition of industry is harder to summarize. Broadly, though, it appears to be true that high industrial profits have been dissipated in luxury spending by a relatively insignificant number of people, invested in real estate, or used as working capital to meet sharply rising costs. The steel industry, for instance, is producing at about 70 per cent of capacity, and the capacity is apparently the same as it was in 1929, the peak year. It is typical of the regime that the government has now erected a special state-monopolist organization—the Instituto Nacional de Industria, patterned on Fascist and Nazi models—to compete with the monopoly of private industry. Although existing steel plants are much in need of modernization, the state proposes to build an entirely new plant in the Asturias, spending on capital equipment the foreign exchange that might more sensibly be used to buy coal. Much of the working capital for this new plant is to be provided by para-governmental organizations like the Instituto Nacional de Previsión.

The administrative inefficiency of the regime is clearly demonstrated by conditions in the electric-power industry. The production of electricity has risen from 2,801,000,000 kwh. in 1936 to 5,075,000,000 kwh. in 1949, but in spite of this creditable improvement, industries in Madrid, at the time of writing, have power only nine hours a week, textile mills in Barcelona one day a week. The government blames the drought, but something more is needed to explain why a doubling of output should be accompanied by power cuts without precedent. When one probes the matter, one finds evidence of almost bottomless inefficiency in distribution. More power stations were constructed, for instance, but grid-cables were not renewed; so that losses in transmission are said unofficially to be as high as 25 per cent.

But it is when one looks at the way the great majority of the people live that the proofs of the country's impoverishment become overwhelming. According to offi-

cial indices, the cost of living is about six times as high as it was in 1936; wages are little more than twice as high. In reality the gap must be wider, for food prices are as much as ten times higher. Official indices for real wages may be considered to varnish the truth; yet even they show that the skilled miner is now earning no more than 49 per cent of what he earned before the civil war, the skilled engineer 46 per cent, the textile worker 51 per cent, and the agricultural laborer 56 per cent. And the downward course of these indices since 1936 has been monotonously steady.

NOTHING is simple in Spain, and here again one has to make distinctions. Wages are divided into two parts—the wage itself and official bounties or allowances. If a man is in registered employment, his allowances may double his wage, or even, if he has several children, much more than double it; if he is not registered, he receives only the basic wage. Officially there is no unemployment. Employers hire men without registering them in order to escape the special taxes levied on wages—for the funds of the Instituto Nacional de Previsión and so forth. The worker is not registered as employed, but he is also not registered as unemployed; and so the unemployment figures remain as low as delighted visiting Senators have found and reported.

I inspected several workers' budgets in Madrid—prices are rather higher but wages the same in Barcelona and Bilbao. (As I said in my first article, the exchange rate should probably not be reckoned at less than 45 or 50 pesetas to the dollar.) A skilled engineer with a wife and two children received 34 pesetas a day (basic wage 22 pesetas); a conductor on the Madrid subway, 32 pesetas a day (basic wage 14-25); an upholsterer was getting just under 31 pesetas. A registered skilled worker with a family may receive between 900 and 1,000 pesetas a month, and a registered unskilled worker with a family between 600 and 700 a month. The rent of one room in a working-class suburb of Madrid costs between 150 and 200 pesetas, but many families, of course, can afford only one corner of a room. One kilogram of bread on the black market—the official ration is negligible—costs 12 pesetas; one a day amounts to 372 pesetas a month. One liter of oil a week costs 88 pesetas a month. Since a man with a family obviously cannot live on his wages, or even on his and his wife's, everyone tries to find another job, or a little racket in buying and selling, or access to some kind of graft. In consequence a worker often puts in twelve hours a day for six or seven days a week; and he does his job, as one may imagine, with extreme inefficiency and wastefulness, and with despair and hatred in his heart.

In these circumstances financial aid from abroad can achieve only one object. It can increase the well-being of the state machine—the bureaucracy and all the hangers-on of the dictator—and swell the profits of a few extremely reactionary capitalists; it cannot arrest the process of impoverishment. Direct deliveries of food might to some extent alleviate the sufferings of the people of the towns, but not with any certainty. Some months ago the United States embassy in Madrid, aroused by the criminally anti-social attitude of the ruling oligarchy, announced that the Spanish government had purchased 42,500 tons of surplus American potatoes at the price of one cent for a 100-pound bag and was selling these potatoes to the Madrid black market—not the consumer—charging for two pounds as much as it had paid the United States for one ton. This announcement, needless to say, was not allowed to appear in the Spanish press.

The Spanish people, now nearer to mass starvation than ever before in their history, deserve whatever help can be sent to them. But any aid given a regime which does not scruple to speculate in starvation will go almost entirely into the wrong pockets and the wrong mouths. Only the abolition of the monstrous state machine could justify financial aid to Spain. But that would mean the abolition of Franco.

No Comment

AN ADMIRAL who once was ambassador to Russia saw red here to day about Christmas stars atop the civic center. Retired Admiral William H. Standley declared the decorations were similar to the Soviet symbol. Other San Diegans had declared they noted the same similarity. City officials and a Chamber of Commerce decorations committee said the stars were really orange color. Standley said he still saw red when he looked at them and declared: "Something ought to be done about it." He suggested poinsettias to replace them.—An A. P. dispatch in the San Francisco *Chronicle*, December 15.

BISHOP THOMAS K. GORMAN, Bishop of Reno . . . cited difficulties being faced by church-supported schools, saying "we may be closer to state monopoly of all college training than we realize. Lavish, tax-supported education is challenging the very right of free schools to exist" [by] . . . taking funds needed by private institutions.—The San Francisco *News*, December 4.

THE MAGAZINE BUSINESS is primarily one of reselling paper.—From a discussion of paper prices in *Magazine Industry Newsletter*, December 9.

SUICIDAL AS THAT MAY SEEM to Americans, they will not accept less food and fewer houses to provide more arms. The British and French in their present mood are more determined to keep their bare necessities than even Americans are to hold onto their luxuries.—Ludwell Denny in the New York *World Telegram and Sun*, November 29.



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Yesterday and Tomorrow

TWELVE months ago financial commentators were inclined to hedge their bets as they reviewed prospects for 1950. After the mild but definite recession which began in the spring of 1949, the American economy had recovered its equilibrium, and the consensus of opinion was that no serious setback need be anticipated for at least six months. Beyond midsummer, however, the crystal ball seemed cloudy. Many observers were worried by the persistence of unemployment, although it constituted a real problem in only a few areas, and feared that in the spring new entrants into industry would encounter difficulties in finding jobs. A falling off in corporate plans for expansion was also noted: it appeared to indicate that the high level of business investment which had played a major part in the post-war boom would decline rather rapidly in the course of 1950.

While no sharp slump in prices was anticipated, it was generally thought that they would follow a downward trend. The New York *Times*, in its annual Review and Forecast section published on January 3, suggested that farm prices might drop as much as 10 per cent. It also foresaw some decline in industrial profits. However, side by side with such discussions of deflationary prospects were warnings of the inflationary tendencies of federal financial policies. There was much shaking of heads when the President's budget message indicated an excess of expenditure over revenue of more than $5 billion. The continued flow of red ink, we were told, was dissolving the value of the dollar and threatening to wash away the foundations of our economy. Thus students of the financial pages found themselves confronted with an unresolved contradiction. On the one hand, they were urged to watch out for the consequences of overproduction—unemployed man-power, unsold stocks of goods; on the other, they were warned of the danger of overstimulation of purchasing power as a result of deficit financing by the government.

By spring neither of these dangers seemed very imminent. Prices were rather firmer but showed no signs of running away. The decline in business-investment expenditure proved smaller than expected and was being fully compensated for by a credit-fed house-building boom. And while the demand for non-durable consumer goods remained rather slack, that for automobiles and television sets was such as to keep these industries operating at near-capacity. Fears about a shortage of jobs faded when the spring pick-up in employment proved considerably better than originally forecast. The stock market continued to move slowly but steadily upward, with declining earnings in some industries offset by bountiful profits and higher dividends in others.

Thus as mid-summer approached, the American economy was riding on an even keel and the prognosticators were talking of fair weather ahead. But in these days economics is at the mercy of politics, and the whole picture changed when the North Korean Communist government ordered its army to cross the Thirty-eighth Parallel. Not that any slump followed, except temporarily on the stock exchanges. On the contrary, the decision of the Administration to support the South Koreans and to launch an enormously expanded rearmament program gave the signal for the wildest kind of boom. There was a panicky rush to turn money into goods on the part of industrialists, merchants, and housewives. Manufacturers stepped up production hoping to skim as much cream as possible from the civilian market before they were forced to convert to meet military demands. Blueprints for plant expansion which had been laid aside were brushed off. Business borrowing expanded week after week, and consumer credit increased prodigiously until the Federal Reserve Board jammed on the brakes.

Prices generally advanced, and by mid-September the index of retail prices stood 4.2 points higher than a year earlier. The movement of wholesale prices, and particularly those of industrial raw materials, was much more sensational. On October 25 the Federal Reserve Board's Basic Commodity Index (1939=100) stood at 331.5, comparing with 247.7 at the end of 1949, and the prices of individual strategic materials showed much larger percentage increases. It was clear that a billion dollars appropriated in July for arms manufacture was going to buy far fewer planes or tanks or radar instruments than Congress had anticipated. Wages too were on the march. By the end of the year most labor unions had successfully pressed claims for raises which compensated them for increases in the cost of living and in many cases gave them, temporarily at least, additional real purchasing power.

Stock prices have been flying upward, despite occasional sharp drops when they encountered air pockets of bad news, and the last few days of the year witnessed the kind of bull market which has not been seen in two decades. Clearly the stock-traders anticipate more inflation in the coming year, and I am afraid they are right. As appropriations begin to be translated into actual orders there are going to be more shortages of materials and more production bottlenecks, which will have to be met by further cuts in output for civilian use. With full employment and take-home pay enhanced not only by higher wage-rates but by a longer working week, with profits and dividends at an all-time peak, total consumer income seems destined to grow steadily unless Congress adopts a much harsher tax program than it has yet been willing to consider. Thus abundant money is likely to continue to chase scarce goods, with the result that prices will continue to move upward even though mandatory controls replace the present voluntary restraints.

Fortunately production will also expand. Barring actual war, Americans will continue to enjoy a good deal of butter, even if neither quantity nor quality is quite what they have become accustomed to in recent years. According to the *Wall Street Journal* of December 28, the volume of goods and services available for civilians will be little if any smaller than it was in 1949. The severest degree of austerity to be expected here would seem like extravagant luxury to the rest of the world. That is something to remember when we read about the unwillingness of Europeans to make sacrifices for the common cause.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Eternal Girondin

PIERRE VERGNIAUD. By Claude G. Bowers. The Macmillan Company. $6.50.

EVERY schoolboy knows dimly of Mirabeau, Lafayette, Danton, Marat, and Robespierre: they, and Marie-Antoinette, belong to our folklore. Not all teachers of history remember Vergniaud. Even in France, although he had streets and also a battleship named after him, his fame is but vaguely luminous. He played a vanguard part in two decisive events—the declaration of war against Austria and the downfall of the monarchy. But he was above all an orator, "the voice of the Revolution," and his eloquence is too Ciceronian for our taste. A few defiant phrases hurled by Mirabeau and Danton still ring in our ears as though spoken by Churchill yesterday; Vergniaud's labored periods have left no echo.

Vergniaud's supreme achievement was not his life but his death. The First Republic killed without a qualm the noblest philosopher of the time, Condorcet; the greatest scientist, Lavoisier; the only true poet, André Chénier; the most generous statesman, Vergniaud. An ugly record. Vergniaud went down, in true Pascalian fashion, greater than that which was crushing him. He was heroic to the last, with only a dash of the theatricality that belonged to the period. He had little personal hope; nor, it seems, did he greatly care for his own safety. He was anxious to save his friends and vindicate his principles. The last chapter, even without the romantic embellishments uncritically accepted by Lamartine, is a moving story; and Claude Bowers has told it well.

For him, this life of Vergniaud was a labor of love: as a child he had read the impassioned pages of Lamartine's "History of the Girondins," once a classic found in every cultured household. And his interest in the subject would deepen in the present world crisis. The problem of Vergniaud is that of the eternal Girondin—the devoted revolutionist who tries to keep the revolution pure. Lamartine himself, in 1848, was such a Girondin. So, if I trust an impression rather than direct and detailed knowledge, was Alexander Kerensky. The fate of all Girondins is to be crushed between rival fanaticisms; and as a reward for their sacrifice to be derided and spurned as ineffectual idealists by those historians whose "realism" is but a veil for cowardice. Against this judgment I have protested from my high-school days. I was born a Girondin, and *The Nation* is a citadel of unrepentant Girondinism.

So I cannot voice too strongly my sympathy with Claude Bowers's attitude. But as history his work suffers from the fault of most biographies: by overemphasizing one personality, the general picture is thrown out of perspective and focus. It is true that there was no formal Girondin Party; not even a cohesive Girondin group: the Rolands, Condorcet, Barbaroux, Brissot, Guadet, Gensonné, Valazé, Buzot, Boyer-Fonfrède, never followed a single and rigid line. Their relations with Lafayette to the right of them, with Danton to the left of them, were at times disconcerting. Still, they had political and social affinities; most of them were friends; and it is not wholly unfair that Vergniaud, even when personally guiltless, should share their collective responsibility.

From the point of view of the Mountain, the Girondins were guilty on two counts. They became counter-revolutionaries as soon as the Revolution, after destroying the privileges of the class above them, began to threaten their own. Claude Bowers does not blink the fact. They believed that "in the good society the protection of property was inseparably associated with the rights of men." Garat, who at heart was with them, considered "great properties not like sterile lakes . . . but as a necessary reservoir." The rich bourgeoisie had decreed the death penalty against anyone who should propose an "agrarian law," that is, in the language of the time, a socialistic measure. (It is true that Brissot, after the church fathers and Rousseau, but long before Proudhon, had said, "Property is theft.")

The second count against them was "federalism"—the attempt to break the dictatorship of Paris and reassert the rights of provincial France. In that sense, I am a federalist myself, for complex reasons. The French urge that centralization and *Gleichschaltung* would not be good for the German soul. I agree, but I maintain that this great truth remains valid on the left bank of the Rhine. But monolithic unity, "the Republic One and Indivisible," was the first article of the Jacobin creed. It was thought indispensable to the survival of the Revolution, and of France herself. The country was attacked on all frontiers —thanks to the spirited policy of the Girondins; civil war had flared up in Toulon, in Lyons, in the Vendée. The Girondins' appeal to their chief city, Bordeaux, threatened further division for the harassed nation. At Caen the Girondins were openly preparing armed resistance. Vergniaud denied that he was a "federalist." Still, the tendency of the faction with which he was associated was unmistakable. If America were living under the same desperate circumstances, I wager that dissenters of the Girondin type would receive even shorter shrift.

The chief weakness of Claude Bowers's earnest and painstaking book is its ingenuous partisanship. Granted that Vergniaud was as great a genius and as lambent a soul as his hagiographer believes, I cannot admit that Robespierre was the incarnate fiend he describes. I hate Robespierrism: it is a form of *"l'infâme"* that all true Voltaireans have vowed to crush. But Robespierre himself meant well. His life was pure; the salvation of the country was uppermost in his thought. In Thermidor he was overthrown, not by the surge of decent citizens, but by the "rotten" and the profiteers. His Terror was mild compared with the epic massacres of which Chiang Kai-shek boasted for so many years. Paris, says Bowers himself, was tranquil. That calm was not the result of hopeless dread; it came from the assurance that the representatives of the people—*Domini canes*—were on the job, relentlessly thwarting the plots of Pitt, Coburg, and their fifth columnists. On the

last page we see a good provincial bourgeois rushing to Danton with the "good news" that the Girondins had been condemned and executed. In our own days trials which seemed to me the most arrant triumphs of sheer partisanship were hailed with the same unreasoning enthusiasm by gentle-minded and enlightened citizens.

The story is dramatic from the first, and somber at the end. The gloom is partly relieved by a vein of gentle irony. Bowers, half-consciously perhaps, parodies his diplomatic colleague M. de Norpois. The hoariest clichés are deftly woven—this is catching—into the fabric of his narrative. There are "knights in shining armor" who may find themselves "in durance vile," and some have "a blot on their escutcheon." People are "dined and wined, not wisely but all too well." "Coming events" duly "cast their shadow before"; "the female of the Revolution is more deadly than the male." Whilst "flames are fanned" they generate "more heat than light." "Confusion grows worse confounded"; a poor girl has a child "without benefit of clergy," if you understand what I mean. And, believe it or not, "the fly in the ointment" "rears its ugly head." It is very delicately done; so delicately that it may have escaped the author's notice.

ALBERT GUERARD

Reyes of Mexico

THE POSITION OF AMERICA AND OTHER ESSAYS. By Alfonso Reyes. Selected and Translated from the Spanish by Harriet de Onís. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

TO *NATION* readers Alfonso Reyes is only relatively a new name. He appeared in these pages in the spring of 1941 along with other distinguished authors in a survey of Latin American literature.

But to the book-reading public this Mexican sage makes his first appearance in this volume. Shepherded on to the English-speaking stage by Harriet de Onís, introduced to the American reading public by Professor Federico de Onís, he appears in the best tradition of the Spanish-speaking scholar who has for so many years been sure of friends and advisers in the Spanish Department of Columbia University. The publisher has given his book a dress, designed by young Harry Ford, which is not only distinguished and beautiful but also peculiarly fitted to the work of this famous master.

Alfonso Reyes has been an educator, a philosopher, a diplomat serving as Mexico's ambassador in Paris, Buenos Aires, Madrid, and Rio de Janeiro; in short, a man of that deep eighteenth-century cultural tradition which has few representatives left in the United States. Jefferson belonged to it, John Adams understood it, Franklin Roosevelt warmed his age with an echo of its breadth but lacked its depth. The type still exists in Europe and is still an ideal to which Latin America pays respect.

And what has he written—this man for whom the drums thus roll and the red carpet is thus put out? Essays, poems, short stories, criticism. "The most personal and Mexican feature of it is that mingle of wit, elegance, and serene melancholy which underlies the richness of language and the literary evocations," says his sponsor.

Given a man of Reyes's high caliber and abundant activity within a great tradition, the problem becomes one of selection for his first introduction to a foreign public. His translator presents ten essays which give a reasonably good cross-section of Reyes's prose and wisely refrains from trying to put his poetry into English. His famous Vision of Anáhuac is here, and a revealing essay on the native poetry which the Spaniards found in Mexico. He writes about Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, and about Virgil in Mexico. These are literary canapés, so to speak, crisp and sweet and with a surprising tang.

His more solid and provocative thinking appears in the title essay and in one on the American mind which precedes it. It is very salutary for a citizen of the United States to find that "American" here means what goes on south of the Rio Grande, where Anglo-Saxons are a problem, Indians are a burden, and Spain is a shopworn ancestor on the down grade with whom modern descendants do not get along very well.

All these essays are classics in the Reyes portfolio, with a value which is more than transitory. Yet one hopes that some day the Reyes thinking may appear contemporaneously, so that we know what he is thinking while he is thinking it, and do not have to recall the frame of mind which sparked an idea not so sharp when it reaches us as it must have been in its moment. Perhaps Mrs. Onís, having broken through the barrier that divides us from Reyes, may give us a new book of comment while it is still news. Thanks to her we know what Reyes thought about various yesterdays—the next thing we want to know is what he thinks about today.

MILDRED ADAMS

Concerning Scholars

THE SCHOLAR ADVENTURERS. By Richard D. Altick. The Macmillan Company. $5.

WHILE Boswell's new journal climbs up the best-seller list, this book is opportune; it relates the adventures of many scholars who are endowed with ingenuity and perseverance if not with the rare luck to see their discoveries raised to such celestial heights. Mr. Altick's book is a challenge to popular misconceptions about scholars, for it is by a scholar about other scholars and yet enormously human and readable. He can launch a story, keep it afloat, and twist its tail with a neat anecdote when it flags.

After an introductory chapter which refutes the popular stereotype he presents fourteen separate essays on various phases of scholarly adventure, each treated differently to avoid monotony. Confining himself to recent cases, for the most part, he tells first about the Boswell papers—"The Secret of the Ebony Cabinet"—where literary sleuthing discovered the magnificent "London Journal." In other chapters his scholars adventure into dense archives to dig out forgotten documents that reconstruct the life of Sir Thomas Malory and the death of Christopher Marlowe. Or scholars dig their material out of reluctant families (Thackeray's and Emily Dickinson's). The literary sleuth may find himself on the trail of bibliophiles and scholars who have forged for motives of profit or pride. The most exciting case is that of the eminently respectable Thomas J. Wise, whose story has been fully told elsewhere in a book entitled "Forging Ahead." The hoaxes that he perpetrated are innocent—he pre-published authentic works—compared to the diabolical ones of John Payne Collier, who inter-

polated his forgeries on Elizabethan documents, so that now even his honest scholarship, which is often brilliant, is under suspicion.

In several other essays Altick goes into the obstacles that scholar adventurers face, including destruction, ignorance, prudery; and some of their weapons—science and cryptology. (He happily omits the Baconian controversy, a form of pseudo-scholarship.) And he concludes with the narratives of two scholars whose adventures carried them far beyond archives and microfilms; one on Byron's trail through Italy, Turkey, and Greece, the other on Conrad's through Borneo. He thus crisscrosses the entire field of modern scholarship, pointing up its relevance to many writers, including Shelley, Wordsworth, Walpole, Pepys, Shakespeare, Burns, Hawthorne. Although he sensibly mentions that research may be a *mis*adventure, he naturally enough plays up its glamour and romance; and its fascination for the scholar is transmitted to the reader.

His book, then, as popular reading is first-rate—solid, rewarding, and lively. But eventually it raises a question, dealt with briefly, which is being debated on college campuses and even in the precincts of the Modern Language Association. Of what use to literature are these historical, biographical, bibliographical discoveries? Is "Childe Harold" a better poem because we know the nature of Byron's deformity? Is our understanding of "Doctor Faustus" deepened by knowledge of the brawl that ended its author's life? The answer, instead of being strangled by an *either-or* choice, should be a *both-and* synthesis. That is, the historical approach to a piece of literature gives it illumination from the outside, while the aesthetic-critical gives it inner luminosity. The contribution of all these scholars adds—in the terminology of Wellek and Warren—valuable "extrinsic" knowledge, and so justifies its usefulness to literature.

A footnote on publishing decorum. Macmillan omits mention in the book, book jacket, or publicity release of Altick's biography of the Cowden Clarkes, published last year, a delightful and substantial volume about those Victorian bardolators. Could the reason be that another publisher (Oxford University Press) issued it? ROBERT HALSBAND

Sense on Aesthetics

PHILOSOPHY OF THE ARTS. By Morris Weitz. Harvard University Press. $4.

PROFESSOR WEITZ has written a compact and sensible discussion of some important problems in aesthetics. Taking as his point of departure the work of Clive Bell and Roger Fry, he sums up the doctrine of "significant form" and the chief criticisms that have been leveled against it. The issue between formalism and its critics he would resolve by redefining *form* and *content* to fit his "organic" theory of art. The best chapter is the final one on appreciation. Here the author criticizes briefly the assumptions of Freud, the somewhat outmoded doctrines of Tolstoy, and certain more recent theories, including modern forms of the "play" or "make-believe" theory. He closes with some quite sensible observations of his own.

The philosophical world will not be much shaken by this book, which wears a faint aura of the academic lecture room. On the other hand, the author is pleasantly free of both arrogance and heat; he falls into no absurdities, and he makes no grandiose claims. Lytton Strachey suggested that the best test of a man's intelligence may be his capacity for making a summary; by this test Professor Weitz excels some more pretentious writers.

It is a pity that in one fully elaborated critique of an individual work of art the author is not at his best. His interpretation of Eliot's "Prufrock" is unlikely to be widely accepted by thoughtful readers of poetry. ELISABETH SCHNEIDER

The Art of Courbet

GUSTAVE COURBET. By Marcel Zahar. Harper and Brothers. $3.

THE text of this most recent addition to Harper's Art Library combines a lively account of Courbet's eventual career with a critical appraisal of his work. The latter includes a rather labored discussion of the idea of realism as contrasted with romanticism (Delacroix) and the classical point of view (Ingres—though concerning Ingres I keep remembering Mather's remark that his mind was a busy harem).

Zahar's unlimited praise of Courbet is a little naive. The key to Courbet, it seems to me, lies in the conflict between his plastic power, which metamorphoses his crass sensuality into art, and his literal-mindedness. Many of his forceful images are marred by the inclusion of sheer inventories of fact. How magnificent is the central trio of The Village Girls (Metropolitan, New York)—like three Gothic portal statues—and how utterly boring the surrounding yardage of canvas! Among painters seemingly devoid of imagination Courbet is certainly the greatest. How he could achieve such grandeur under such a handicap is a paradox that must be resolved if his creative power is to be properly evaluated. It is simply not true that his art is visionary or that his emotional intensity borders on mysticism, as Zahar would have us believe.

Courbet's dark and massive pictures are difficult enough to reproduce, but even under these circumstances the eight color plates can hardly be considered adequate, particularly in areas where an impasto of rich green dominates. It was this green which shocked so many of Courbet's contemporaries. Today it is

Psychoanalysis
FOR TEACHERS AND PARENTS
by Anna Freud

"The clearest setting forth of the fundamental principles of psychoanalysis that the reviewer has seen. An admirable presentation of the subject."
—*Psychoanalytic Review.*

"This excellent book demonstrates clearly the fundamental simplicity of basic psychoanalytic ideas and, at the same time, the great extent to which the deep fulfillment of child education depends on factors of resistance and repression in adult minds."
—*Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease.*

"Comprises a simple and practical exposition of the outline of psychological development in children."
—*British Medical Journal.*

"These concise and lucid lectures may well serve as an introduction to Freudian psychology for the interested student and practitioner of medicine."
—*Bulletin of the Johns Hopkins Hospital.*

"Useful to teachers and parents who would like to acquire a deeper understanding of the fundamental instincts which govern the behavior of the young. . . . Principles and teachings of Freud are clearly defined and supported by numerous case histories."
—*Medical Times.*

$1.75 postfree
5-Day Money-Back Guarantee
ORDER NOW from your bookseller, or from
Emerson Books, Inc.
Dept. 752-F, 251 W. 19th St., New York 11

still a living language in the painting of Dunoyer de Segonzac—a connection Zahar might well have mentioned.

The selection of works for reproduction is admirable. I miss only one of the late "empty" marines, those sky and water paintings which link Courbet with the impressionists. One of the best of these is Calm Sea, in the Metropolitan. Next to such a picture, as Venturi has remarked, The Wave and the other more famous and dramatic marine paintings are "mere side-shows."

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

IT IS good to see a production of "King Lear" even when it falls short of one's idea of what it should and could be, for only when the play is articulated in sound and motion are its wonders made fully manifest. The production at the National Theater, directed by John Houseman, falls short in many ways, some of them crucial, but it has solid virtues as well—and some of its defects could easily be eliminated.

For one thing the pace is right. The performance moves swiftly, and several intelligent devices contribute to this end. The play itself has been stripped down, in purely mechanical ways, the better to go forward. It is divided into three acts, with two rather short intermissions, and the localization of places and times is unstressed. During the first two acts the setting is altered only enough, by means of a platform lowered or raised, to indicate changes of scene. The rest is done by lighting which is imaginative and dramatic as well as ingenious and hard-working—the lighting, devised by Ralph Alswang, does more scene-shifting than the stage hands.

All this makes for intensity, continuity, illusion, and speed. The principal trouble is that the play is pitched and kept at one level of intensity—I might say noise. As a result the crescendo and climax of the storm and Lear's madness are belittled by what has gone before, and, more serious, there is very little modulation afterward. Even the very last scene, which should surely be played with utmost quietness, is feverish with sound and movement. Lear declaims the five "Nevers" and lunges about the stage as he declaims them. The power of this last scene is also impaired by the third-act décor. The setting for the first two acts is sufficiently grand and simple. It is also vague, shadowed, legendary, looming. The setting for the third is garish, fussy, literal, and flooded with broad daylight. To me it seemed designed for an arbitrary happy ending, not for the relentless, purging resolution which is the final wonder of "King Lear."

The acting, from that of Louis Calhern down, is more earnest than distinguished, more strenuous than sure. The best performance is that of Jo Van Fleet as Regan. She gives a very convincing portrayal, not only of Lear's daughter but of a younger sister, less vicious than her elder but driven to even worse behavior by the compulsion to emulate and placate a superior force. By contrast with this Regan in the round, most of the other characters seem flat and two-dimensional, moved from without, not from within.

But the most grievous defect—and it is pretty grievous—is the breaking-up of the cadence of the lines. "The to-and-fro-conflicting wind and rain," for instance, is broken after "fro," and the word "conflicting" is made to sound like the beginning of a new phrase. This breaking-up occurs so frequently as to seem deliberate. If so it is very ill-advised, for much of the meaning of "Lear" is in its reverberating cumulative music.

The production has one important negative virtue. There is no attempt to exploit any one of its infinite varieties of significance "for our age." And this virtue is its own reward. I for one, having gone to see a "revival" of Shakespeare, found yesterday's legend sounding and pointing up today's reality at every turn. Nothing, after all, is so timely as the timeless.

Arthur Miller's adaptation of Ibsen's "An Enemy of the People" (Broadhurst Theater) is a painful example of what can happen when such exploitation goes wrong. The weaknesses of the original—and they are considerable—are played up, not down, in this confused version, and the acting seems designed to emphasize them even more. Thus the hero of the play, Dr. Stockman, as adapted by Mr. Miller and as acted by Fredric March, appears not as the pure, naive scientist, fanatic for truth, but as something of a fool with a desire for power; while his brother, the villain of the piece, thanks mainly to the superior acting of Morris Carnovsky, is far more sympathetic! In the adaptation as in the original, the first act is the weakest; the second and third are better because the central situation, which is basically dramatic, takes over.

"Captain Brassbound's Conversion" (City Center) I found delightful. Edna Best, to be sure, is far and away the most accomplished performer in the cast, and she is superb as Lady Cicely. But since the play itself is a study of the consternation, awkwardness, and discomfiture of a strange assortment of males in their attempts to cope with a charming woman who knows exactly what she is doing, the inferior skill of the other members of the cast makes less difference than it otherwise might. As for the play, it is Shaw on a spree—and that requires no justification either in dramaturgy or logic; though Lady Cicely's argument for the defense in the trial scene is a wonderful example of the logic—or should one say the logistics—of wit.

There was great acclaim for another revival, "Twentieth Century," by Ben Hecht and Charles MacArthur (ANTA Theater). I thought its Hechtic horse play got very tiresome after the first forty-five minutes and came to seem as dated as yesterday's newspaper. Gloria Swanson wears her clothes beautifully, but the stage is not her natural habitat. As for José Ferrer, whom I once admired, he would seem to have responded to success by becoming obsessed with his own importance. His acting here is mainly exhibitionism.

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR
Just Arrived! MAXIM GORKY
"MOTHER"—Illustrated
In English — 717 pp. — $1.50
Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
1951 Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals
Ask for Complete Catalogue P-50
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

SELECTED WRITINGS / OF MRS. APHRA BEHN Four novels, one full-length comedy, and a selection of verse and translations by the most vigorous lady in English letters. — 'As anyone can see if he will only read what this little volume contains, she had a talent that amounted almost to genius. She is still astonishingly readable in an easy sense that many of her more famous contemporaries are not.' — Joseph Wood Krutch.
Paper-bound at $1.50 from any bookseller, or direct from THE GROVE PRESS, WOODSTOCK, NEW YORK.

Art

MANNY FARBER

NEW YORK'S leadership in avant-garde painting is strongly contested by a young San Francisco clique whose somber, still nature abstractions are totally free of European influences. Of their names—Smith, Corbett, Bischoff, Still, Diebenkorn, Roeber—only Still's is recognized even around the Bay area. Their yawning canvases suggest a number of geographical references. The flat, wild, wide-open Western terrain seems to be portrayed in these fleeting landscapes of unfenced vastness, a few sentinel shapes, and worn edges. San Francisco's position as jumping-off point to the Orient is suggested by effects reminiscent of Chinese painting—particularly by the washy, atmospheric color. The city's coastal position is suggested in form that is vague and obscure everywhere except along the canvas edge.

These painters, however, are neither regionalists nor realists. They are, on the contrary, true non-objectivists—arch-rebels against the self-confident act always present in European painting, wherein the artist experiences, arranges, and appropriates his subject matter, turning it into an object which is subordinated to the artist's taste, technique, and dexterity. The Bay painters try for a relationship between artist and subject that sustains the existence of subject. They present the instantaneous wholeness of matter, freed of identifying facts that the painter has seen or learned.

Clifford Still is the leader of this group. He is an unfeeling painter, but his huge shadowy canvases point the way out of the "objectifying" act through a use of depersonalizing tricks. Still uses a picture-enveloping tone of impenetrable black or umber in an almost burlesque attempt to avoid "touching" his subject. His rough surface—resembling an infinity of tufted ant hills—is woven without intention, choking the canvas with inert paint. The abrasive darkness thrusts up occasional fire-like shapes (acid yellow, phlegm white) methodically confused in contour and juxtaposed to keep the eye from centering anywhere.

Ed Corbett, who stands out in this easily satisfied coterie, uses the impersonalist theory to make poetic pictures of emptiness; the paintings of this lonely Arizonan catch the bitter gloom of current times. His technique starts with a starved palette (gray, black, red house paint) which is further simplified into a one-color canvas, enriched by a treacherous texture of varying paint qualities and finishes (enamel, flat, waxy). Corbett not only robs his color of its voice but by glazing and powerful brushing tries to efface rather than build form. This creates a gray, vacant work that bides its time while a tortuous underground life throbs beneath the crust-like surface, occasionally breaking through in a rage of etched lines or splattered cobwebs. The burying, cloaking method permits Corbett to express aspects of life—emptiness, stillness, waiting—never before painted directly. His pursuit of a timeless, spaceless design rejects the flamboyant plasticity of the School of Paris.

The work of these non-objectivists stood out at the recent San Francisco Art Festival, a free-for-all exhibit in which the city fathers did the hanging and reluctantly gave $5,000 in prizes, mostly for abstractions they couldn't understand. ("I wish I could get them to stop painting like that.") Though jumbled together in a leaky hangar-like structure, the 2,000 entries proved that American artists feast more on technique than on whatever it is that makes great painting. The scramble for mechanical thrills produced among other things a grisly relief of nylon stockings saturated with paint and plastered together to produce a close-up of a neck-and-neck finish at Pimlico; a sculptured network of crocheted wire which created organic shapes within shapes, with an occasional bead or button caught up in a stitch; a mysterious abstraction, so long—two by ninety feet—that not even the artist had ever seen it in its entirety. This same artist, John Howard, won first prize ($500) for a small, realistic, super-detailed tempera of a mountain landscape pinpointed with Indians, which may possibly have been painted under a microscope.

Judging from this exhibit the San Francisco artist would seem to be a stylish technician, working in a climate free of serious criticism; a contented family man (unlike the Greenwich Villager) at his best with craft items like driftwood pendants, mosaic end tables. and suspension earrings in which little splinters float.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

HAYDN'S Symphony No. 92 ("Oxford"), one of the finest of the last series, gets a straightforward reading of the score from Koussevitzky with beautiful-sounding playing by the Boston Symphony. Bass must be reduced. On the reverse side of the RCA Victor LP is their similar performance of Mozart's "Eine kleine Nachtmusik"—the finale played too fast for clarity.

Two early Haydn symphonies, Nos. 26 and 36, played by the Vienna Chamber Orchestra under Anton Heiller on a Haydn Society record (1019), I find unimpressive. The twelve German Dances and Minuets played by members of the Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Hans Gillesberger (1022) were written by Haydn to be danced to in the Redoutensaal, and get to be tiresome when merely listened to. The four Notturni played by the Vienna Chamber Orchestra under Franz Litschauer

25% Less than List on LP Records

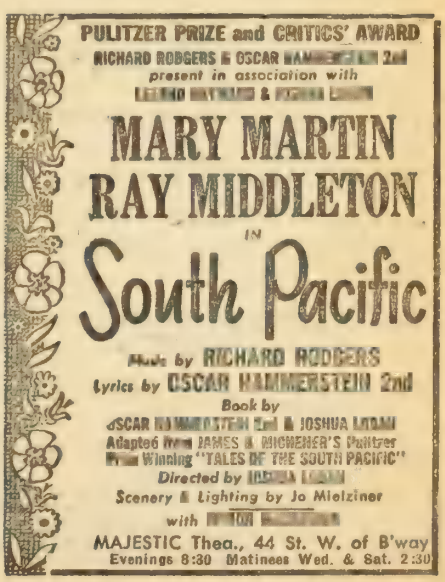
Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:

DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB

DEPT. N-14

Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.

Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges (50¢ minimum). SAME-DAY SHIPMENT.



ALL LANGUAGES BY RECORDS

LEARN easily, inexpensively at home. ALL MAKES. Sold, bought, rented. ALIN, 475 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C. MU 3-1093.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, $5.00.

PERSONALS

FIELD REPRESENTATIVE, hard significant work. Prefer college graduate, veteran, 25-40 years, speaking record, organizational experience, convinced Federalist. After paid training period your job will consist of working under Field Director with 35 N. Y. C. Chapters helping them institute and strengthen education, political action, finance, organization liaison and personnel committees; teaching them to institute and coordinate world government, leadership training, and speakers courses. Salary $40 weekly. Submit letter giving complete outline of vital statistics, education, and experience. N. Y. Branch, United World Federalists, 129 West 52nd Street, N. Y. C.

COLUMBIA, M.A. Will accept free-lance assignments. Writing, Editing, Research, Proof-Reading, Publicity. Experienced. Phone: OR 3-6126.

UNIVERSITY graduate, writer, knowledge Scandinavian languages, French, German, excellent typist, wishes home or part-time work. Research, proof-reading, mss. typing, editing or related fields. OR 5-5136 or Box 206, c/o The Nation.

Buy Your Books through *The Nation*



Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price postfree if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

THE NATION

19 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

(1023) are pleasant music of no great consequence.

One of these Notturni, under the title Partita in F, is played with enlivening style and phrasing by a group of N. B. C. Symphony musicians under Edvard Fendler (EMS-3). And on the reverse side are two of the many Haydn piano sonatas that are unknown to the musical public though they provide exciting examples of the Haydn process of "dramatic surprise at the moment" (I am quoting Tovey) in which "nothing is difficult to follow, but almost everything is unexpected." No. 43 is one of the most highly developed and finest of the series, No. 51 a delightful smaller-scale example; and they are played effectively —i.e. with evident awareness of what Haydn is up to—by Charles Rosen. The sound of the first movement of No. 43 has a few buzzes, the Partita side some noisy surface defects.

Mozart's Serenade K.388 for 8 winds is played by members of the Bavarian Radio Orchestra under Rosbaud on a Mercury record (MG-10039). The writing for winds is of course a delight to the ear; but I find the work more effective in the version for string quintet K.406, which also is more sensitively played by the Budapest Quartet and Katims. Inappropriately coupled with the Mozart piece is Brahms's Serenade No. 2, which is beautifully played by the same orchestra and conductor. Bass must be reduced; surfaces are noisy.

After Kleiber's monkey-business in Tchaikovsky's Fourth I was agreeably surprised by the steadiness of his performance of the first movement of Beethoven's "Eroica" with the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra, and noted how much better it was reproduced by the London record (LLP-239) than Toscanini's by the Victor. But after a while I began to be aware of its lack of the sharpened clarity of outline and texture, the inner cohesive tensions and continuity of impetus that make the Toscanini performance unique and preferable even though imperfectly recorded; and the quavering Concertgebouw oboe is not negligible. Kleiber's similar performance of Beethoven's Seventh with the same orchestra (LLP-240) begins too fast for *poco sostenuto* and ends a little too slowly for *Allegro con brio*; the bass is heavy and rumbling in the last two movements; and the surfaces of both records crackle.

Monteux's performance of the first movement of Beethoven's Eighth with the San Francisco Symphony is good; but the third movement lacks grace, and the effect of the recurrent jolt on C sharp in the finale is spoiled, for me, by the little pause that Monteux makes before it. The sound from the Victor LP record is a little tight; bass must be reduced.

Schubert's inconsequential Symphony No. 2 gets a lively performance by Münch and the Boston Symphony; and the sound from the Victor LP record is more spacious.

The performance of Brahms's First by Stokowski and the Hollywood Bowl Symphony issued on another Victor LP I take to be a dubbing of the one issued on vinylite a few years ago. It is a performance which exaggerates what is excessive in the work to start with; and its LP sound needs stepping up of bass and has high-frequency distortion even with treble reduced.

Rehearing Strauss's "Also sprach Zarathustra" I have found it to be even more unsuccessful in its pretensions and its musical invention than I did the last time. The occasion for listening is a superbly reproduced performance by Krauss and the Vienna Philharmonic on a London record (LLP-232).

Nor do further hearings make me care more for Hindemith's "Mathis der Maler"—not even the rehearing of so magnificent a performance as Cantelli's with the N. B. C. Symphony, excellently reproduced on a Victor LP. On the other side is a dubbing of the earlier beautiful performance of Haydn's Symphony No. 93, the sound less spacious and resonant than in the 78 rpm version, with bass that needs to be reduced.

Parts of Hindemith's "The Four Temperaments"—the third section of the theme, and certain sections of the variations, especially the Phlegmatic—I find engaging; they are in a lush, sensuous, and conventional idiom strangely different from the more normal sour, acrid idiom of the other parts which I do not care for (except as sound track for Balanchine's wonderful choreography). A good performance by the Zimbler String Sinfonietta with Lukas Foss as solo pianist is on a Decca record (DL-7501) which reproduces the piano poorly at times and has noisy surface defects at the beginning and end.

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JANUARY 13, 1951 NUMBER 2

The Shape of Things

IF THERE IS ANY HONESTY LEFT IN THE Republican leadership in Congress, it will move the impeachment of the President of the United States. Within a week Representative Coudert in the lower house and Senator Taft in the upper chamber have accused the President of the grossest misuse of his office. To quote Taft, Mr. Truman "simply usurped authority—in violation of the laws and the Constitution—when he sent troops to Korea to carry out the resolution of the United Nations, in an undeclared war." Coudert has introduced a resolution to prohibit the President from sending any more troops abroad without the specific consent of Congress, and he too charged the Chief Executive with a usurpation of power. To bring a grave indictment of this sort in a period of national emergency is extremely drastic in any case; to do so without intending to take appropriate action is the depth of recklessness and should stamp Taft as a man without scruple. Even now, in the light of his past remarks, the speech reflects an alarming lack of integrity. It is true that the Senator questioned the constitutionality of the dispatch of troops to Korea last June, but why doesn't he now recall what else he said on that occasion? We quote: "Since I approve of the changes now made in our foreign policy, I approve of the general policies outlined in the President's statement." Indeed, the Senator went so far as to press for the dismissal of Acheson precisely because he had *not* previously indicated a willingness to defend Korea and had been "reversed by his superiors." We intend, in subsequent issues, to examine the legal aspects of the Republican argument, but for the moment we merely remind the G. O. P. leaders of the statement of their own Harold Stassen that "Mr. Truman's action is in accordance with the United Nations Charter," which Stassen helped to frame and which the Senate of the United States, Taft included, enacted into the law of the land.

*

THE ALTERNATIVE POLICIES URGED BY MR. Taft are a litter of curiously mixed ancestry. They owe something to Mr. Hoover, although the Senator did not go all the way with the ex-President in "retreatism" but recognized that the Atlantic Pact commits us to sending arms to our allies and declaring war if they are attacked by Russia. Taft found no "conclusive evidence that [the Russians] expect to start a war with the United States" or to attack Western Europe directly. If, however, they were bent on aggression, he agreed with Walter Lippmann that they would move before the proposed European army under American leadership had become an effective force: in fact, he implied that the very organization of such an army was dangerously provocative. On the other hand, following Senator Knowland and the China lobby, Taft said that we "might as well have a declared war" in China and advocated assistance to Chiang Kai-shek short of the provision of troops to operate on the Chinese mainland. In general, the Senator agreed that "America must be the leader in the battle to prevent the spread of communism" but asserted that "our first consideration must be the defense of America" and that to this end we should rely mainly on sea-air power and not attempt to build up a great land army. Any operations we undertook abroad should therefore be limited to the defense of useful bases for our naval and air forces, and we should make no commitment to defend continental Europe except by threatening to bomb Russia and any industries in countries overrun by Russia. It is questionable whether this strategy, which implies the expendability of Europe, is compatible with "world leadership." For our part, we find "General" Taft irresistibly reminiscent of the Duke of Plaza-Toro, who "when there was any fighting . . . led his soldiers from behind; he found it less exciting."

*

DICTATOR FRANCO, BOLSTERED BY THE diplomatic and financial support received from this country, is now trying hard to push his way into the Atlantic coalition. In this effort he seems able to count on the help of influential Americans. United States military authorities, according to Sam Pope Brewer, New York *Times* correspondent in Madrid, are reported to have been making "cautious soundings" to find out whether Spain would furnish an army corps of 60,000 men for Western Europe's cooperative defense system if the United States agreed to supply the arms. In his excellent series on Spain, concluded in this issue, Basil

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 21
The Slim Chance 24

ARTICLES

A Program of Folly *by Willard Shelton* 24
The U. N.'s Grim Choice *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 26
Taxes Versus Controls *by Charles E. Noyes* 28
The Legal Defense of Hated Men *by G. Louis Joughin* 30
Everybody's Business: Britain's Shaky Comeback *by Keith Hutchison* 33
Bargain Basement Point Four *by Fritz Sternberg* 35
What Price Franco? III. Political Balance-Sheet *by Basil Davidson* 37

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Essays and Asides. A New Five-Foot Shelf *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 39
Duel for the World *by Felix Grendon* 39
Climbing Above the Cave. *A Poem by Vernon Watkins* 40
Heresies and Hunts *by Alan Barth* 41
The Road to Freedom *by Carey McWilliams* 42
Books in Brief 43
Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 44
Films *by Manny Farber* 45
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 46

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 47

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 395 *by Frank W. Lewis* 48

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Executive Editor: Harold C. Field

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo

Literary Editor Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Washington Editor: Willard Shelton

Contributing Editor: Robert Bendiner

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Davidson has demonstrated that it would take several years and mountainous expenditure to make Franco's army strong and efficient in the purely technical sense, leaving aside all questions of morale and loyalty. From a political point of view, as Mr. Davidson has observed, "to fight for Spain today is to fight for Franco; and Franco's regime has certainly failed to capture the loyalty of more than a small minority of the Spanish people." We have received many reports from inside Spain telling of the outbursts of anti-American feeling stirred up by the latest pro-Franco moves of our government. That feeling would become more intense should we enter into an outright Spanish alliance, but fantastic though it may sound, there is talk, according to Mr. Brewer, that the United States might "be willing to make a separate alliance with Spain outside the Atlantic Pact" if the other Atlantic nations object to Spain's inclusion in the coalition.

*

IBN SAUD, THE AGED ABSOLUTE MONARCH of Saudi Arabia, has a veritable Aladdin's lamp in Aramco, the American corporation which has so successfully developed the petroleum deposits of his desert kingdom. For the past ten years he has been enjoying a rapidly mounting income from the 34 cents royalty which he collects on every barrel of oil produced. However, noting the vast profits earned by the company, which is owned by Standard Oil of California, the Texas Corporation, Standard Oil of New Jersey, and Socony-Vacuum, he decided his cut should be bigger and rubbed the lamp again. Quoting the precedent of a Venezuelan agreement with a Standard Oil of New Jersey subsidiary, he told Aramco that it must pay a 50 per cent income tax. The company protested, claiming that its concession, effective until 1993, exempted it from all taxes, but after negotiations agreed to pay up to 50 per cent of its net earnings in income tax and to continue its royalty payment, obtaining in return more favorable exchange arrangements. Under the new agreement which is retroactive to January 1, 1950, Ibn Saud will receive $90,000,000 to $94,000,000 for last year—a 50 per cent increase—and in 1951 his take is expected to be well in excess of $100,000,000. Nevertheless, costs in the Saudi Arabian oilfields are so low that Aramco will continue to secure a very handsome return on its investment. We shed no tears for its shareholders, but we are concerned about the flow of such immense sums to the lord of a primitive kingdom who is a law unto himself. Properly invested, this money might do wonders in improving the health of the disease-ridden Arabs and in raising their social, education, and economic standards, and perhaps some of it will be employed for such purposes. But there is reason to fear that the bulk of it will be used to strengthen the Saudi Arabian army, a step which might well add to the unrest of the Middle East.

THE FIRST RUMBLINGS OF TROUBLE HAVE been noted in the Chinatowns of the West Coast. From San Francisco, with a Chinese population of 20,000, have come reports of vicious "anti-Chinese" remarks overheard in shops and restaurants. In Los Angeles, Chinese merchants say that orders began to be canceled when the Chinese Reds marched into North Korea. Restaurant and cafe owners who have summoned the police to oust noisy patrons find themselves faced with the ingenious defense that the drunks were merely "beating up these Chinese Commies." It would be a grave mistake for Chinese Americans to dismiss the current incidents as insignificant or to rely upon the assurances of the California Defense and Security Corps that they need not fear anti-Chinese feeling. Japanese Americans, after being given similar assurances by responsible California officials in 1942, found themselves in relocation centers. Nor should Chinese Americans put their trust in political orthodoxy. Some of their leaders, as a measure of security, are saying that all West Coast Chinese are ardent supporters of Chiang Kai-shek, but the fact is that most California Chinese are sympathetic to the new regime in China, as they have every right to be. This does not mean, of course, that they condone Chinese aggression in Korea; much less does it imply—and this is the real point—subversive intentions. The problem of the Chinese Americans is simply a special version of a larger problem now faced by many Americans: are they to be castigated as "disloyal" simply because they may object to certain phases of American foreign policy in the Far East?

*

LARGE-SCALE EMPLOYERS OF FARM LABOR have never been noted for their esprit de corps—witness the mean trick played by the Hawaiian planters on their West Coast colleagues, who for some months have been seeking to recruit 10,000 workers in the islands for employment in California. To nip this movement in the bud, the Hawaiian Pineapple Company has just brought a delegation of island workers to California so that they may see, after a tour of California farms, that they are "better off in the islands." Just to rub it in, the island delegates have been encouraged to speak loftily of the superiority of working conditions in Hawaii—vacations with pay, sick leave with pay, group insurance, group retirement plans, dispensary services, dances, parties, and sports programs. Enjoying none of these advantages, California farm workers will doubtless be interested to learn that services of this type can be provided in an offshore possession despite its greater distance from primary markets and its higher production costs. What the Hawaiian delegates were not encouraged to talk about was the fact that sugar and pineapple workers are organized in Hawaii, thanks largely to the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

WHILE IT IS OBVIOUS THAT SOME KIND OF supervision must be maintained over the conduct of businesses connected with the public interest, Edward T. McCaffrey, License Commissioner of New York City, recently decided that his duties extended beyond those usually associated with his office and included the right to censor motion pictures which to him seem "blasphemous." In threatening revocation of the license of the theater showing Roberto Rossellini's short feature "The Miracle," the Commissioner declared in effect that the people of the city might see only those productions that accorded with his personal taste. The picture had been passed by the customs authorities and the New York State Department of Education. It received a mixed reaction from New York film critics but was good enough to be selected as one of the best films of the year. Clearly there was disagreement between the Commissioner and those who seem somewhat better qualified to judge on its merits, but he is entitled to his personal opinion. Fortunately, the courts have now decided that he may not inflict his opinions on the city, and we hope the administrative bodies involved will show the same kind of courage in dealing with the threat implied in Cardinal Spellman's call to all Catholics to boycott any theater showing the film.

*

HARDLY NOTICED IN THE MOUNTING FLOOD of loyalty-oath hysteria was the action of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, which voted several weeks ago to oppose loyalty oaths for New York state attorneys. Against the protests of some of its members, who maintained that lawyers could not duck responsibility by arguing that the bar could police itself, the association sharply rejected the proposed purity test. With good sense and calm judgment its Committee on Law Reform said that the oath requirement was unnecessary because adequate safeguards against disloyalty now exist and because such an oath might restrict the freedom



[For answer see page 25]

of the bar in representing unpopular causes. In this season of craven acceptance of the gospel according to Joe McCarthy, the lawyers of New York have lived up to the best traditions of their profession.

The Slim Chance

NEGOTIATIONS on the projected Big Four talks illustrate perfectly the spirit of negativism in which world diplomacy is now conducted. Plainly alarmed at the possibility of a rearmed Western Germany, the Russians as long ago as November 3 proposed a meeting of the foreign ministers of Britain, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union to discuss that particular question. Seven weeks later the Western powers replied with a counter-proposal that the conference be broadened to include all matters now in controversy. Neither offer, it seems to us, can be regarded as quite realistic: on the one hand, the question of German militarization, far from lending itself to isolated treatment, goes to the heart of the cold war, while, on the other hand, Russia would scarcely consent to a discussion of the Far East without the participation of Peking.

The Soviet reply, on January 1, was cagy in the extreme and phrased with the truculence that has become almost a matter of protocol in East-West diplomacy. Nevertheless, it opened the door just a trifle wider, offering to discuss "other questions also, pertaining to Germany." The important thing is not the degree to which this is an improvement on the original proposal but the direction in which it moves. And here, we believe Secretary of State Acheson has sounded too dismal, and certainly too negative, a note. The reply, he said, was unsatisfactory; the talks must embrace all the "causes of recent international tension throughout the world."

We fully appreciate Mr. Acheson's position, which is that of a man driven and hounded by conscienceless politicians whose conduct is little short of national sabotage. But whether his reaction was a futile attempt to appease his Congressional foes or the product of an understandable suspicion of the Russian move, it seems to us a great deal less than what the situation demands.

The argument against a Big Four meeting of the scope suggested by the Russians is twofold. Doomed to fail, the conference would be made to serve the purposes of Soviet propaganda; and, second, its purpose is only to delay the achievement of Western European unity. But obviously our refusal even to meet with the Russians will do more to lower our prestige in a world that is frantically seeking a ray of hope than any diatribe the Soviet Foreign Minister might deliver over a conference table. As for the second line of argument—and there is no doubt the Russians do want desperately to head off a remilitarized Germany—that very objective can and should be turned to good account.

The tone of the Russian warning on this score—that the Soviet Union "will not tolerate" the rearming of Western Germany—is a measure of the alarm in the Kremlin over such a prospect. So is the bare fact that on no other subject has Stalin taken the initiative in calling for Big Four discussion. He can achieve his purpose on this point either by threat or by negotiation. The threat has already been made, without effect, and if it were to be repeated, he would not need a conference for the purpose. But negotiation, the only alternative short of war, implies a quid pro quo, and in this possibility appears the chance, however slim, of a break in the storm clouds. In this particular bargaining, moreover, the diplomatic advantage lies with us. For while a demilitarized Germany is an absolute essential to the Russians now, it is, in the long run, equally essential to the peace of the Western powers. Ideally a united but neutral and disarmed Germany, acting as a buffer in Central Europe, would be a boon to both sides, and indeed would seem to be one of the few purposes the former allies still have in common.

Out of this common objective, plus the urgency of the Soviet desire, there might well emerge, if not a solid understanding, perhaps the suggestion of a modus vivendi or, at least, the promise of broader talks to come. Should the conference fail, we shall certainly be no worse off than we are. On the contrary, we shall have demonstrated to a wavering world our good faith and will to peace. As for the unity of Western Europe, it can only be promoted by the intransigence of Russia—and undermined by the intransigence of the United States.

A Program of Folly

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, January 8

IT IS in the halls of Congress and among the people that "the great debate" on foreign policy launched by Mr. Hoover's speech will eventually be resolved, but President Truman, as was his duty, set forth in his State of the Union message the principles that he feels must prevail if the Western alliance is to endure. Touching only by indirection upon one of the major issues which now exacerbate relations between the United States and even its closest allies, he paid tribute to U. N. troops in Korea and emphasized the "tremendous significance" of the fact that the U. N. was fighting "against aggression." This expression of appreciation for the cooperation in Korea did not deny the existence of sharp differences of opinion about the Korean affair between American policy-makers and those of other nations—both our allies and the Asian nations which want to remain neutral in the struggle between East and

West. The consequences can be serious if our allies fail to acknowledge the high principles that motivated the United States in committing its prestige and the lives of its young men to defend the Republic of Korea against naked aggression from the North. We, for our part, must realize the danger of persisting in policies toward Communist China that many other nations will not accept.

Mr. Truman was on surest ground in his warnings against the neo-isolationism of Hoover and Taft. He mentioned neither man by name, nor did he use the word "isolationist," but he bluntly described the situation we would face if in consequence of Hoover-Taft doubts about the feasibility of a ground defense of Western Europe we let the industrial and man-power potentials of the Continent fall into Russian hands; we would then, he said, confront "military forces which we could never hope to equal."

This is precisely what Hoover and Taft are willing to risk. They apparently believe that sea and air power can defend us even if Europe falls and we are isolated from our allies. Strategically this idea is entirely false, and great damage has been done the Atlantic community by the upsurge of American isolationism. Europe can fall into the Soviet grip through domestic despair as well as through foreign invasion. Those critics of the people of Europe who demand "equal sacrifices" of them without recognizing that their living standards already are far below ours were at least partly answered by Mr. Truman's statement that our North Atlantic partners are even now engaged in "building armies bigger than our own."

The unhappy change in climate which has gripped the world is made clear by a comparison of Mr. Truman's speech today with his message of 1949 or even of last January. In those messages the emphasis was on the ordinary concerns of a nation which, though the world was even then in danger, seemed to have time to put its house in order. This year the President necessarily devoted himself to outlining the nature and scope of an unprecedented diplomatic and military crisis. He called again for "improvement" of our labor laws, for aid to schools, for "insurance against the high costs of modern medical care," but each of his requests had to be limited by the requirements of mobilization.

There is no likelihood that Congress will heed these renewed pleas for Fair Deal measures, for conservatives who oppose them in less critical times now have the added excuse that we must cut down on "unessential spending." As the people's representatives engage in the debate on foreign policy, however, they would be well advised to remember that a democracy does not fight by arms alone and that its strength depends in equal measure on the steadily expanding application of its basic ideals.

January 4

THE Eighty-second Congress might have enjoyed itself if instead of meeting yesterday in its freshly decorated chambers on Capitol Hill it had attended the press conference held at about the same time by Charles E. Wilson, chairman of the Office of Defense Mobilization. Its conservative majority would have liked the way Wilson is operating and the cheerful indications that although we belabor our allies for their reluctance to resume austerity and build more guns, we are planning both guns and butter for ourselves. It would have been pleased to find not a single prominent labor man in the mobilization setup; if Wilson intends to have labor participate in planning and procuring the tools for democracy's defense, he did not say so.

I always feel that men taking on difficult government jobs should not be criticized before they have had a chance to learn the dimensions of their assignment. Wilson has been in office only two weeks, and his is a thankless task, with all the risks of Congressional and journalistic abuse. He had served the nation capably during World War II as a leading figure in the War Production Board and might have pleaded past performance as an excuse for refusing the post. It will be a grave mistake, however, to give labor no share in planning and executing our mobilization. There will be waste, confusion, and delay if the program is run exclusively by industrialists, bankers, and the military. Wilson himself, who has obtained a Presidential order reshaping the mobilization office to his heart's desire, is a retired corporation executive. William H. Harrison, the head of the new Defense Production Administration, responsible to Wilson, is a corporation executive on leave of absence. Wilson's special aides are Sidney Weinberg, a banker, and Lucius Clay, a retired general.

When Wilson was asked at his press conference whether he contemplated naming any labor spokesmen to high posts in his organization, he replied that a chart already distributed to reporters—with no labor advisers listed—showed what the setup was. Later he was asked specifically whether he planned to have any labor leaders directly connected with either his office or Harrison's DPA. He replied, "I'm not prepared to answer that today." Then he added, "Obviously, as mobilization plans jell, we will ask and use advisers from all segments of the nation."

It seems appropriate to recall that when Great Britain in 1940 faced Germany and Italy in a moment of terrible danger, labor leaders were given responsible positions in the British Cabinet. And they were the men who worked most effectively on such issues as longer hours in

---

Answer to Who's Who?—The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem; King Abdullah of Jordan.

mines and factories, the freezing of workers in essential jobs, the development of a wage-stabilization program. Their participation gave the workers a sense of managing their own affairs and an assurance that there would be equality of sacrifice.

Our own mobilization problems can hardly be handled without the cooperation of labor. For one thing, wage-stabilization programs must be hammered out in consultation with labor or they will be meaningless. The existing tripartite Wage Stabilization Board has plans and programs, but it is too far down the line from Wilson. Furthermore, the question of how people shall be distributed between the armed forces and essential military and civil production is a tougher one today than how to obtain the raw materials of production. We have no millions of unemployed at present as we had in 1940, no reservoir of man-power, ample for the demands of both the armed services and the tank factories. A program which rejects the expert help of union leaders who are close to the workers is a program of folly.

Stuart Symington's National Security Resources Board still has a group of labor advisers, but Symington has been superseded by Wilson as mobilization czar. Plans to create another industry-labor advisory group in the Department of Commerce became meaningless when Harrison was shifted out of Commerce into the separate Defense Production Administration.

A program to provide "guns and butter, too," revealed both in Wilson's conference and in a Pentagon briefing by John D. Small, head of the Munitions Board, may make sense if considered strictly in the light of our own problems. Wilson's and Small's view is that we should expand production swiftly, thus leaving more for civilians, rather than divide a static amount between civilian and military claims. There is no reason to deprive civilians of pots and pans today, Small said, when by reactivating World War II production facilities we can be assured of enough aluminum for military aircraft as soon as the motors are built. The idea that Americans who intend to enjoy "guns and butter, too" might decently hesitate to criticize Europeans who object to having their living standards sharply cut to support rearmament apparently did not occur to Herbert Hoover when he lectured the Europeans on their deficiencies.

AS TO the Eighty-second Congress itself, the most striking thing about its first session yesterday was the ease with which the strengthened coalition of conservatives took control.

Senator McFarland of Arizona had been elected Democratic floor leader in a party caucus, the liberals supporting Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming having received no help from the White House. The caucus was warned by Senator Douglas of Illinois that the Democratic Party could not exist nationally except as a liberal party and that McFarland's election would be interpreted as a step toward conservatism, but word spread that Mr. Truman had "no objection" to the Arizona Senator, and the vote was thirty to nineteen against O'Mahoney. The White House was equally inactive in resisting a change in the House rules which restored to the Rules Committee power to block all legislation of which it disapproves. For twelve years this committee has been controlled by a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats. Two years ago, after Truman's election victory, its powers were cut down to size. When conservatives tried to upset the change last January, Mr. Truman twice spoke out against their plans, and Speaker Sam Rayburn left the rostrum to lead the floor fight. But Rayburn had nothing to say this year, and neither did the President. Ninety-two Democrats—about 40 per cent of the strength of what is nominally the majority party—joined the Republicans to overturn the 1949 reform.

The U. N.'s Grim Choice

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Lake Success, January 6

AFTER a two weeks' recess the United Nations met again to deal with the Korean situation, which in the interval had become infinitely worse. The atmosphere in the almost deserted corridors and anterooms of the old quarters at Lake Success, where books, files, and typewriters were piled for transportation to the new building in Manhattan, was like that of a burning house from which the residents were fleeing. But in the winter calm of snowy Norway, a perfect setting for New Year's Eve, the imperturbable Secretary General Lie continued to issue reassuring communiqués. They seemed pathetically unreal with Seoul about to fall and the U. N. forces preparing to quit Inchon by sea.

The members of the First Committee, which like the Security Council still meets at Lake Success, are oppressed by the thought that the next few days will be decisive ones. The course of events in Asia is scarcely more ominous than developments in Europe, where Russia's reply to the communications of the United States, Great Britain, and France concerning a Big Four conference and the rearmament of Germany is being studied. While Washington has described the Soviet note as "disappointing," Lake Success is aware that London and Paris see in it a possible basis for negotiations. Anxious not to spoil this last chance to ease the tension between East and West, the First Committee was in no mood to "get tough" with China. The American members found the representatives of the twelve-nation Asian-Arab "peace coalition" and the British Commonwealth interested not in sanctions against Peking but in making a new attempt to bring about a cease-fire in Korea.

It was clear from the beginning, as I wrote when the committee of three was first formed to work for a cease-fire, that President Entezam and his two associates, Sir Benegal N. Rau of India and Mr. Pearson of Canada, had been given instructions "without negotiable content." This fact was emphasized at the Wednesday session of the First Committee when the Norwegian delegate, Arne Sunde, asked for some clarification from the Korean committee as to whether in the course of its work it had "given any consideration to the problems of what principles would have to be laid down as a basis for possible negotiations subsequent to the envisaged establishment of a cease-fire." To demand that a victorious Chinese army cease hostilities and at the same time to refuse to consider the admission of Communist China to the U. N. a possible subject of negotiation was as devoid of sense as Mr. Austin's earlier suggestion that the invitation to the Chinese to appear before the Security Council be labeled a "summons."

The majority on the First Committee are opposed to playing the role of the strong man without real strength. When the committee so lightly voted for the resolution authorizing the crossing of the Thirty-eighth Parallel, I said to the head of a Latin American delegation, "This is the start of the United Nations Vladivostok express; but don't forget that the fastest trains are sometimes wrecked." At that time the U. N. forces were sweeping northward, and people laughed at such forebodings. Everyone shared the optimism manifested by General MacArthur at his meeting with President Truman on Wake Island.

Yet the warnings that China might act were already distinct enough to be heard by those who chose to listen. During the first phase of the war Peking had limited itself to expressing sympathy with the North Koreans over the radio and had been so diplomatic that in some international Communist circles it had been accused of abandoning them to their fate. As soon as Seoul was retaken, however, Mao warned in no uncertain terms that crossing the Thirty-eighth Parallel would loose the avalanche now pushing inexorably toward Pusan.

THE First Committee is not disposed to repeat its errors. Its dominant elements now favor looking the facts in the face and admitting that the U. N. has only two alternatives: either negotiate, that is, accept the political conditions attached by Peking to a military truce, or evacuate Korea in order to be in a position to reconsider the whole Far Eastern question. Those delegates who do not want to declare Communist China an aggressor without knowing what forces the United Nations can call on —why brandish a gun for which you have no powder and shot?—but who, on the other hand, do not want to recognize the use of force as a means of obtaining political advantages would prefer evacuation to an armistice.

On Friday the representative of Israel, Abba Eban, tried to give "negotiable content" to the task of the cease-fire committee. Without formally offering a resolution he outlined a plan to be carried out in seven stages, starting with an immediate cease-fire and ending with "consideration . . . as a matter of urgency of all questions affecting the relations of the government of the People's Republic of China with the United Nations." In London the conference of British Commonwealth Prime Ministers, mainly on the initiative of Nehru, took a bolder step forward and discussed directly the question of the admission of Communist China into the United Nations. Nehru's position was more or less the same as that of the Polish representative on the First Committee, Dr. Katz-Suchy, who pointed out yesterday that there had never been a cease-fire anywhere without some preliminary basis of agreement. The United States delegation, however, was clearly opposed to any negotiation, whether of the kind suggested by Mr. Eban or that considered in London, preferring to concede the loss of Korea and to hold Formosa and Japan as the last bastions of defense against Communist expansion in East Asia.

Blocking the efforts of Mr. Eban and others to fill the U. N.'s cease-fire resolution with some "negotiable content," the United States took action that could only fill it with "explosive content." In New York and in the capitals of the world all members of the U. N., except of course the Soviet bloc, were officially notified that if the U. N. failed to denounce Communist China as an aggressor, the United States might cease to interest itself in the organization. This has greatly complicated the situation, and when the First Committee reconvenes on Monday, the debate promises to be even more heated than before. Meanwhile it is feared that military events may make the whole past week's discussion purely academic.

The Korean débâcle should stimulate a reexamination of the theory of "peace through strength"—rather than through negotiation—on which the Western Allies have based their foreign policy. This theory overlooks the "intermediary period." It assumes that the enemy will wait quietly while the West builds up its military power to the point where it can talk as equal to equal. In the case of Korea the illusion prevailed until a few days ago that a stalemate would develop at or somewhere below the Thirty-eighth Parallel which would permit the United States to discuss the situation with Peking from a position of strength. The Chinese advance, however, deflated that expectation.

The lesson of Korea is applicable to Europe. The United States calculates that with its fantastic productive capacity and technical skill it can in two or three years' time create such an imposing war machine that it can negotiate with Russia from strength. The flaw in this

theory is that it fails to take account of what may happen in the meantime. A wiser course would be to negotiate now, when Russia's reply to the Western powers concerning a conference of the Big Four offers both an opportunity and a challenge to the talents and resources of Western diplomacy. Korea may be a bitter pill to swallow, but compared with Germany it is a secondary issue. Whether we shall have peace or a third world war hinges on an agreement regarding the rearmament of Germany.

Taxes Versus Controls

BY CHARLES E. NOYES

TAX laws now on the books will bring in more dollars per year than ever before in the history of the federal government, although these taxes will take a smaller proportion of the national income than all taxes did in World War II. The Eighty-second Congress will undoubtedly increase the burden. Even so, it is doubtful whether taxes will be as high as they should be. Nothing short of a full pay-as-you-go program can provide a sound basis for financing military production, foreign aid, and essential domestic government services. The alternative is more inflation, now or later.

Prices can be kept in check for a time by tight controls; controls over shortage items and scarce materials will certainly be needed. However, our problem this time is to prepare not only for a present emergency but also for the possibility that we may have to maintain a large military establishment for many years. Our goal must be the fastest possible expansion of total production, military and civilian combined. Controls are primarily suited to diverting man-power and materials from one kind of production to another. That will be necessary to some extent, but it should never be forgotten that controls tend to limit over-all expansion, and the longer the emergency, the less desirable they are.

A properly planned tax structure can minimize the need for controls. For this purpose both the whole burden and the selective impact are important. Even though high taxes are in general deflationary, the wrong kinds of taxes can have an inflationary effect, especially if they encourage waste and extravagance.

The first objective, of course, is to avoid the "inflationary gap" created by deficit financing. The relationship between prices and the total volume of money and credit is perhaps not quite so automatic as the classical economists once thought, but it is clearly unhealthy for people to have a lot more money than there are goods and services to spend the money for. Saving can take care of some of the difference—but above-normal personal saving in World War II was one of the important causes of the inflation which came afterward.

It must always be remembered that in the economic sense a military program must be paid for out of current income. That is neither a pious hope nor a moral axiom: it is a truism. The goods and services which make up military production obviously have to be subtracted from the total which might otherwise be available for private consumers at the time they are produced. They cannot be borrowed from the future, and the money to pay for them ought not to be.

If we could increase total United States production as fast as we increase military production, we should not need to curtail the present standard of living, although shortages of materials and machines will make important changes in the kinds of goods and services which can be furnished to private consumers. We might make up in other ways for a decrease in the number of new automobiles and television sets. We shall not succeed in doing so unless the economy is left as free as possible to expand in other directions.

HOWEVER, even if we managed to provide for most of the military program through increased total production, and to pay for it out of current taxes, there is at present no conceivable way in which we could apportion the cost so that every family would remain relatively as well off as it is today. Actually, even in war time it is neither fair nor desirable to freeze the status quo completely. Whether we like it or not, patriotism is not enough to guarantee harder work and greater efficiency. Both business and labor will produce more if given reasonable incentives, and that means that some will prosper at the expense of others. Unless we resort to something close to slave labor, we must expect that the workers who put in long hours in war plants will make more than they would if they stayed in their present jobs, and it would scarcely be fair to tax them more heavily than others. Conversely, with higher taxes for everybody, most of those who do remain in their

---

CHARLES E. NOYES, author of "Economic Freedom: A Democratic Program," is now engaged in public-relations work in New York. This is the first article of a series on the controls required by a rearmament economy. Controls on agriculture, man-power, and prices will be taken up in subsequent articles.

present jobs—even if they have no choice in the matter—will be worse off than they are now.

Moreover, the progressive principle of taxation in accordance with ability to pay is only partly appropriate when the government must devote a large part of the national income to preparing for war. If taxes are used for the deliberate purpose of limiting private consumption, they must bear heavily on the middle and lower income groups who do most of the consuming. That means raising income taxes substantially in the middle and lower brackets.

In addition, taxes should be used selectively to discourage particular kinds of consumption, and also to discourage black markets when price controls are imposed. For example, if production of television sets and automobiles is cut by 50 per cent, it would be much better to hold down the demand for those which are produced by imposing an excise tax of 50 or even 100 per cent than to let black marketeers collect the same margin over official ceiling prices. On the other hand, it would certainly not be fair to put a high sales tax on things like meat and essential clothing, letting the wealthy buy all they wanted while the poor went without. Even in the case of automobiles it might be desirable to remit part of the tax for those who could show real need for a new car.

Under the conditions in prospect a good argument can be made for a general manufacturers' sales tax on items other than food, clothing, and medical supplies. Such a tax has always been opposed in normal times because it does bear most heavily on those who can least afford to pay it. But it is a comparatively easy way to raise a lot of money, and it has some advantages over the very considerable rise in personal-income tax rates which would be required to raise as much. Psychologically, it does not seem as painful to pay 10 per cent more for what you buy as to have another 10 per cent of your wages taken away, and the sales tax does leave people a choice of doing without some of the things subject to the tax. But it is justifiable only when a national emergency makes it necessary to cut the standard of living of many people; the great danger is that such a tax might be retained when we are again in a position to raise the standard of living of those in the lower income groups.

It is also relatively painless politically to increase corporation taxes, despite the yelps from some heavy campaign contributors. The excess-profits tax was finally enacted by comfortable margins in both houses of Congress, even though some opponents put forward the strange notion that Republican gains in November constituted a mandate against a form of tax which the overwhelming majority of Republican Congressmen had already approved in principle when they voted for the Revenue Act of 1950 last summer. Nevertheless, amid the smoke of the Congressional hearings on the excess-profits tax there were some sound arguments to the effect that such a tax is difficult to administer fairly—the Treasury hopes to clean up the remaining World War II cases by the end of 1952—and unduly burdensome to smaller, growing companies. On the other hand, the proposed alternative of increasing the tax rate on all corporations to 55 per cent or more would be manifestly unfair to companies whose production and profits will be curtailed by the military program anyway.

THE technicalities of the excess-profits tax are much too complicated to be explained in a brief article. However, it is important to understand why such a tax is potentially inflationary, and why it is just as well that Congress did not reimpose the World War II rates. The theory of an excess-profits tax is simple enough: a corporation is assumed to have a "normal" profit, established in a base period, on which it pays a normal tax. Any profit above that is presumed to result directly or indirectly from the emergency; so the "excess" is taxed at a higher rate. During World War II the maximum combined rate was 95 per cent. This was intended to "take the profits out of war." Unfortunately, it also meant that corporations subject to this rate had practically no monetary incentive to keep costs down. Expense accounts were often fantastic; a lot of unnecessary "institutional" advertising was in effect paid for by the government; even in collective bargaining, corporation executives often felt that there was not much point in arguing with the unions, since the government would foot the bill. Secretary of the Treasury Snyder has estimated that net receipts from excess-profits taxes in 1940-45 were more than $16 billion. It would be a conservative guess that the government paid out a large part of the $16 billion in higher prices for war goods resulting from the tax itself.

The tax just enacted by Congress raises the regular corporation tax and surtax to 47 per cent and imposes a rate of 30 per cent on excess profits, giving a combined maximum rate of 77 per cent. It is impossible to give an exact simple example because of various special provisions, but it will work out about as follows: If a company has a million-dollar profit subject to normal tax—this is an "earnings credit" computed as 85 per cent of its average profits for the best three of the four years 1946-49—it will pay 47 per cent, or $470,000, on the first million dollars of profit in 1951, and $770,000 on the second million, subject to some slight adjustments. If the profits are over two million, then an over-all limit of 62 per cent tax rate on total profits comes into effect. This over-all limit does cut down the total tax in some cases—it was 80 per cent in World War II—but it remains true that out of every $100 of profit over the earnings credit and up to twice

the earnings credit, the government will take $77. The profit incentive for economy and efficiency is, to say the least, reduced. Short of total war and more rigid controls of many kinds, a higher rate would almost certainly be self-defeating.

The more liberal provisions of the new bill with respect to small and "growth" companies—especially those making new products—also seem fully justified so long as we want to expand the civilian economy wherever that can be done without interfering with military production.

The use of taxation as an instrument of national economic policy is still far from generally accepted except in times of national emergency, and we have neither experience nor precedents to do a really scientific job. In a democracy, emergency or no, the tax structure will continue to be influenced to a very large extent by the relative political strength of various groups in the population. Nevertheless, the general sense of fairness and the general willingness to pay what taxes are needed constitute one of the finest refutations of those who say democracy won't work. We now have an opportunity to strengthen our defenses through strengthening the tax structure, and to obtain a much wider public understanding of the economic significance of various kinds of taxes.

Taxes are unpleasant, and the temptation to use deficit financing instead is very strong. Perhaps we can resist the temptation if we keep two facts firmly in mind: (1) all military production must come out of total current production, so we cannot postpone the effect on our over-all standard of living; (2) if we fail to provide the money out of current taxes, further inflation is practically inevitable now or later, and that means unearned wealth for a comparatively few people at the expense of the rest.

The Legal Defense of Hated Men

BY G. LOUIS JOUGHIN

THE right of a man charged with a crime to be represented by a lawyer of his own choice and the right of that lawyer to use every legitimate means in fighting for his client without fear of personal penalty lie at the core of the administration of justice. Constitutions and laws, in guaranteeing these rights, merely spell out one of those transcendent principles of civilized living which are vital to the safety of the individual and the health of society. The slightest infringement on these rights, the merest shadow falling on the relationship between a defendant and his counsel, is likely to have catastrophic results.

The bald juxtaposition of certain facts noted in three recent widely reported cases raises the question whether the lawyer-defendant relationship is at present being improperly affected. Harry Bridges has been found guilty of perjury because he denied membership in the Communist Party; two of his attorneys are adjudged to be in contempt of court. The eleven Communist Party leaders stand convicted of seditious activities; the five defense lawyers are in contempt. Six men convicted of murder in New Jersey engaged new counsel supplied by the Civil Rights Congress—an organization on the Attorney General's list; these lawyers were ordered to withdraw. In the Bridges case and that of the Eleven the lawyers face jail and disbarment.

G. LOUIS JOUGHIN is the author, with E. M. Morgan, of "The Legacy of Sacco and Vanzetti."

Has the fact that these defendants or their supporters are tainted with communism any bearing upon the punishments or disabilities which their counsel have suffered? If there is a causal connection, does it mean that the constitutional rights of the defendants have been injured, or that the function of the legal profession has been impaired? What are the facts, what is a responsible opinion, what are the implications for the future?

Immediately after the conviction of the eleven Communist leaders Judge Medina cited the five defense counsel and imposed jail sentences. He supported his action by reference to the record, where he found that these lawyers had (1) ignored warnings as to improper procedure, (2) insisted on multiple objections to rulings, although notice had been given that single objections would cover the rights of all defendants, (3) engaged in unsubstantial arguments, (4) disregarded the rules of evidence, (5) sought adverse rulings, (6) accused the court of playing to the newspapers, (7) accused the court and the prosecution of connivance, (8) accused the court of race prejudice, (9) charged the court with prejudice, partiality, and corruption, (10) urged each other to badger the court, (11) offered insolent and sarcastic remarks, (12) indulged in shouting, sneering, and snickering, and (13) practiced generally provocative behavior. Undoubtedly such conduct merits a citation for contempt.

On appeal the Circuit Court bench consisted of Judges Augustus N. Hand, Jerome N. Frank, and

Charles E. Clark; they gave their decision on April 5, 1950. The main issue was simply disposed of. Judge Hand wrote: ". . . when counsel differ as to the rulings of a judge they acquire no privilege to charge him with bad faith and misconduct . . . their only remedy is by an appeal." Judge Frank compared the conduct of the lawyers to "assaulting the pilot of an airplane in flight, or turning out the lights during a surgical operation." Judges Hand and Frank voted to sustain the conviction.

Interest centered in the question whether the contempt procedure had been properly handled. Judge Medina had merely warned these lawyers of coming punishment at the points in the trial where they offended; the actual citation and sentencing took place months after the first breach of the legal peace. The majority of the Circuit Court found no defect in this, but Judge Clark cast a dissenting vote. He held that the postponement of punishment was incompatible with the essential nature of summary contempt action, and that these lawyers were therefore entitled to a hearing: "Summary punishment for contempt is not a right of the judge the exercise of which he may postpone. . . . When the need for this drastic action passes, the power so to act also passes."

Judge Medina's citation emphasized the fact of "conspiracy" among the defense counsel, and the record certainly appears to support the charge. If ever a group of men gave indications of an agreement to get themselves into hot water, it was done by the Eleven and their lawyers. One need not ask whether it was a conspiracy of reasoned propaganda action or a psychopathic desire for martyrdom. Nevertheless, Judges Frank and Clark made up a majority which held that the intent of conspiracy was not inevitably established by the nature of the contemptuous acts, and that conspiracy would have to be proved at a trial or hearing.

Nine days after the Circuit Court decision, the Bar Association of New York City, an organization of great influence, began disbarment proceedings against Sacher and Isserman, the two lawyers who practice in New York. These lawyers were then drawing up appeals for their clients and handling one of the most voluminous records in American legal history; they also had to prepare further appeals in their own contempt case. Attacking their right to practice at a time when they were burdened with such heavy labor does not seem fair play, and taking this step while their own and their clients' cases were still before the courts could be called out of order. This appears to be the view of District Court Judge Carroll C. Hicks, who on November 15 ordered that the federal-court disbarment hearings be postponed until December 20, two weeks after the date on which Sacher and Isserman were to argue their clients' appeal before the Supreme Court.

Nor was this all. A group of fifteen lawyers circulated cards among the profession asking for support of the view that disbarment proceedings should await the end of court action. These fifteen, in their turn, have been charged with misconduct by other lawyers, and the Bar Association has been asked to look into the matter. Although nothing may come of this particular complaint, it shows how a punitive spirit can grow.

IN THE Bridges case Judge George B. Harris sentenced lawyers Vincent Hallinan and James M. MacInnis to jail terms of six and three months, and his action has been upheld by a Circuit Court. Their trial was not as fully reported in the papers, but the record warrants a number of specific conclusions.



Harry Bridges

Hallinan kept trying to drag in the Landis hearing and the Sears examination —earlier phases of Bridges's long court history—despite the ruling of the judge; the lawyer's behavior may have been wrong, but it is interesting to note that the first prosecution witness put on the stand gave evidence which the government itself had abandoned as worthless as far back as 1945. Judge Harris also noted that Hallinan's opening statement was a roaring blast against the character of all the witnesses the government might call; perhaps the only thing to match it in the trial was the quality of some of the prosecution witnesses—opportunists, informers at $25 a day, and perjurers, one of whom brazenly confessed his lies in open court.

"Vile and contemptible language" was Judge Harris's description of some of the defense counsel's remarks. But MacInnis pointed out that "not a word of reproof passed your lips when the special prosecutor referred to the defendants as 'rats' and to Mr. Hallinan as 'a goat.' "

On another occasion MacInnis said, "You ought to be ashamed of yourself, Judge"—not at all a proper remark for counsel to make but somewhat excused perhaps by the fact that the rebuke appears to have been prompted by what may conceivably be prejudicial error. A character witness, a Catholic priest, had testified to his extensive acquaintance with Bridges and the longshoremen, and to his certainty that the defendant was not a Communist. At one point Judge Harris took over the

questioning of the witness, asked about his memory and whether he had undergone recent medical treatment. The court later announced that it had in no way intended to reflect upon the capacity of the witness, but this disclaimer is totally irrelevant. The point in question is the effect of such questions on the jurors.

Apparently a coarse, rowdy defense was conducted in such a way as to create contempt of court. But a vindictive prosecution, supported by several low-grade witnesses, and a courtroom presided over by a quick-tempered and sarcastic judge make up the other side of the picture. Perhaps the common man would be willing to call it a draw.

THE case of the Trenton Six became news when they were convicted of first-degree murder in 1948. They were tried before Judge Charles Hutchison of Mercer County, New Jersey. The capable defense lawyers at this first trial say that its conduct was eminently fair but shot through with legal error. In January, 1949, new counsel was added to assist on appeal at the expense of the Civil Rights Congress, the chief of them being O. John Rogge. The New Jersey Supreme Court permitted these out-of-state lawyers to enter the case but within a very short time became displeased with public statements by Rogge and declared that lawyers in an active case should express their views only in the courtroom and through briefs. On one occasion the New Jersey Supreme Court even summoned Mr. Rogge before the full bench, where Chief Justice Vanderbilt demanded an apology. The lawyer refused, and the judges took no action.

Six months later the New Jersey Supreme Court ruled unanimously that a new trial must be held, finding three serious legal errors and a potential fourth; the onus for the defective trial fell heavily on Judge Hutchison. Then, in December, 1949, as the date for a new trial drew near, Judge Hutchison refused to allow Rogge and his associates to appear: he said they had spoken in public and distorted the facts, and that some of the money collected for the Trenton Six seemed to be going to the defense of the Communist leaders. In July, 1950, a federal Circuit Court of Appeals upset Judge Hutchison's veto, ruling that "admission [of the lawyers in this case] is for the entire 'cause,' and counsel so admitted in a capital case cannot be arbitrarily and capriciously removed without depriving their clients of rights conferred by the Constitution." On November 9 this phase of the Trenton case was ended by the voluntary withdrawal of Mr. Rogge.

The exasperation of New Jersey courts, lawyers, and taxpayers—Mercer County is reported already to have spent $70,000 on the case—is understandable, but it does not justify placing restrictions of dubious validity on lawyers, and it is certainly no ground for taking from defendants their vested interest in informed counsel. Jerseyites would do well to take a more positive stand; more capable judges should be got for the trial of murder cases; thought should be given to the six men who have been in jail for more than two years and have not yet had a workmanlike trial.

THE question before us is a simple one: does the fact of Communist taint in a defendant or his supporters lead to trouble for his lawyer and thereby affect the fairness of the whole judicial proceeding? Apparently, although the question is simple, the answer must be complicated, because the social conflict involved is in an early and amorphous stage. It may even be a hopeful sign that we are forced to draw not one but four conclusions:

1. *There is at present no planned, institutionalized pressure upon lawyers who defend unpopular clients.* In the all-important case of the Eleven the judge who took the original punitive action was objective in his view and fair in his attitude; the Circuit Court went farther and threw out the conspiracy count. In the case of the Trenton Six a Circuit Court overruled the authoritarian action of the trial judge. These two cases offer no evidence of judges or courts leagued in hostile act or spirit against counsel or defendants.

2. *There is evidence that animosity toward Communists has affected individual court proceedings and upset the balance of some groups of lawyers.* The New York City Bar Association seems to be in a hurry to punish. In and out of Congress an attack is shaping up against the National Lawyers Guild. In the Bridges case, although the defense was disorderly, the prosecution was equally unpalatable, and it is not hard to see where the sympathies of the judge lay. As for the Trenton Six, a bad mistake was corrected, but only after the expense and considerable effort of an appeal to a federal Circuit Court.

These unorganized displays of animosity toward Communists by courts and bar associations are not as numerous or serious as those in the press and the legislatures. But the slightest sign of the red-baiting spirit among men dedicated to serving justice is a danger signal of the first order.

3. *There is need for sharp attack upon proceedings in which the unpopularity of a defendant or cause has been allowed to affect improperly the course of justice.* The Bridges case suggests the desirability of sending informed criticism of courts and prosecutors to the appropriate judiciary committee of Congress or the state legislatures.

4. *The American lawyer must be convinced that he has a plain duty to undertake the defense of hated men and causes.* Attorney General McGrath said last September that the very existence of the Committee on the Bill of Rights of the American Bar Association is recognition

of the fact that "the defense of civil liberties is the task of lawyers everywhere, with special responsibility in the organized bar." But that this challenge is not being met is indicated by the warning of Judge C. E. Clark: "It is no secret that the difficulty of securing counsel to defend adequately unpopular minority groups is great. . . . There may be approaching the dilemma that trial cannot be held without counsel, and yet none can be found for the burdensome job."

This is perhaps the time to remind lawyers that Alexander Hamilton served justice, and made a lot of money, by defending the Tory-loyalists; and that Charles Evans Hughes, Louis Marshall, and Joseph Proskauer did not fall back into obscurity after their work on behalf of the Socialist victims of the Lusk committee. Furthermore, there is the compulsion of self-interest: if the defense of abhorred defendants is left to lawyers who do not respect the canon of ethics, the whole bar suffers in its reputation.

Although we are not, as yet, confronted with organized or endemic subversion of the legal rights of hated men, it is beginning to look very much as if that were in the period of incubation. It is now, before leadership in oppression emerges, that we must assert again and again the right of every defendant, whoever he may be, to a just trial under the law.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Britain's Shaky Comeback

WHEN the cartoon on the following page arrived at *The Nation* office, I thought of abandoning plans for writing a piece about British economic developments during 1950 and prospects for 1951. For Low had summed up the situation so brilliantly that further comment appeared almost superfluous. However, on second thought I decided that some detailed information supplementing the picture might prove of interest.

In the first place we may consider how far the patient has recovered and the treatment to which he has responded. The most dramatic proof of his convalescence, of course, has been his ability to discard, at least for a time, the crutch of Marshall aid. That was made possible by the tremendous improvement in the international trading position of both Britain and the sterling area as a whole, which in turn rapidly replenished the gold and dollar reserves. By September 30 these reserves had advanced to $2,756,000,000, or practically double their total a year earlier, just after devaluation. A further important gain was undoubtedly registered in the past three months, and the December 31 figure, which will probably be published before this article is in print, is expected to be at least $3,000,000,000.

It is necessary to emphasize, however, that a considerable part of this improvement has been, in a sense, fortuitous. It is a direct consequence of the Korean war and the rearmament programs of the United States and its allies, which have created a sellers' market for raw materials. Sterling-area countries produce most of the tin, rubber, wool, jute, and cocoa entering into world commerce, as well as important quantities of copper, lead, zinc, chrome, manganese, asbestos, and other strategic minerals, and in the past six months they have been selling heavy volumes of these commodities at enhanced prices. As a result they have earned large sums in dollars, which have helped to swell the reserves held by Britain for the whole sterling area.

Gratifying as the increase in reserves is, it also creates problems, for in so far as Britain is unable to ship to the sterling-area countries goods equivalent to the dollars received from them it must add to its indebtedness. And as Low indicates, the burden of the sterling debts accumulated during the last war remains a crippling one. During the past five years a part of these debts has been liquidated, but the total is now increasing rather rapidly. That is one reason why Britain must keep up its exports, for that is the only way it can both satisfy its creditors and pay for goods currently imported. Unfortunately there is direct competition between rearmament and exports, both being heavily dependent on the engineering industries and both calling for raw materials the supply of which is becoming increasingly short.

Ever since the war the expansion of exports has, of course, been one of Britain's major objectives, and very striking successes in this field have been achieved. In 1950 progress was even greater than in earlier years, and in addition there was a marked growth in "invisible exports"—earnings from shipping, tourists, insurance and financial services, and investments. For the first half of 1950, before there was the special impetus of rearmament, Britain had already an over-all surplus on international account of $145,600,000, which compared with a deficit of $106,400,000 for the whole of 1949. Returns for the full year will not be available

for some time, but Lewis Nettleton, writing in the New York *Times* of December 25, estimated that the total surplus might be as much as $778,000,000, a figure which does not appear to be over-optimistic in the light of October and November exports.

In part this expansion of exports is due to the increased buying power of the raw-material areas, but Britain has also been extending its North American markets, and its sales to the United States and Canada in November were almost double the monthly average of 1949. This suggests that it has been able to keep its prices competitive, and, indeed, since devaluation the campaign of the British government to hold down internal costs has proved remarkably successful. However, the inflationary influence of the rearmament program is now being felt. Rises in raw-material and to a lesser extent in wholesale food prices are gradually pushing up the cost of living, and the pressure for higher wages can no longer be resisted. Recent increases in various industries aggregate $2,100,000 weekly, and many other contracts are being negotiated. Nevertheless, the unions are only making moderate demands. In cotton weaving, an industry which is short of labor and needs to attract more workers, the wage increases granted averaged about 10 per cent, and the advance received by bus drivers and conductors was rather smaller.

But even moderate increases in wages mean an expansion in purchasing power, and with the demands of rearmament tending to reduce the volume of goods available to British consumers, further pressure on prices seems inevitable. Not much can be done to increase output by recruiting more man-power, for Britain has full employment and, in fact, the demands of the armed services are likely to shrink the labor force available to industry. Fortunately, productivity, which has been rising at the rate of nearly 5 per cent annually since 1946, is continuing to improve and should make possible a further expansion in over-all production in 1951.

At best, however, this increase can hardly be great enough to provide for the rearmament program, to swell exports sufficiently to offset the increased cost of raw-material imports, to keep up the high rate of industrial investment on which further improvements in productivity depend, and to maintain living standards. Something will have to give, and it seems certain that



"LOOK WHAT SANTA IS SENDING YOU" London *Daily Herald*

it is living standards that will suffer, either through a cut in the social services or through new taxes restricting purchasing power.

Thus after suffering austerity for the past twelve years, with only a rather moderate relaxation in the last two or three, Britons are anticipating more of the same. They will no doubt "take it" with resolution, but some of them find it hard to be lectured on the need to restrain their appetites by Americans who have little conception of the meaning of austerity.

Bargain Basement Point Four

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

THE United States has begun to transform its peace economy into an armament economy. Military expenditures, which were about $15 billion in 1950, will be raised to $30 billion or $40 billion in 1951. By the end of 1951 they will probably be $4 billion a month—three times the present figure. However, we shall still have only an armament economy, not a war economy.

During World War II American military expenditures amounted to between $80 billion and $90 billion a year—nearly half the total national income and production. Since our current national income is between $260 billion and $280 billion, proportionate military expenditures would be between $130 billion and $140 billion, or nearly three times the sum contemplated for the end of 1951. In other words, in contrast to the war economy of World War II, in which half of the country's total output went for military purposes, the armament economy will be geared to military expenditures amounting at their peak to only one-sixth of the national income.

The aim of this armament economy is not war. On the contrary, its aim is so to increase the military strength of the United States as to make a military victory for the Soviet bloc more difficult and thus to enhance the chances of peace. The mounting hysteria that has accompanied the sharp rise in military expenditures makes it especially important not to lose sight of this ultimate goal. It must be strongly emphasized that the purpose of rearmament is not chiefly to prepare for war but to promote the chances of peace.

These chances would be better if at the same time we had a continuous foreign policy designed to eliminate the danger of war, or at least to reduce it—that is, to neutralize the explosive elements in critical areas. In this article I will discuss only one of these elements of danger—the abnormally low standard of living, the appalling poverty, in the industrially backward regions of the world. The problem is known; since President Truman's famous speech it has been discussed in innumerable books and articles. Its true proportions, however, are not widely known here. Up to now the United States has spent approximately $40 million for the development of backward countries under Truman's Point 4 program. I shall try to show what a trifling sum this is in relation to other American expenditures and to the needs of the affected countries.

We have been told many times that our struggle against Russia must not be waged on a military plane alone; that we must use political and social weapons; that the conditions which have facilitated Russian expansion must be eliminated. We have been told, but we have failed to respond. To help overcome the poverty in backward countries which paves the way for communism we have spent $40 million—*only one-tenth of one per cent of our military budget.* That is the situation at present, and there is little indication that it will change decisively in the near future.

ON MARCH 31, 1950, before the Korean war began, the President asked Gordon Gray to make a report on this country's foreign economic policies and programs and to add recommendations. At that time Mr. Truman was looking ahead to the period after 1952, when the Marshall Plan, it was believed, was to end. The Gray committee finished its report on November 10, before large-scale Chinese intervention in Korea had started but at a moment when the United States had already moved to set up an armament economy. The report is thus the first document to be made public which analyzes the effects of rearmament on the economy of the United States and also on that of the Atlantic Pact countries and of others which are receiving Marshall Plan aid. In addition, the Gray report makes concrete proposals for expanding the Point 4 program, proposals which go far beyond anything previously envisaged in official or semi-official quarters.

The most progressive document on foreign economic policy that the Truman Administration has published, the report is not likely to find favor with the present majority in Congress. Its positive recommendations concerning Point 4 will almost certainly prove unacceptable.

FRITZ STERNBERG, author of "How to Stop the Russians Without War," will bring out a new book this spring, to be called "Capitalism and Socialism on Trial."

Let us see what it has to say. It first presents excellent statistics about the world's population, showing the proportion in developed and underdeveloped areas and in Soviet-dominated and "free world" areas. Since the distribution of the world's population on this basis must have a decisive influence on the foreign policy of both the United States and the Soviet Union, the table is herewith reproduced:

DISTRIBUTION OF WORLD POPULATION, 1949

	TOTAL		SOVIET-DOMINATED		FREE WORLD	
	Number (millions)	*Per cent of world population*	*Number (millions)*	*Per cent of world population*	*Number (millions)*	*Per cent of world population*
Underdeveloped areas:						
Latin America	157	6.6			157	6.6
Africa	198	8.3			198	8.3
Asia	1,253	52.7	452	19.0	801	33.7
Total	1,608	67.7	452	19.0	1,156	48.7
Developed areas						
United States	149	6.3			149	6.3
Canada	14	.6			14	.6
Europe	593	25.0	292	12.3	301	12.7
Oceania	12	.5			12	.5
Total	768	32.4	292	12.3	476	20.0
Total world population:	2,376	100.0	744	31.3	1,632	68.7

The salient facts in these statistics are (1) that 744,000,000 people, roughly one-third of the total world population, live in Russia, the Russian bloc, and China; (2) that 1,608,000,000, or 67.7 per cent of the total, live in industrially backward areas—where income statistics show that the standard of living is only from 5 to 10 per cent of the American standard; (3) that 452,000,000 of these 1,608,000,000 people live in China and 801,000,000 in Asia outside of the Soviet Union and China. World history may depend on what the future has in store for these 800,000,000.

Analyzing what private capital has done for the development of backward areas up to now, the Gray report says that in the three years 1947-49 the annual average of all net United States foreign private investment was $800,000,000. Of this, 74 per cent was distributed mainly among the few countries possessing exploitable petroleum resources. "Apart from investment in the petroleum industry, an annual average of only $128,000,000 went into Latin American republics and only $28,000,000 into other underdeveloped areas." This means that if one disregards American oil investments in the Near East, the role of American private capital in the development of the Asiatic areas where these 800,000,000 people live has been practically nil. That was true in the past and is true now. The report states further: "It must be recognized that there are now substantial obstacles to an expansion of such investment. Present international tensions are a controlling deterrent in those areas where an actual military threat exists."

The Gray committee summarized its conclusions about the future of private American investments abroad as follows:

> It seems probable that total American private investment abroad in the next few years will not exceed that 1947-49 average and may fall substantially short of this. Furthermore, only a few hundred million dollars, at most, is likely to be invested in underdeveloped countries outside the Western Hemisphere in properties not related to oil. Taking into account the known obstacles, and the uncertain effectiveness of the limited measures that can be taken to overcome them, it must be frankly recognized that private investment cannot be expected to solve the problem of financing development alone.

Precisely because the military situation is so tense private capital has no intention of running the great risks which such investment would entail. Therefore if any decisive contribution to the development of these areas is to be made in the crucial years ahead, the United States government will have to do it. The Gray report had the courage to state this conclusion with candor.

WE NOW come to the vital question: How much should the United States contribute to the development of the backward areas in the next few years? The Gray report says the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Export-Import Bank "should seek an annual net flow of investment funds in the range of $600,000,000 to $800,000,000 a year." This is a huge sum, especially if it is considered in relation to what has been spent under Point 4 up to now. It is, indeed, twenty times as much. That is why the chances are slight that Congress will carry out the report's recommendations. And yet when this $800,000,000 a year is considered in relation to the tremendous extent and population of the areas in question, it seems a pretty small outlay. If it all went to the underdeveloped areas of Asia, where, as we saw above, there are 800,000,000 people outside of Russia and China, it would mean only *one dollar a person a year*—a mere drop in the bucket.

No one can predict how far the present revolutionary upheavals in Asia will go, for the situation is complicated by the struggle between the two power blocs. The Russians have been trying, so far with great success, to use, and frequently to exploit, the processes of agrarian revolution in Asia in order to enlarge their orbit. The United States has recognized the trend in Asia only to a limited extent; certainly American policy has not been adjusted to it. If the United States wants to utilize its

immense economic, industrial, and financial strength to gain real influence in Asia, it must recognize the magnitude of the problem. I repeat, $800,000,000 annually is absolutely inadequate for the purpose.

In determining the funds to be spent under Point 4 the United States can consider them in relation to other public expenditures—for rearmament, aid to Europe, and so on—or in relation to Asia's needs and the exigencies of the international situation. The gigantic growth of America's productive potential and actual output give it a chance to exercise decisive influence on the future development of Asia. But it can use its opportunity only if it understands that the funds, and the volume of production, needed must reach proportions far beyond even those which the Gray report ventures to suggest. If the United States wants to assert its economic might to the degree that is necessary to help determine Asia's future, Walter Reuther's proposal of an annual contribution of ten billion dollars is probably more realistic than Mr. Gray's comparatively modest proposals.

What Price Franco?

BY BASIL DAVIDSON

III. Political Balance-Sheet

Madrid, December

AT THE end of his financial tether, Generalissimo Franco was probably nearer to his downfall last autumn than at any other time since he landed from Morocco in 1936. Now that funds are to be available from Washington, however, and that Franco has almost certainly persuaded those on whom he depends that more will be forthcoming as the cold war develops, the dictatorship has recovered a certain measure of stability. If pressure is exerted by those influential Spaniards who dislike or deplore him but do not really want democracy, Franco can now be expected to bill himself for the part of Spain's Mussolini to Don Juan's Victor Emmanuel. Such a "change of regime," needless to say, would be no more than the shadow of a change.

The present stability of the dictatorship, temporary though it is, is due in part to the merciless repression that has continued since the end of the civil war—300 executions were officially admitted in a year as late as 1948. This repression, though less severe and all-embracing at the moment, has destroyed the democratic parties and is still practiced against all who are suspected of trying to bring them to life. Intellectuals, especially, are persecuted, a fact reflected in the decay of the arts in contemporary Spain. While cafe gossip against the regime is tolerated, provided always that those who gossip are reasonably well-dressed—the poor in Spain are automatically suspect—drastic action is taken against all printed criticism, and persons believed to be organizing political opposition of any kind are court-martialed. In this elimination of the democratic parties it must be said that Spanish politicians, by spending more time in internecine quarrels than in united agitation against Franco, have played their part.

Franco's chief support comes of course from the Spanish church and the Vatican, from the army, and from the moneyed interests. The support of the church is by far the most important, for the church works not only upon the masses of the people but also upon the army —not to speak of world opinion. It is the stubborn and aggressive propaganda of the church which has made the Falangist Party machine unnecessary to Franco: unlike the Italian Fascists and the German National Socialists, the Spanish dictatorship has no ideology except that of Catholicism. In this respect the regime seems to me to resemble the hushed but iron tyranny of Metternich's Austria at its worst period far more than it resembles Italy or Germany under their dictators. You find no party slogans painted on walls and very few pictures of the dictator, but you see innumerable priests. For thirty million Spaniards there are thirty thousand parish priests. And there are about ninety thousand policemen. On a quiet Sunday afternoon in the railway station at Cuenca, a little lost provincial town a hundred miles from Madrid, I saw four policemen on the platform, one with a submachine-gun, one with a rifle, and two with revolvers.

The army, believing in eventual American aid, can look for nothing better than it now has. Like the princes of the Spanish church, the generals of Franco's army know that their privileges would be cut by any regime less vainglorious, inefficient, and authoritarian than Franco's. Franco dare not demobilize. Above all, he dare not demobilize the senior officers. They may be badly paid, but they are assured of employment and have unlimited access to graft. I know some good patriots among them who bitterly resent the impoverishment of their country, but these, according to the available evidence,

---

BASIL DAVIDSON, staff correspondent of the New Statesman and Nation (*London*) *went to Spain at the request of* The Nation. *This is the last article of his series.*

are still a small minority. The two or three "strong" generals, like Varela, who might lead a movement against Franco have found themselves carefully isolated from the general current and conduct of affairs.

It is on the moneyed interests, if anywhere among Franco's supporters, that the disastrous economics of dictatorship begin to have their effect. Until now, it is true, the small coterie of bankers and manufacturers who virtually monopolize the industrial activity of Spain have had little to complain of. Like the church and the army, the bankers are afraid that the removal of Franco could only initiate a dreadful slide toward democracy. Enjoying the benefits of high and uncontrolled profits, ample opportunities for tax evasion, extremely low labor costs, and immunity from any form of progressive social legislation, the magnates have found it wise to give Franco their unconditional blessing. "A republic," the managing director of one of Spain's six leading banks remarked to me, "is not compatible with order." The social attitude of the moneyed interests in Spain was well enough revealed, I think, by the shipping merchant of Bilbao who told me, in tones of warm persuasion, that "the working people here are really very well paid." The average daily wage of workers employed by this man comes to the market price of about three pounds of bread—in money terms much less than $1.



Generalissimo Franco

As long as there is a good prospect of increased Western aid, the four pillars of Franco's dictatorship—the bureaucracy, the church, the army, and the moneyed interests—will stand unshaken. The people of Spain may be visibly starving; but as an orange exporter in Valencia explained to me, "they are used to that." What troubles men of property, or many of them, is that they begin to see that Franco's financial lunacy may drag them all down. With or without outside aid, the dictatorship is becoming too expensive for safety, too unstable for comfort. At this point it is enlightening to examine the attitude of the Vatican, which is better informed on Spanish affairs than any other institution or group of people in the world.

Nothing is more suggestive of the regime's hidden instability than the fact that the Vatican continues to reject Franco's demand for a concordat. The republic denounced the old concordat in 1931 and, however hesitantly and ineffectively, was slowly secularizing the public life of Spain. Franco restored full sovereignty to the Spanish church. For that the Vatican is understandably grateful; yet it is careful to note that Franco's dictatorship, like others in recent history, cannot guarantee the succession. It turns, accordingly, a deaf ear to Franco's pleading that Rome bestow on him the same privileges in the nomination of bishops and other church affairs as those traditionally held by the Spanish kings. "The Vatican," declared one observer well qualified to judge, "does not regard this regime as stable."

It is not too much to say that nobody in Spain thinks the regime has more than the most temporary stability. The question is how long the dictator can last—ruling out his death, since Franco is now only sixty and in reasonably good health—for his regime will certainly not survive him. The notion that Franco will be able to hand on the "succession" to another dictator of the same stamp finds, as far as I know, absolutely no credence. Remove Franco, and the whole edifice comes tumbling down.

The answer to this central question depends, of course, on much that happens outside Spain. It depends primarily on Washington and to a lesser extent on London. Financial aid at this time can keep the moneyed interests happy and stave off the final ruin of the country's economy, though it cannot, because of the nature of the regime, make the economy stable or remotely prosperous. Military aid, or the promise of military aid, will keep the generals loyal—all the more because such aid will be taken as a sure sign that World War III is just around the corner. The refusal of financial and military aid will cause both the moneyed interests and the army, and in their wake the church, to cast round for an alternative regime. Even so, they will keep Franco as their "protector" if they possibly can; and in the end only the United States can convince them that a real change must be made.

With the democratic parties so weak and scattered and the misery of the country so abysmal, could a real change bring anything but chaos? To this question there is now no answer, for everything will depend upon the circumstances of the change. Continued support of Franco by the Western powers, quite certainly, spells the eventual collapse of Spain into chaos, for it is the central feature of this vicious regime that it is self-defeating, that under pretense of saving Spain it is in fact steering the country toward a complete moral, social, and economic breakdown. A change in the near future, a change before the sufferings of the people have driven them to an irresponsible desire for revenge, would not mean chaos. I formed the impression that the country is tired of violence and war. The men of the opposition with whom I talked, leaders and rank-and-file, moderate and radical, were unanimous in their hatred of the regime but also in their desire for *peaceful* change. The outcome rests now with the Western powers.

Essays and Asides

A NEW FIVE-FOOT SHELF

BY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

LAST winter the Columbia University Press's sprightly house organ, *The Pleasures of Publishing*, undertook to select on the basis of a questionnaire sent out only to the literary and the learned the "Ten Most Boring Classics." As might be expected, the response was enthusiastic, and as might also be expected, the final list included those old stand-bys among popular-unpopular words, "The Faerie Queene" and "Pilgrim's Progress." More surprisingly it included also Boswell's "Johnson," as well as several other books which make one wonder whether or not there is any such thing as a book lively enough to overcome the dulness of some readers. The Bible and Shakespeare did not appear among the first ten, but in view of what did, one suspects that a mere failure of nerve was the cause.

Ten or fifteen years ago *The Nation* was guilty of a somewhat similar stunt when it invited subscribers to confess which of the works that everybody has read were still closed books to them. If I remember aright, we had rather a bad conscience about the whole affair because we came to doubt whether, in this case, the confession which is supposedly good for the soul was not more than counterbalanced by the encouragement we appeared to be giving to the philistines. Most of our correspondents seemed to be boasting rather than confessing, and we lost a lot of respect for our readers. Evidently the world is full of people just waiting for an opportunity to display their ignorance or their bad taste, and the Columbia Press seems to be as astonished as we were by the enthusiasm with which their inquiry was answered. According to the latest report, just issued, comment has now appeared in the *Egyptian Gazette* of Cairo and the *Palestine Post* of Jerusalem.

Book reviewers are popularly supposed not to read the books they write about. In fact, Sydney Smith boasted that he never did, because he had found that "it prejudices one so." But apparently prideful non-reading is not confined to professionals. A five-foot shelf of "Great Classics You Won't Want to Read" might sell even better than Dr. Eliot's selection, since its presence in the living-room would not, like a set of the Harvard Classics, constitute a standing reproach to the non-reading owner. He could purchase it in the full, comfortable conviction that he would never feel guilty about not opening the pages. Probably hundreds of people are lying on psychoanalytical couches at this very moment trying to get rid of the inferiority complexes generated by their uneasy realization that they let Dr. Eliot down.

Besides being guaranteed not to foster a sense of guilt, our new shelf might even, by its appeal to pure perversity, get the classics read. Most of the books on Columbia's Most Boring list probably got there because those by whom they were selected did not get around to trying them out until they had been told too often how interesting they were. At least that is a kindly assumption to make; and the method of counter-suggestion does wonders with undergraduates. I never had any success at all with "Lycidas" until I hit upon the device of introducing it by means of Dr. Johnson's famous damnation, which I read with an air of full approval. It is surprising how many students will rise to the bait and grow quite indignant in defense of a poem which would be completely unjustifiable if it were not for one fact—it is supremely beautiful.

To pick up a copy of "Das Kapital" from the open shelves of the Forty-second Street branch of the New York Public Library is an instructive experience. The first twenty-five pages are so soiled and so ragged as to be nearly illegible. The next twenty-five have obviously been fingered a good many times; the next fifty grow progressively cleaner; after page 100 the book is very nearly virgin—if that phrase is permissible. But an important book is not the same thing as a book great in the sense in which most of Columbia's Ten Most Boring are great. For a reason I should prefer not to go into I do not think that the failure ever to have read "Das Kapital" *through* ought to be held against anyone. To find "Moby Dick" dull—and enough people did to put it on the list—calls for a quite different comment, with which Columbia happens, in this case also, to provide me.

The late Professor Raymond Weaver laid the first stone of his fabulous reputation among the students of Columbia College on the occasion of the first quiz which he gave to his very first class just after the First World War, when sophomores were more than usually sophomoric. When the first question went up on the blackboard it was, "Which of the books read so far has interested you least?" and a whistle of joy went up from a group which had been trying to make things hard for a new instructor. After a dramatic pause Weaver wrote the second and last question. It was: "To what defect in yourself do you attribute this lack of interest?"

Duel for the World

THE WORLD IN CRISIS. By J. Salwyn Schapiro. The McGraw-Hill Book Company. $5.

PROFESSOR SCHAPIRO has followed up his penetrating analysis of liberalism and fascism with just the sort of explanatory account of the world crisis that people long for. How did the world get into its present dangerous situation? Why have the settlements of two world wars brought us to the verge of a third one? Can we expect the United Nations to reconcile the antagonism between the Western democracies and the Soviet bloc? The object of "World in Crisis" is to clarify the whole background of these questions and to

CLIMBING ABOVE THE CAVE

Rock-rung echo, wrung from this moving
Step-quickened speaker, Antaeus-born light,
My cave-crossing shadow, lucky living,
Inverted, vertical, binds in flight
Fossil to wind-flower, stone to air,
The spaceless dead in their speechless rock
To a spirit hung on the windy stair,
Stunned by the dull waves' crash and shock.
Great hollows, then, make the fine strings speak:
"You were born to a musical order, die
To a musical order; seek, then, seek
Notes that were true in the Past."

Here I
Unsheathe a dagger to pierce the sun.
I have trapped the winds, lassooed the sea,
Tread intricately this track where none
Hears what I hear, sees what I see,
All wedges, ledges being betrayed
To the last pressure of foot on stone.
Here time is stopped, and the crouching shade
Knows for an instant the unknown,
How my hand's companion, breaking the crust
Of violent hunters hidden beneath,
Signals an insurrection of dust,
And a mounted skeleton in the teeth
Of the waves and the whirlwind spurs his host
Into thundering seas.

My praying step
Can make rocks fast, uproot the coast,
With the faith of a prophet softly keep
Sea, mountain, and giant air
Dancing, forever changing, born
In a moment, then no longer there,
Lands that a wishbone laughs to scorn
Where the parched flint has eyes.

Yet here
Luminous tides and breeding winds
Tell me suddenly I am near
Darkness, the door of my hidden friends,
Where stone is a fading wonder, moss
A monument; there the glacier thrives
Dropping stalactites' marble gloss,
Quick as a shower of hail where knives,
Edged on the whetstone, turn

For there
Fins cut the surface, flashing free.
Dolphins, leaping to light in air,
Turn, and bound on the wheel of sea.
Wave through the cave-mouth glorious swims,
Gathering from darkness my true day,
Wrenching from rock the eternal limbs
Where the soul's fathers, anchorites, pray.

VERNON WATKINS

stimulate the reader into getting his own bearings.

The book begins by tracing the chief elements of twentieth-century democracy to their origins in nineteenth-century laissez faire. We are apt to believe that unashamed free enterprise, as expressed in Victorian sweated labor and in Commodore Vanderbilt's "I'll do as I please and the public be damned!" is as old as human nature. In reality, laissez faire capitalism is a nineteenth-century product and is only a very short episode in man's long history. The episode had its glittering successes and its abysmal failures. On the one hand it enormously increased the production of material goods and the usefulness of world trade; on the other it produced hideous slums and oppressive colonial empires, besides bringing on the calamitous "bust" that followed every "boom." When the failures became conspicuous, corrective reactions set in, reactions that crystallized into the trade-unionist and socialist movements, and also into the promotion and extension of public education and civil liberty. Since these corrective developments owed much of their dynamism to the social energy capitalism had undoubtedly released, they were counted, strangely enough, among those achievements of the laissez faire age that had raised the prospects of mankind. At the turn of the century the supporters of free enterprise viewed the future with optimism.

In the twentieth century, however, the competitive economy does not make good its own predictions. Despite the miracles of capitalist production, capitalist maldistribution generates slumps at home and wars and revolutions in the colonies. Our author explains how the trade-union and progressive movements expose capitalism's Achilles heel and press for those political and economic reforms that transform the haphazard economy of the laissez faire state into the planned economy of a welfare state. We follow the international drama with a sense of mounting tension. The very failure of capitalism to solve the problem of distribution at home enables it to carry its goods, its technology, its swift communications, and its cultural ideas to the ends of the earth. The result is that at last there is a global recognition of the fact that all nations and colonies are interdependent. For the first time in his-

tory the dream of a politically united world becomes a practical possibility. Unluckily the hope of world unity under democratic auspices is frustrated by the new and sinister force of totalitarianism.

The word denotes an autocratic use, by a small minority, of all the powers of the state. It signifies a despotism which rejects the essential features of a democratic nation. Three vividly written chapters expound the contrast, besides recounting the Nazi "bid for world dominion," the defeat of Hitler, and Russia's "bid for world revolution," a bid which has split the world in two. A prime objection to Soviet communism is that it is a foreign product. As democrats, we should resist an attempt to impose a Russian way of living upon us, even if it were a superior way. This means that, in the absence of a trustworthy agreement with the Eastern group of nations, the Western group must arm to the teeth for safety's sake. So far our agreement with Schapiro is complete. On the other hand, a faith in democracy involves a faith in tolerance and a recognition that the Russians, like ourselves, have a plan of social betterment for their own people, however ruthlessly they may be carrying it out. Until the die is cast, are we not bound to support that non-Soviet element in the United Nations which believes that we can live peaceably with the Eastern autocracies just as, for centuries, the Christian trading states lived peaceably with Moslem despotisms? Professor Schapiro does not entirely rule out a negotiated settlement. But he puts no trust in Stalin's word. And he holds that Soviet autocracy and the Communist plan of social improvement are merely two aspects of a Kremlin plot to rule the world by force. Here a comment is in order.

If we really desire to strengthen the avowed purposes of the United Nations, we must make a clear distinction between the Soviet Union as a rival world power with legitimate claims, and communism as the religion of the world's neglected people. As a religion, communism cannot be brushed off as the conspiracy of a power-crazed Politburo served by international terrorists and spies. It is a straw clutched at by the most backward, the most exploited, the most forgotten workers everywhere. In short, it is a movement in the minds of men, and it can be overcome only by a movement of a higher moral quality. Atomic bombs and bacterial poisons may crush Soviet Russia. Will they crush the idea that an abundant livelihood must eventually be provided for all? There is but one sure way of defeating communism, and that is to make our social democracy fulfil its promise to conduct our industries and institutions, not for the glory of private wealth, but for the glory of the commonwealth.

The theme of the book is that the hope of the world lies in social democracy under American leadership. The passionate sincerity with which the author hews to this theme and lets the chips fall where they will is precisely the quality that turns a monument of scholarly analysis into a work of living scholarship. With a wide and deep historian's sweep Professor Schapiro covers all the controversial issues of the struggle between communism and democracy and weaves them into a dynamic, evolving world pattern. In a word, the book enables the reader to study the duel between the democratic West and the Communist East in all its origins and developments, and thus provides him with an extremely readable guide through the mazes of a world in crisis.

FELIX GRENDON

Heresies and Hunts

WITCH HUNT: THE REVIVAL OF HERESY. By Carey McWilliams. Little, Brown and Company. $3.50.

CAREY McWILLIAMS'S latest book has the apparent misfortune of making its appearance at a time of extreme national tension, when events in Korea afford a spurious justification for the witch-hunting at home which he exposes, interprets, and decries. This fact may impair the book's reception and diminish its immediate impact, but it cannot impair its validity or diminish its real importance. In terms of the need for what it has to say, "Witch Hunt" has been published at the most opportune possible moment.

It renders three important services. First, it recounts with extraordinary lucidity and force some of the revealing incidents in the contemporary cult of conformity. It presents the story of the "Hollywood ten," for example, with illuminating detail. A major section of



"Goes to the root of the matter."

Albert Guerard, The Nation

WERNER LEVI'S

FUNDAMENTALS OF

World Organization

Offers fresh insight into the possibilities of one peaceful world. Dr. Levi analyzes the basic human problems that must be considered realistically in order to build a world organization that can function successfully. A sober and helpful study by the University of Minnesota political scientist, author also of AMERICAN-AUSTRALIAN RELATIONS. $3.00

THE

American Writer

AND THE

European Tradition

Edited by MARGARET DENNY and WILLIAM H. GILMAN



"These twelve essays by different hands add up to an unusually dispassionate and enlightening appraisal" —*The Atlantic*

"In its entirety this small but richly charged volume is informative and challenging."—*St Louis Post-Dispatch*

Contributors Louis B. Wright, Theodore Hornberger, Robert E. Spiller, Stanley T Williams, Henry Nash Smith, Leon Howard, Willard Thorp, Clarence Gohdes, Alfred Kazin, Lionel Trilling, Norman Holmes Pearson, Harry Levin $2 75

At all bookstores
University of Minnesota Press,
Minneapolis 14

the book—its most effective—is devoted to an exposition of the decline of intellectual freedom in our institutions of higher learning. In particular, its statement of the issues in the tangled controversy over the non-Communist oath at the University of California and in the dismissal of three professors at the University of Washington seemed to me the most discerning I have seen.

Second, it provides a rounded interpretation in psychological terms of the modern revival of heresy. As Mr. McWilliams employs the term, "heresy is the disposition to be critical of the existing social order in time of storm." The contemporary economic revolution, he argues, resembles that which swept across Europe during the "religious wars," and the current efforts to stamp out "disloyalty" parallel the efforts of the Inquisition to extirpate heresy and the subsequent sixteenth-century persecution of witches. The analogy is, admittedly, not a novel one; but it is painstakingly developed by Mr. McWilliams. One of his essential points is that social unrest is the cause, not the consequence, of present political, as of past religious, heterodoxy; agitators do not create social unrest so much as they are created by it. And it is the fear of change on the part of those in power that leads to the persecution of men on account of their opinions. "The vagueness of the offense and the impossibility of acquittal have always made heresy the perfect political weapon to use in maintaining a social order in which many people have ceased to believe."

Third, the book shows how largely heresy-hunting has grown out of accommodations to it made in the name of expediency. The government's loyalty program, adopted to disarm political opponents who charged that the Administration was infested with Communists, was no doubt intended to protect the reputations of loyal government employees. It operated, however, to establish guilt by association and the use of anonymous informers. Thus it undercut the moral basis of opposition to McCarthyism. Mr. McWilliams has this to say about it in general:

> Every measure taken to suppress heresy—each yielding to the fear of heresy—only augments the fear and arouses further apprehension, which in turn leads to the demand for additional and still more repressive measures. Soon the measures which are proposed—which are in fact demanded—bear no relation whatsoever to any real or imagined risk. Thus a government that launches a heresy prosecution, either from a fear of heresy or to win an election, will eventually discover that the imaginary monsters of error it helped to create have turned into real monsters who are quite capable of destroying the government that brought them into being.

"Witch Hunt" is an angry and uncompromising book. This is not said in disparagement of it. The events it recounts ought to evoke anger, and in the area with which it is concerned, compromise is inevitably corrupting. Mr. McWilliams is quite right to point out that the civil rights of a witch or a Communist are no less important than the civil rights of the patriotic and the orthodox, that "once society starts burning heretics, figuratively or literally, the flames are likely to engulf the whole structure of society." He is quite right, too, that the attack today is aimed only nominally at Communists; it is aimed actually, through them, at freedom and diversity. And because Communists have become "untouchables," protest in their behalf is effectively stifled.

It seems to me, nevertheless, that he fails adequately to take into account the real problems arising from the relationship of American Communists to the Soviet Union. He deplores the undiscriminating assumption that all Communists are necessarily disloyal and "agents of a foreign power." True enough, as he says, the real test of loyalty "can only be found in the attitude, the feelings, the personality, the character of the person involved. This person may be deluded or biased or ignorant; but the test of his loyalty is to be found in *his* feelings, not your feelings or my feelings. To judge his patriotism by some other person's appraisal of what it means to be a Communist is completely fallacious." But Communists, however sincerely or naively, are disloyal in the deepest sense—as many of the anti-Communist extremists are disloyal—to the values which are the genius of American life: they have rejected tolerance and diversity and the concept of government by the uncoerced consent of the governed. And although they may not be conscious Soviet agents, they are tools of Soviet foreign policy; as such they may, under certain not altogether imaginary circumstances, constitute a fifth column too dangerous to be ignored.

Espionage and sabotage are real threats to internal security, however much the fear of them may be exaggerated and exploited for ugly purposes. Advocacy of "disloyal" doctrines is no threat at all. The distinction needs to be kept crystal clear—if only because the heresy hunters strive so to obscure it. Mr. McWilliams himself is sometimes vague on this point. He refers to Judith Coplon, for example, as a heretic; the hue and cry against her undoubtedly stemmed from the supposition, unsupported by any evidence, that she held heretical opinions, but she was prosecuted for an overt violation of law which any government may properly forbid and punish. (The manner in which she was prosecuted was, of course, not proper at all.)

Mr. McWilliams demonstrates brilliantly, however, that the great mass of "trials" and "hearings" and "inquiries" by federal and state un-American activities committees, far from protecting national security, subvert it by diminishing the diversity which is its indispensable source. National unity does not grow out of uniformity; it grows out of resolved conflict. "Witch Hunt" is an exhilarating tonic—not alone for those who would suppress "dangerous thoughts," but even more for those who profess "liberalism" and yet, in the name of national security, would justify resort to test oaths and loyalty clearances and academic purges. Heresy is an invention of the heresy hunters. It is they rather than the heretics who imperil freedom and security alike.

ALAN BARTH

The Road to Freedom

FROM WEALTH TO WELFARE: THE EVOLUTION OF LIBERALISM. By Harry K. Girvetz. Stanford University Press. $5.

IN FULFILMENT of a long-recognized need, here at last, is a scholarly, penetrating, and consistently pertinent analysis of the liberal creed. The first section is devoted to a systematic exploration of the assumptions underlying the classical liberalism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; the second, to

a brilliant analysis of the fallacies and inadequacies of these assumptions as revealed, say, after 1870. A third section synthesizes the elements making up contemporary liberalism. Result: the best introduction to liberalism currently available. I say the "best," not because the material is new or the analysis original, but because the treatment throughout is methodical and unflinchingly honest. Terms are carefully defined; assumptions are clearly stated and pressed to logical conclusions; nothing is taken for granted.

Dr. Girvetz puts his finger on the real weakness of liberalism when he refers to "a deep inner conflict in the liberal ideology, which is never successfully reconciled: it is forever torn between degenerating into middle-class apologetics and developing into a creed of emancipation for all mankind." Currently this conflict finds reflection in two opposed factions: the right-wing "liberals"—Herbert Hoover insists that he is liberal—who would use classical liberalism to defend "free enterprise," and the left-wing liberals who see that liberalism leads logically to the welfare state and, beyond welfare, to some form of socialism.

The sad confusion in the ranks of liberals arises largely from the fact that the left wing has permitted the right to pervert the real meaning of the liberal creed, thus discrediting liberalism in the eyes of many potential adherents, while hesitating to expand and define a liberalism capable of coping with contemporary economic realities. Many of the left-wing liberals, as Dr. Girvetz points out, have an ambivalent attitude toward power. They hesitate to use power while there is still time to use it effectively because, misquoting Lord Acton, they fear that all power corrupts. But it is not power *per se* that corrupts: it is irresponsible power. "In the end," writes Dr. Girvetz, "there is only one test by which to determine an excess or a defect of power: does it resolve the needs which called it into being in such a way as to promote human freedom? If power is greater than the situation calls for, it is tyrannical. But if it is less, and this is what is often forgotten, the final result will also be tyranny." Dr. Girvetz properly concludes that the concentration of economic power in the United States truly corrupts, since it is irresponsibly vested and has ceased to promote human freedom. Unfortunately he could not quote the conclusion of the Buchanan committee's Report (October 20, 1950)—that concentrated economic power has now undermined representative government and the two-party system. This is the harsh fact which must be faced by those liberals who, still reluctant to accept socialism as the logical end-product of liberalism, have always relied upon the party system as the most reliable safeguard against the disease and corruption of power.

It is a real pity that a "condensed" version of this book is not likely to appear in the *Reader's Digest* and that no organizations are likely to come forward to distribute thousands of copies at cut-rate prices—as the American Medical Association and the Committee for Constitutional Government distributed copies of John T. Flynn's "The Road Ahead." For Dr. Girvetz has written an excellent answer to Hayek, Stolper, von Mises, and their popularizers—the Flynns, Chamberlains, and Hazlitts.

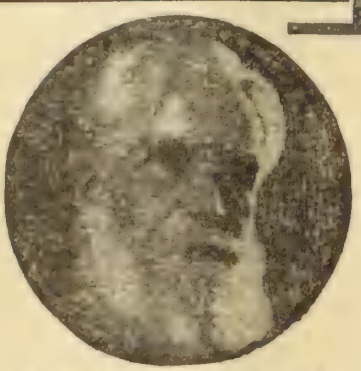
CAREY MCWILLIAMS

Books in Brief

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN BUSINESS. By Robert Kinzer and Edward Sagarin. Greenberg. $2.50. Segregation is useful to the Negro business man because it tends to reesrve for him a market in which he has an advantage over his white competitor. The market is limited; the advantage temporary; the only final solution, an integration of the Negro and white economy. Nevertheless, the dilemma is real; the solution slow and difficult. This is the central problem of the Kinzer-Sagarin study—a sober, factual inquiry into the past, present, and probable future of the Negro business man that illuminates an important phase of race relations.

THE GREAT ILLUSION. An Informal History of Prohibition. By Herbert Asbury. Doubleday. $4. Mr. Asbury has written an entertaining account of American drinking habits and temperance movements from the late eighteenth century to the present. Most space is given to the prohibition era, and the details of

HAVELOCK ELLIS PSYCHOLOGY of **SEX**



His LATEST BOOK on the SEXUAL LIFE Crystallizes the FINDINGS of a LIFE-TIME

THE NATION says:
"There is probably no better introduction to contemporary knowledge and contemporary theories about the physiology, psychology and hygiene of sex."

NEW REPUBLIC says:
"Has all the qualities of a scientific text except dullness."

BERTRAND RUSSELL says:
"Few books on the subject of sex can be confidently recommended as this truly admirable volume."

—Authorized — Unabridged

New Edition
COMPLETE IN ONE VOL.
389 Pages
READ FIRST—*Then decide!*
5-Day Money-Back Guarantee

PART OF CONTENTS

The Nature of the Sexual Impulse
The Sexual Zones
The Sexual Impulse in Youth
Masturbation
Frigidity
Impotence
First Intercourse
Secondary Sexual Characters
The "Under-sexed"; the "Over-sexed
Exhibitionism
The Sexual Criminal
Analysis of Courtship
Sadism and Masochism
Woman's Change of Life
The Dangerous Age in Men
Homosexuality
Cruelty and Pain in Relations to Sex
Hermaphroditism
Sexual Abstinence
Sex Intercourse & Health
The Choice of a Mate
Preparation for Marriage
Fertility and Sterility
Divorce
Monogamy: Polygamy
The Nature of Birth Control
The Question of Abortion
Frequency of Coitus
The Sexual Athlete: Satyriasis; Nymphomania
Jealousy
Married Love
Sex Life of Unmarried Adults
Dreams: Their Significance
Sexual Fetishes & Symbols
Sexual Adjustments
Sex Happiness
Age and the Sexual Impulse
The Sexual Impulse and Love
Love Rights of Women: of Men
Esthetics of Coitus
Expression and Repression
Substitutes for Sex
Psychoanalytic Concepts of Sex
Pre-marital Knowledge and Experience
Modesty: Nudism
Childbirth: Sex Life During Pregnancy; Immediately After
Sexual Feelings in Women
Sex Practice in Marriage
Methods and Technique of Coitus
Sexual Pleasure and Conception
Position in Coitus
Sex Life and Nervous Disorders
Sexual Difficulties
Freud's "Unconscious": "Libido"
The Art of Love
Glossary of Sexual Terms
Index



"THE BEST OF ALL AVAILABLE BOOKS ON THE SUBJECT."
—The American Medical Association's *Hygeia*

Send this coupon NOW to:
Emerson Books, Inc., Dept. 753-F, 251 W. 19 St., N.Y. 11

I am sending you this portion of advertisement with my name and address in margin to take advantage of your offer on PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX by Havelock Ellis. I will pay $3 and few cents delivery charge upon arrival of book. I have the right to return book within 5 days, for full refund of purchase price, if not entirely delighted. (If you wish to save delivery charges send only $3. Same money-back guarantee, of course.) I am over 21.

The evolution of liberalism

FROM WEALTH TO WELFARE

Careful scholarship; real substance.

An original, systematic study of the psychological preconceptions that underlie classical liberalism, along with a marshaling of arguments that these preconceptions are antithetical to the basic premises of contemporary liberalism.

$5.00

by Harry K. Girvetz

Stanford University Press

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR

Just Arrived! P. PAVLENKO

HAPPINESS Stalin Prize Novel

In English — 595 pp. — $1.25

Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts

1951 Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals

Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2860

Buy Your Books through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

that nightmare are vividly revived. Even those of us who lived through it can hardly believe that events which we then took with a shrug of the shoulders can really have happened. Probably nothing else—not even our most destructive wars—ever came quite so close to destroying American civilization. Mr. Asbury obviously realizes that fact, but unlike some chroniclers he resists the temptation to paint a flattering picture of the liquor trade, either before or since. That trade, he thinks, learned nothing and may even inspire another noble experiment.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

IN "Second Threshold" (Morosco Theater) Philip Barry was attempting the same sort of tragi-comedy of the soul that T. S. Eliot has given us in "The Cocktail Party."

In this case the drama consists of the struggle for the soul of a highly successful lawyer and public man who is bent on suicide. In readiness, he has divested himself of his worldly responsibilities and portioned out his worldly goods. On another level, in a long-drawn-out process born of an unconscious fear and a conscious contempt of feeling, he has prepared this end by cutting himself off from those he loves. Particularly from his daughter, whom he has loved most and whose love for him, we are led to understand, has been quite as profound. As the play opens, it is revealed that the daughter is following his example—unconsciously and therefore with all the greater energy and precision—and is about to renounce the life of feeling by marrying a man as old as her father and just as "successful."

A young doctor and friend of the family, in love with the daughter, acts as analyst and catalyst, and during the twenty-four hours in which the action takes place, forces the father and daughter to confront—and to save—themselves and each other. There are two minor characters—a pretty young girl who is all but labeled as Unafraid of Emotion and the son of the household, who has found a satisfying way of life in the theater.

A drama of the soul is a very ambitious undertaking. Since its only action is the play of feeling, idea, and language, and these determine as well any other interest it may have, all three must be of a high order of maturity and power. There are shallows and weaknesses in "The Cocktail Party" for all Eliot's poetic genius and skill and wit. And Barry was not Eliot. The situation in "Second Threshold" is authentic and moving, but the play falls pathetically short on all the crucial counts, and the final effect is of a pretentious frame inclosing a quite undistinguished canvas.

As for the play as play: the situation is tardily defined and confused thereafter. The character of the father and the nature of his despair are not sufficiently established in the first scene to carry the burden of the scenes that follow—and, indeed, he never arouses the sympathy he is doubtless entitled to. His relation with his daughter is likewise stated but not realized. As for the resolution, which is presumably due to the subtle workings of love rediscovered and accepted, it is robbed of most of its point by the crude, arbitrary, and quite unbelievable statement of the daughter that if her father commits suicide she will too. This seemed to me to introduce a tone and an approach at odds with the basic temper of the play—and a mixture of modes is observable at other points and in other contexts.

The wit is weak and at times even a little cheap, while the device of the apparition in the garden makes not for atmosphere but for moments of acute embarrassment.

Clive Brook, as the father, is as convincing as his lines permit him to be—though one gets the sense occasionally that he, like the spectator, is a little at sea. Margaret Phillips is a good actress, but she doesn't sound at all like an American girl just out of Bennington, and her speech and manner are consistently brisk, even when the mood of the scene would seem to call for softness. Is this briskness, by the way, supposed to be the sign of an intellectual woman? The acting of Hugh Reilly as the young doctor and finally successful suitor is earnest and rather dull and inexpressive. The absent suitor, I kept thinking, was probably more interesting. Betsy von Furstenberg as the pretty young girl is very pretty indeed, and she carries off with considerable aplomb even

the business of making up to the father—which is designed, I take it, to be an illustration of youth's dauntless attitude toward emotion, but which I found tasteless and trying.

Films

MANNY FARBER

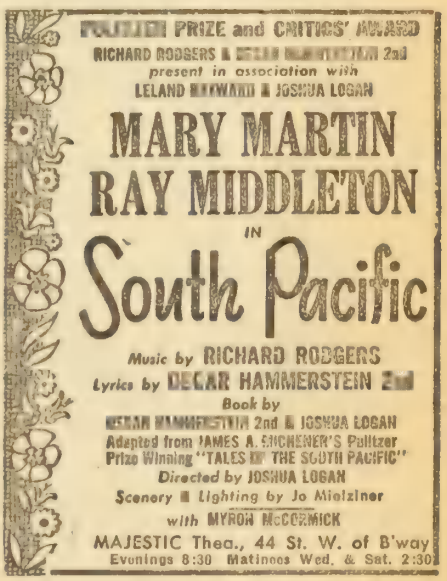
IN "Ways of Love" three vignettes directed by three top film makers add up to the year's best foreign release. Marcel Pagnol's "Jofroi" is about a senile farmer (Vincent Scotto) who shams suicide thirty times to protect some lovingly nurtured trees. This director feels that there is nothing more delightful than pondering the virtuosity of character actors—earthy types who immobilize the screen with chattered wisdom and time-wasting mannerisms. In Jean Renoir's "A Day in the Country," a pretty Parisian (Sylvia Bataille) is seduced while the camera fastens on the countryside in tender mimicry of Papa Renoir's paintings. As usual Renoir maneuvers his motorless plot into splendid landscape to press home the idea that man is a handsome spot in nature. Rossellini's controversial "The Miracle" is a powerful, messy slab of life, starring Anna Magnani as a talkative idiot made pregnant by a silent stranger she believes to be St. Joseph. Rossellini, thirsting for brutality, filth, misery, attacks his actors with an innocent technique. His people are always sent out to face uncontrollable crowds, unpredictable weather, or unconquerable terrain—victims of a half-written script and a carefree photographer. The effect of this masterpiece is like walking into a hail storm; Magnani's intense, sullen jabbering and gesturing paralyze the brain; the chaotic editing of unbalanced images captures existence in its most unrelated, disheveled state.

"Oliver Twist" is a mood-saturated version of Dickens's novel about slighted childhood, slowed down by a contrived million-dollar reproduction of London's nineteenth-century slums. Replacing adventure with threatening atmosphere, the movie carries its sparrowish waif (John Howard Davies), starved, beaten, corrupted, from workhouse to the underworld of Fagin (Alec Guinness). The actors can barely grimace under mask-like make-up, but Guinness amuses occasionally with some oily virtuosity. Davies runs and fights with a furious talent, and Francis Sullivan works a lot of subtle discomfort into the role of Bumble. The skill of director David Lean ("Great Expectations") comes through in spots that have the traumatic feeling and movement of vivid reality—scenes darting between knees, zooming up with someone's fist as it explodes in Oliver's face, moving with a murderer's gaze the morning after his dark, wild deed. However, Lean's attack on a situation congests and blurs the action by detouring all over the landscape for tricky views. This approach—different from the Hollywood method of gluing the camera to action and getting through it fast—makes an unimportant walk upstairs seem like a detailed report on slum staircasing by an over-zealous building inspector. With unnecessary sadism Lean has built a badly lit film, cluttered and confused with precious effect—filthy dens tattered by expensive arc lighting, Sykes's brutish mugging, sloshing rain—that makes the plot seem ten hours long and anything but absorbing.

"Manon" is a hard-boiled version of Prévost's bedridden novelette, with a creaking, improbable script job waylaying director Georges Clouzot. Manon Lescaut (Cecile Aubrey) is now a baby-faced siren, her incredibly faithful lover is a *maquis* fighter, and their unswerving passion—shared with any willing and wealthy fat man—lights the way from Paris black markets to the sands of Palestine. The cold, frank Clouzot ("The Raven," "Jenny Lamour") is a perverse craftsman who casts incongruous creatures (half-pint Aubrey) and contrives unnecessary obstacles. On a jammed train where there is no room for moving-picture apparatus and crowds are unwieldy, he threads his heroine through every aisle for a masterful analysis of life on the level of canned sardines. In an abandoned farmhouse with no constricting conditions for the director, the impassioned teen-agers neck in the dark, search the rooms with a flashlight that digs the past out of the worn-out décor. Clouzot's best talent is for clawing behind camouflages with a candid camera. He achieves the lonely, unglamorous feeling of a junky movie theater by working only in the basement and manager's office. His detailed pictures of a high-class bordello, a frenzied jive cave, a dress salon, unearth the provocative nuances of its people—usually from the waist down. "Manon" is halted and conventionalized by its hack plotting, enlivened by its ludicrous pornography, and is, otherwise, a painful study of Parisians at their peculiar worst.

As an anti-climax to the Critics' Awards, the following are my choice of the best films that didn't appear on other "Ten Best" lists.

"Union Station." A famous depot kidnapping reenacted by Rudy Mate for all the remembered thrills of a game of hide-and-seek; Mate revives an all but lost film style in which excitement





springs from the crisp, moving patterns made by players on a carefully controlled surface.

"Mystery Street." Its scientific crime detection makes better use of documentary technique than any other fiction film; an intelligent, unsentimental rendering of American citizenry by Betsy Blair and Bruce Bennett.

"Crisis." Director Richard Brooks's clever, explosive blend of documentary and melodrama casts a revealing light on the inside of a dictator's brain: elegantly acted by Cary Grant.

"Broken Arrow." A preachy western; it shows Director Delmar Daves's unique talent for moving lone figures through dangerous terrain and gaining the suspense of an early Hitchcock without using gimmicks.

"Winchester 73." Anthony Mann's arty western; a striking example of how to humanize an overworked genre with natural dialogue, acting, and a director's original "film eye."

"The Winslow Boy." The best adaptation from the stage. Roughly equal to sitting in a library of thick carpets and padded chairs, reading a familiar, beloved English classic.

"Captain China." The second-best thing for landlubbers who have a desire to experience the sights, skills, and smells of life on a tanker.

"Macbeth." Orson Welles's orgiastic rendering of Shakespeare, co-starring my nephew, Jerry Farber.

CONTRIBUTORS

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH is Brander Matthews professor of dramatic literature at Columbia University.

FELIX GRENDON, novelist and critic, is the author of "No Other Caesar."

VERNON WATKINS is an English poet. His "Selected Poems" were published here in 1948.

ALAN BARTH, editorial writer on the Washington *Post*, is the author of "The Loyalty of Free Men," to be published late this month.

25% Less than List on LP Records

Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:

DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB

DEPT. N-14

Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.

Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges (50¢ minimum). SAME-DAY SHIPMENT.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

REHEARING Mozart's Clarinet Concerto K.622 after a number of years I have again been struck by the tranquil lyricism which seems to proceed from some inner serenity in the midst of the harassments and wretchedness of those last months of his life; but I have been more sharply aware this time of the exquisite details—unexpected turns in the progression of melody, with dramatic shifts in tonality—whose mingled loveliness and poignancy are like momentary shadows on the radiance. A Decca LP record (DL-7500) offers a finely integrated performance by Reginald Kell and the Zimbler Sinfonietta, in which Kell plays with his remarkably beautiful tone and his dynamic inflection of phrase which for once he keeps under control.

Despite the inevitable lovely details Mozart's Adagio K.261 and Rondo K.373 are, for me, among his less consequential pieces. They are well played by Milstein with an orchestra under Golschmann on an RCA Victor LP on which they are unsuitably combined with the Glazunov Concerto.

A Vivaldi Violin Concerto in E, a charming work of pastoral character, is on a Cetra-Soria LP (50.022), well played by Armando Gramegna with the orchestra of the Collegium Musicum Italicum under Renato Fasano. With it on the record are the Overture to Vivaldi's "L'Olimpiade"—with characteristically lovely cantilena in the second movement, and a charming finale—well played by the orchestra of Radio Italiana under Mario Rossi; an arrangement of a fine Boccherini Quintet in C for strings, engagingly fresh in procedures and invention, well played under the direction of Carlo Zecchi; and a charming Pastorale from a Boccherini Quintet in D, well played under the direction of Mario Fighera. Surfaces crackle, and there is a recurrent swish at the end of one side.

The beautiful Vivaldi-Bach Concerto in A minor for 4 harpsichords (derived from Vivaldi's Concerto in B minor for 4 violins) gets a stodgy performance under the direction of Anton Heiller by Erna Heiller, Bruno Seidelhofer, Christa Fuhrmann, Kurt Rapf, and the Vienna Chamber Orchestra. On the reverse side of the Haydn Society record (1024) is an equally stodgy performance of Bach's Concerto in C for 3 harpsichords in which, in addition, the polyphonic texture is unclear.

Things to skip are Rubinstein's brashly insensitive (first and last movements) and sentimental (middle movement) performance of Mozart's Piano Concerto K.488 on a Victor LP, and—on London LP's—Curzon's performance of the Tchaikovsky B-flat-minor, full of the excesses traditionally inflicted on Tchaikovsky and on this work in particular; the Ellen Ballon performance of Chopin's dull Concerto No. 2, full of the mannered phrasing traditionally inflicted on Chopin; and the Backhaus performance of Beethoven's Concerto No. 3, insensitive in its treatment of music and instrument.

On three of the sides of a set of 78 rpm records Victor has issued the recording of Dukas's "The Sorcerer's Apprentice" made last year by Toscanini and the N. B. C. Symphony. The performance is slower and more effectively paced than the one he recorded with the New York Philharmonic twenty years ago; it is also a breath-taking exhibition of the conductor's and orchestra's virtuosity; and the effectiveness of the exhibition is largely due to the unprecedented spaciousness, clarity, and beauty of the recorded sound from these records. (Someone commented that when at last Victor learned how to record Toscanini's performances in Studio 8H, N. B. C. took away the studio for television.) On two other sides are the older enchanting performance of Waldteufel's "The Skaters" Waltz; and the remaining side has the trashy "Colas Breugnon" Overture of Khabalevsky.

The Ormandy-Philadelphia Orchestra performance of "The Sorcerer's Apprentice" on a Columbia LP is less good and less well reproduced; and the performance of Debussy's "L'Après-midi d'un faune"—with its constantly changing pace and Kincaid's mannered phrasing—I like no better than when it was issued on 78.

I am obliged to report that Ives's Symphony No. 3, played by the National Gallery Orchestra under Richard Bales (WCFM-LP-1), does not register on my mind as a coherent and mea. ingful piece of music.

Letters to the Editors

Anniversary Issue

Dear Sirs: Your symposium "Peace with Russia—Can It Be Negotiated?" is informative and constructive. It is good to have the opinions and suggestions outlined in its articles on the gravest problem that has perplexed our country and the rest of the liberty-loving world since the establishment of our democratic form of government.

Let us not stop praying, working, and hoping for peace—the just and enduring peace we want more than anything else on earth.

May your publication's eighty-five years of labor in freedom's vineyard and humanity's cause go on and on, and may your thought-provoking writings continue as a symbol of a free press in a free nation!

J. HOWARD MC GRATH,
United States Attorney General
Washington, December 18

Dear Sirs: About the Eighty-fifth Anniversary number I can only say: a superb achievement, a very important deed for the United States, the United Nations, and the world; and how dreadfully timely. I have read every word and not least Miss Kirchwey's own somber piece of understatement. I must also mention two of the articles that reach out far beyond our "crisis," yet from the heart of it—those by Abba Eban and Sir Benegal N. Rau. JOHN COLLIER
New York, December 16

Dear Sirs: Without prejudice, may I say that I am in hearty accord with any effort in the direction of peace, and I shall not be stumped by some loss of face and wearing of sackcloth and ashes. May your articles be of some help in a crisis of the most serious import!

FRANK A. RHEA
Boise, Idaho, December 16

Dear Sirs: Congratulations on your anniversary issue. You treat a pungent subject, and your articles will certainly challenge renewed thinking on the most pressing issue before our nation. May this anniversary be a springboard to great years for your publication!

RAYMOND M. VELA
Harrisburg, Pa., December 16

Dear Sirs: Your anniversary issue is full of constructive ideas for our country's welfare. We all know that upon how the conflict between East and West is resolved may depend not only the world's future development but its very survival. And we realize too that few people, regardless of their status, understand what the real issues are. In this number of *The Nation* they are analyzed and clarified in a most luminous way.

LOULA D. LASKER
New York, December 16

Dear Sirs: Your "Peace with Russia" number is by all odds the most serious and the most valuable effort that has been put forth preparatory to a negotiated peace. It has been evident for many months that those in authority have only a slight understanding of a world in flux and revolution and still less of the measures needed to help solve its problems.

But all the fine things said in this Eighty-fifth Anniversary number are really only a beginning. A Congress of the free peoples of the earth should be summoned—to be composed of a highly intelligent group of our own men and women and representatives of other free nations—to explore further those needed ways and means and fundamental principles looking toward world peace. JOSEPH G. MASTERS
Smethport, Pa., December 17

Dear Sirs: I have been reading *The Nation* for fifty-three years. Through long years of residence abroad I always subscribed to it. Thus its opinion-forming climate affected throughout a long life my background of political knowledge and convictions. It also did more than this: its book reviews and articles have through time influenced my reading habits—a fact which in our present time stands me in good stead. However small for the purpose, it gave me a backlog. This anniversary number with its articles and book reviews is a practical stimulus to which we must not fail to respond. The problems are complex; we must work hard to get an intellectual rather than an emotional grasp of them before we can use convictions as a basis for action. H. T. LOWE-PORTER
New York, December 18

Machinery for Peace

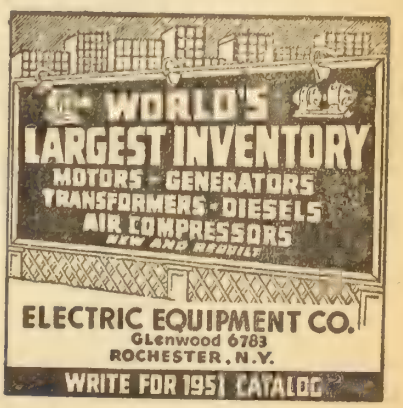
Dear Sirs: Congratulations on your splendid anniversary number. You have performed a magnificent public service which should serve to stimulate wider intelligent discussion of the issue.

I am puzzled by Albert Guérard's scornful dismissal of Grenville Clark's proposed world government limited strictly to war prevention. Mr. Guérard says "such a government would have no appeal and no power. A World Federation must have something constructive to do. The causes of war are not military," etc.

As I understand Mr. Clark's proposals, they would involve equipping the U. N. with governmental powers in a limited field, leaving intact the present international arrangements for dealing with social and economic problems —with the anticipated result that the human family, free at last from the suicidal compulsions of the arms race, could attack the real enemies of mankind—hunger, want, and misery—with the resources now diverted to war.

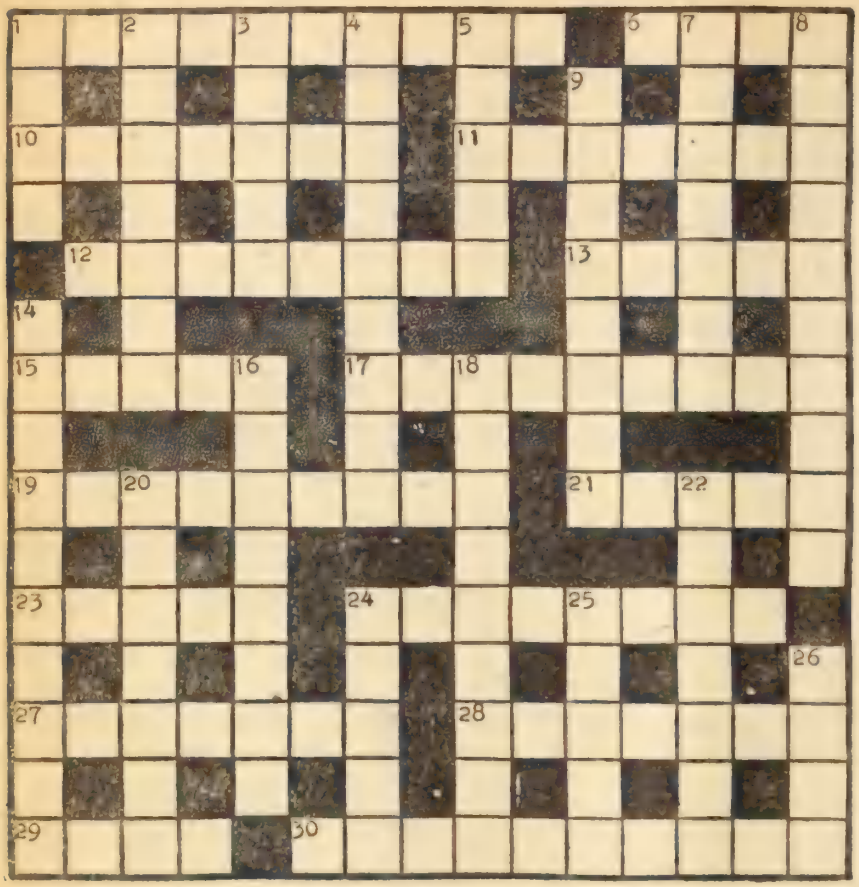
It may be that the price of unanimous agreement on a scheme for universal enforceable disarmament will be certain guaranties that a huge U. N. program of economic development will be undertaken. It may be that more precise and binding responsibilities will have to be undertaken by the nations to support the F. A. O., W. H. O., and other specialized agencies. But the machinery for tackling these problems is there; it is working well within the limitations of funds now made available. What is lacking is machinery "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war."

Let us not dismiss Mr. Clark's bril-



Crossword Puzzle No. 395

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 15.
6 See 23.
10 See 5 down.
11 Cheat. (9)
12 Catty county. (8)
13 First-class art displayed by the crown (5)
15 and 1. May is past, and compels a final privilege. (5, 5, 5)
17 Precious little bit of obscurity connected with the *Black Arrow!* (5, 1'3)
19 He used to knock the devil out of things! (9)
21 and 26. Butter or healthful drink made from it. (5, 4)
23 and 6. Where the investigating committee hopes to find material in good shape. (2, 3, 4)
24 The sewers of Paris? (8)
27 See 28.
28 and 27. Celestial light? (7, 7)
29 It's easy to follow the thread of such a story. (4)
30 The Duke's weight seems to be rising. (10)

DOWN

1 Show apathy in the composition of a poem. (4)
2 Pirating, perhaps, but all in jest. (7)
3 Proverbially a whistle is. (5)
4 Sounds like where one might find exceptional ability! (9)
5 and 10. Minute tapioca? (5, 7)
7 Locale of Eggleston's teacher. (7)
8 Necessary with bikes long before cars got it! (4-6)
9 Pertaining to food regulations. (8)
14 I'm a fairy friend! (10)
16 Parker might hope her car won't be. (8)
18 Legal. (9)
20 More frequently free, not quite different. (7)
22 Pleasant prime minister? (7)
24 Hawthorne's mosses were associated with old but other names. (5)
25 Shoot your small change in coins! (5)
26 See 21.

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. [illegible]

ACROSS:—1 SLEIGHT-OF-HAND; 10 HOURI; 11 OPERATORS; 12 DISAGREES; 13 SALVE; 14 and 19 HANDSOME IS AS HANDSOME DOES; 22 REAPS; 24 HORSEHIDE; 25 DELIVERER; 26 TRUST; 27 GOLD AND SILVER.

DOWN:—2 LOUISE; 3 ISINGLASS; 4 HOOVER DAM; 5 OMENS; 7 NEOPLASM; 8 SHADE; [illegible] ASPERSE; 15 ORDER ARMS; 16 ELEMENTAL; 17 CHARADE; 18 INTAGLIO; 20 and [illegible] FIGUREHEADS; 21 DENTS; 23 SAVED; 24 HURON.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

liant proposals for universal disarmament on the ground that they are not proposals for something else. Let us explore all of our problems, propose solutions for them, and merge the proposals where necessary. James Warburg's analysis in the same issue illustrates this type of approach.

MARGARET W. DUDLEY

Washington, December 15

"Science of Non-Violence"

Dear Sirs: It is safe to say that seldom has a symposium contained so many articles of very high caliber as your recent issue on "Peace with Russia." The answer to the question you pose as to whether such a peace can be negotiated appears to be that in the abstract or in theory it is possible, but that in terms of political and moral realism it is all but impossible. It is creditable rather than discreditable that most of the writers stated so clearly and honestly the factors which point to this unpalatable conclusion. Not least creditable is Miss Kirchwey's own warning that unless the true "meaning of Korea" is soon understood by the West and by America in particular, "the end of the U. N. is in sight."

Yet it seems to me that the true conclusion from the facts set forth is not drawn. To cite Miss Kirchwey's excellent analysis again, "we must become . . . the new sponsor of revolution." The American regime is "an instrument of counter-revolution" abroad and includes among its defenders "a shoddy left-over like Chiang Kai-shek or the German generals," not to mention Franco, because it is itself now non-revolutionary and increasingly anti-revolutionary. Is it not necessary for American liberals, progressives, Socialists, and laborites to face the fact that such a regime will pay little if any heed to their verbal criticisms of its reactionary foreign policy if it can always count on them in the show-down to "go along" with the military implementation of that policy?

It is suggested, if I read correctly, that if the United States put itself at the head of the revolution, the "free world" would possess enough power, including military, to "deal on equal terms with Russia." But where is the United States going to get the material means and the moral steam to do more than piddle along with a Point Four program if it must stay in the arms race with the Communist bloc? And just how will atomic and biological weapons in the hands of either the Pentagon or the Kremlin prove an instrument of revolu-

tion? The means and the end may not be identical in an arithmetical sense, but neither can they be divorced from each other so absolutely as to make it possible to generate the social revolution out of atomic war. The only genuine revolution under modern conditions is a non-violent one. Gandhi always insisted that his "science of non-violence" could also be developed "by a strong nation like America." To this task progressives should resolutely address themselves. A. J. MUSTE

New York, December 19

Gleam of Sanity

Dear Sirs: As a member of the British Labor Party I am perturbed by two outstanding features of the current political scene in the United States: first, the ever-growing hysteria of witch-hunting and McCarthyism and, second, the virtual paralysis of any protest movement on the left. Symptomatic of both is Louis Jay Herman's attack on the *Monthly Review* in the letter columns of your December 23 issue.

I have read all the issues of the *Monthly Review* since June, 1950, and I find a strange contradiction between the actual views of the magazine and Mr. Herman's interpretation of them. It is certainly true that the *Monthly Review* has not jumped on the "let's drop the bomb now" bandwagon. It is engaged in the more difficult task of evaluating the basic political, social, and economic problems of our age. At a time when such analysis is urgently needed and significantly disappearing from the American press, it is criminally perverted to use the red scare to stifle one of the few gleams of sanity in the United States. To destroy the *Monthly Review* as Seldes's *In Fact* was destroyed would be to threaten *The Nation*, the *New Republic*, and the other small voices in a vast wilderness. Reading the *Monthly Review* gives an understanding of current affairs that vigorously complements, at monthly intervals, the job done weekly by *The Nation*.

JOHN NAAR

New York, December 26

Hardly Socialist

Dear Sirs: Paul M. Sweezy's reference (*The Nation*, November 11) to his publication *Monthly Review* as an "independent socialist" magazine was quite amusing, for *Monthly Review* is scarcely independent of the official Moscow line on world affairs, and it equates socialism with the imperialist totalitarian regime that oppresses the people of Russia.

In the year and a half of its existence the *Monthly Review* has not had a single article by anyone who is or ever has been part of the American Socialist movement. Those connected with the magazine have either been outright Stalinists or devoted fellow-travelers.

The problem of the truly left of center—which means democratic—publications is worse than that of the Stalinist press: witness the disappearance over the years, mainly for financial reasons, of the *American Socialist Quarterly*, the *Modern Monthly*, and more recently, *Politics* and the *Modern Review*.

Readers of *The Nation* who may be interested in reading a Socialist, as well as liberal, magazine still have the *Call* to turn to. ROY HELFGOTT

Brooklyn, N. Y., December 20

Correction

Dear Sirs: On receiving your issue of November 25 containing my reply to Clement Greenberg on The European View of American Art, I noted two errors in my article.

The reference to "Ernst's Huboine Naturelle" should have been "Ernst's Histoire Naturelle." The article also stated, "I await Mr. Greenberg's revision of his former judgment in favor of one that I am still waiting for the Picasso of 1928." What I wrote in my manuscript was "1908." The date 1928 was precisely the one Mr. Greenberg had suggested. I fear the altered digit rendered my attempt at a joke meaningless. DAVID SYLVESTER

London, December 17

Illustrations Wanted

Dear Sirs: I have recently completed a history of Utopian communities in America, 1680-1880. This book—entitled "Heavens on Earth"—will be published in the spring of 1951, and I wish to obtain any illustrative material that may exist, as soon as possible.

May I ask anyone who is willing to lend, hire, or sell any prints, portraits, or photographs relating to Shakers, Rappites, New Harmony, Fourier and Fourierism, Brook Farm, Fruitlands, Amana, Oneida, and Icaria to communicate with me at the Turnstile Press, 10 Great Turnstile, London, W. C. 1.?

Every care will be taken of the material submitted. MARK HOLLOWAY

London, December 15

RESORTS







FURNISHED ROOMS

THE ARIZONA, 508 West 114th Street (opposite Columbia University). Fireproof. Singles and doubles. Weekly and daily rates. Hotel, switchboard service.

LANGUAGES

IT'S EASY TO LEARN A LANGUAGE BY LINGUAPHONE

At home, in leisure time, quickly, easily, correctly master Russian, French, German, an Oriental language—any one of 29 languages through LINGUAPHONE World's Standard Conversational Method. Send for FREE book.

LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE
8101 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y.

PERSONALS

EDUCATED young man wants small acreage to build own home. Job offer considered, farming, building. Box 207, c/o The Nation.

FRENCH CONVERSATION, advanced or beginners, translation, research by French student. Call SUsquehanna 7-5368.

Classified Advertising Rates
74¢ A LINE (SIX WORDS)
Minimum three lines
Box No. counted as three words
Remittance must accompany all orders
THE NATION
20 Vesey St. • New York City 7 • BA 7-1066

Printed in the U. S. A. by Steinberg Press, Inc., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE Nation

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine $9.50

You Save $2.50

☐ *with* Consumer Reports $10.75

You Save $1.25

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine and Consumer Reports $13.25

You Save $3.75

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE Nation *by itself:*

☐ One Year $7 ☐ Two Years $12 ☐ Three Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra

The NATION
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
  ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

_____

_____

_____

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE____ STATE_____

1/13/51

SPECIAL NOTICE TO READERS:

To Subscribers:

Nation subscribers should give us at least three weeks' notice of a change of address, indicating the old as well as the new address.

Please cooperate by renewing your current subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration.

To Newsstand Readers:

The only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only insure prompt receipt of your copy but save considerable money.

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JANUARY 20, 1951 NUMBER 3

The Shape of Things

IN HIS ECONOMIC REPORT TO CONGRESS THE President remarked: "The resources are on our side. The only question is whether they will be used with speed and determination." Perhaps there is another question too. Will our resources be used with intelligent understanding of the fact that democratic strength is a good deal more than the sum of *x* trained divisions, *y* amounts of military equipment, and *z* units of industrial capacity? And, indeed, Mr. Truman did pose that question when he said that "a strong America must be strong throughout" and, therefore, "should give attention to meeting human needs." In the main, however, he stressed the problems of defense *per se*, and both his report and the annual review of his Council of Economic Advisers, issued simultaneously, effectively documented the massive industrial strength of this country. Even though by the end of this year we shall be devoting nearly 20 per cent of our national income to defense, per capita consumption will probably be as much as 20 per cent greater than in 1940. Such a level, as the council says, can hardly be described as austerity: nor is it possible to sustain the argument, frequently heard, that our contemplated military effort will in a few years "bleed our economy white." It will do so only if all of us seek to maintain our own standards of living, disregarding the fact that we cannot have our cake and eat it too. For the real costs of rearmament cannot be borrowed and loaded on another generation: they are a charge against current output which must be met by diverting part of our economic capacity from the production of "butter" to the production of "guns."

*

THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET MESSAGE DEALT with some of the financial aspects of the job. He listed estimated expenditures for the fiscal year beginning July 1 next at $71,594,000,000, with the military services and international relations, including aid to allies, accounting for $48,882,000,000. Nearly eleven billion dollars is required for veterans programs and interest charges—the cost of previous wars—leaving about twelve billion for all "normal" expenses. On analysis, however, it appears that a large part of the civil budget is actually related to defense. More than one billion dollars, for instance, is allocated to the Atomic Energy Commission, and large sums included under such headings as Finance, Commerce and Industry, and Transport and Communications are for programs necessitated by the defense effort. Even definitely social projects have been reoriented. Thus severely curtailed housing expenditure is partly earmarked for housing in defense areas, and river-basin programs concentrate on power production. Those who insist that defense costs can largely be met by economies in other directions will be hard put to find major items of civil expenditure that can be safely eliminated. Such critics, no doubt, will light on the small remnants of the Fair Deal disclosed by the Budget, which include proposals for federal aid to education linked to the need for literate recruits, a Presidential request for the inception of a medical-care insurance program, and a recommendation for resurrection of the F. E. P. C. to help solve man-power problems. But even if these modest plans are cut down, the total bill will be huge. To meet the estimated budget deficit of $16,500,000,000, this year's tax bill must provide twice the revenue added in 1950. That will mean substantial increases in all major taxes, direct and indirect.

*

THE SOVIET NOTE OF JANUARY 1 CALLING for a conference on Germany has not yet been answered by the Western Powers. The matter of dates this time is of considerable importance. It was on November 3 that the ambassadors of the United States, Great Britain, and France were first called to the Russian Foreign Office and handed a note suggesting four-power talks on Germany. It took the Western nations until December 22 to reply, agreeing to meet if the discussions were broadened to include other vital issues. The Kremlin answered this note in eight days. The reaction to the Russian reply was strikingly different here and in the European capitals. While Washington considered the Soviet answer dilatory and generally devoid of grounds for hope, London and Paris, especially Paris, found it encouragingly precise and more conciliatory in tone than any recent Russian statement. The Soviet note accepted the proposal to extend the discussions to other matters beside Germany, though raising a series of controversial issues. The arguments for a prompt reply from the West are numerous, not least among them being the impetus delay has given

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 49
Who Makes War? 52

ARTICLES

Beginning of the End? *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 53
Taft Stands Pat *by Willard Shelton* 54
Redirecting Farm Policy *by Theodore W. Schultz* 55
The Commonwealth Divided *by Andrew Roth* 57
The Vatican vs. the Public Schools. I. Italy: No Halfway Measures *by Paul Blanshard* 59

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

The Scope and Cost of Containment *by J. B. Brebner* 62
Frogs and People in Nazi Germany *by Eliezer Greenberg* 63
The Art of Soutine *by S. Lane Faison, Jr.* 64
The Failure of Gentility *by Robert Wuliger* 64
Memories of Riley *by Marguerite Young* 65
Economic Theory Revisited *by Harvey Levin* 65
Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 66
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 67

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 68

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 396 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 68

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Contributing Editor: Robert Bendiner
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered ■ second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

the movement for unity and neutrality in Germany. Strengthened by the widespread coolness toward rearmament or any policy that might lead to war with Russia, this movement cuts across party lines throughout the Western zone with a particular appeal among teachers, students, and the professional class as a whole. It is gaining so much momentum that Chancellor Adenauer has so far not dared reject the Soviet-inspired invitation from Herr Grotewohl, East German government chief, for a joint conference on unity. Any further delay by the Western powers in answering the Soviet note of January 1, or a wholly negative reaction, would only encourage these tendencies in Germany and leave the Western powers in a weakened position to bargain for an acceptable compromise.

*

"OUR CHIEF MILITARY MAN-POWER PROBLEM now," Anna Rosenberg, Assistant Secretary of Defense, told the Senate Armed Services Committee last week, "is to build up from our present strength of 2,500,000 to 3,200,000 by June 30 and to do it on a basis that will provide an enduring foundation for our future security." Assuming that the requirements of military defense, including our obligations to the United Nations and our allies, do require forces of this magnitude backed by adequate trained reserves—an assumption which unfortunately seems necessary at the present time—the plan for universal military training and service sponsored by the Defense Department appears to be equitable and effective. By making all boys liable to the draft at eighteen it avoids the system advocated by some educators of deferring those of "superior" intelligence until they have finished college, and in many cases permanently: it would be a questionable democracy that gave priority in the firing line to its medium and low I.Q.'s. On the other hand, the Defense Department plan also recognizes the national need for maintaining a supply of trained minds and so provides for up to 75,000 men to be furloughed for college education *after* basic training lasting from four to six months. Those eligible are to be chosen by civilian educational authorities, not by the military, who might give undue emphasis to candidates for scientific degrees. And in the selection process consideration is to be given to general qualities of intellect and leadership rather than to purely academic attainments so as to provide opportunities for outstanding young men who might otherwise be barred. Students thus selected will not be excused from further service: on graduation they will "owe" up to twenty-three months in the regular services, and like all draftees will then be assigned to a reserve unit. In principle these proposals seem likely to be approved, but Senators are still reluctant to draft eighteen-year olds. Before they consent to that step they will require very convincing proof that the services are not wasting man-power.

THE CHIEF INGREDIENTS OF COLD WAR ARE economic and political pressure and propaganda. Of the first this country has a plentiful supply, though it has not always been widely distributed or successful in its effect. In the second we are notoriously deficient. American attempts to offset Russian psychological warfare through the Voice of America and publications in other countries have been weak and amateurish, as frank critics abroad have frequently reported. The other day the State Department took steps to remedy this situation by calling in a group of outside advisers to discuss ways of stepping up its propaganda campaign. At the same time it was announced that President Truman had launched a scheme to combat Soviet "falsehoods" by compiling a correct, historical record of governmental activities undertaken "to meet the menace of Communist aggression." This latter effort, for some mysterious reason, is to be under the direction of the Budget Bureau. Among the experts who gave their view to the State Department were men of such unquestioned eminence as Reinhold Niebuhr, Henry Steele Commager, and Judge William H. Hastie; so we may hope they went beyond the rather limited official agenda, which was devoted chiefly to the problem of more effectively exposing the policies and danger of communism and of explaining the virtues of democracy to "newcomers to democratic thought and process." These are important technical matters which certainly call for improved handling. But if the experts really tried to discharge the responsibility the world situation laid upon them they must have attempted to make the State Department face the more basic trouble with our program of propaganda and information. That trouble, as they say in the U. N., is "substantive" rather than technical. To make democracy shine in other lands, particularly those in the throes of political change, the United States must alter policies and practices as well as methods. We must rob our critics of the effective weapons they find in repressive legislation, race discrimination, and reactionary policies abroad. We fear there are no experts clever enough to tell the State Department how to put over the democratic significance, for example, of a $62,000,000 loan to fascist Spain.

*

THE DEATH OF MAX WERNER AT ONLY forty-nine years of age was a shock to all who knew him well and appreciated his high qualities as a man and a writer. His loss is the greater at a time when intimidation and confusion have considerably reduced the ranks of those who put loyalty to principles above considerations of success and security. As a military analyst he established his reputation in this country during the critical days of World War II; he was then among the few who insisted that Soviet Russia could not be defeated by Hitler. His death occurred while he was at work on a volume tentatively entitled "A Diplomatic and Military History of World War II," which his publishers, Little, Brown and Company, hope may be near enough completion to be brought out. His long association with the international Socialist movement gave him an insight into war's social and political origins that enabled him to gauge the value of revolutionary conviction as a factor of military strength. Applying this to the Korean struggle, he maintained from the start that the Asian armies must not be underestimated and could not be defeated by traditional military methods. Many of his predictions, challenged at the time they were made, have since been borne out by bitter experience.

*

THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OF Northern California has just issued a study of the crisis of academic freedom at the University of California. The report contains an excellent appraisal of the "gains and losses" which have resulted from the action of the Regents in demanding a test-oath of the faculty. The declared purpose of the oath was to eliminate Communist instructors, but not a single Communist has been removed from the faculty. The losses noted are these: a year of "horror and failure" for students, teachers, and administrators; the firing of twenty-six loyal and competent instructors; the dropping of forty or fifty regular courses; the resignation of a number of professors, the refusal of several well-known scholars to accept appointments; condemnation of the Regents' action by the faculties of other universities and by numerous learned societies; a forthcoming investigation by the American Association of University Professors; grave injury to the "non-signers"; and a general loss of confidence in the university as a result of the widespread recognition that "in the long record of higher education in the United States, no offense against freedom and justice has equaled in scope or in ruthlessness the offense now committed at the University of California." Perhaps the graduates, teaching assistants, and young instructors have suffered most. In July, 1950, this group saw 157 of their friends and associates summarily dismissed without a word of effective protest either from the faculty or from the president of the university. "Throughout the controversy," according to the report, "this group had stood steadfast in defense of freedom and integrity. Now, many of them will leave the profession. Many others will go on, but will do so with the cynical realization that persons who serve the State of California in its university are not regarded as free and independent scholars." Although these findings are by no means complete, they should furnish the basis upon which the people of the state can demand an accounting from the Regents for making the University of California "a symbol of unwise and unjust repression of freedom."

Who Makes War?

IT IS hard for us to take at face value the great constitutional debate now raging on Capitol Hill. The bare factual history of the Korean episode leaves little ground for supposing that Senator Taft and some of his Republican colleagues are genuinely concerned in the present crisis with the historic problem of where the President's right to order troop movements ends and the right of Congress to declare war begins. Certainly there is no occasion for the Senator's reckless assertion that in sending American forces to Korea the President "simply usurped authority—in violation of the laws and the Constitution."

Walter Lippmann takes note, as we did in last week's issue, that Taft himself wholly approved the President's course last June, even though he thought Congress should have been consulted in advance. "A 'usurpation' which the leader of the opposition offers publicly to legalize twenty-four hours later," Mr. Lippmann writes, "is not a heinous offense." But he goes on, strangely enough, to indorse Taft's present attack on the ground that the informal approval by Congress extended only to the use of the sea and air forces originally called for in the President's statement of June 27. Three days later, he argues, Mr. Truman announced the dispatch of "certain supporting ground units," and this completely justifies Taft in "insisting on revivifying the checks and balances of the Constitution."

It seems a pity that Mr. Lippmann did not carry his research a little farther. When the President disclosed his second decision to a bipartisan group of Senators and Representatives, none dissented; nor was a single voice raised on the floor of either house against the move, which, incidentally, was made at the request of Louis Johnson, then Secretary of Defense, and General Douglas MacArthur. Senator Taft's reaction at the time was not as paradoxical as it might sound: "When you are in, you've got to go all out." Senator Wherry, who is now promoting a bill to restrict the President's disposition of troops, was reported by the New York *Times* to have "saluted Mr. Truman for having 'at long last' drawn a line against aggressive communism." And Senator Knowland, another severe critic of the Administration's foreign policy, upheld the legality of the Truman action. "There is no necessity for a declaration of war," Knowland said. "This is more of a police action." Apparently the President's "offense" became "heinous" at exactly the moment when the military reversal set in.

Anyone who has ever opened an American history book knows that the record is replete with such "police actions." There have been literally more than a hundred of them, ranging from Jefferson's expedition against the Barbary pirates to Wilson's use of troops in Archangel. Polk occupied disputed Texas-Mexican border territory, McKinley sent troops to China in the Boxer Rebellion, Theodore Roosevelt forcibly intervened in Panama, Wilson sent forces to Vera Cruz in 1914 and ordered Pershing across the border two years later in pursuit of Pancho Villa; and American marines repeatedly made unwelcome visits to most of the countries of Central America. In almost all these cases ground forces were used without prior Congressional sanction. Senator Douglas made the point last June that in principle this exercise of Presidential power is consistent with the intent of those who framed the Constitution. In the original draft of that document Congress was assigned the power to "make" war, and after some debate the verb was deliberately changed to "declare" so that the President might have the power to use force, in Madison's words, "to repel sudden attacks."

Were Taft the statesman his supporters profess to see in him, he might in fact establish a serious case, not for the malfeasance of Harry Truman, but for the need of a constitutional amendment. For the fact is that the power to declare war has become an empty prerogative. Wars are no longer declared until after the fact. Hitler invariably struck first and declared later. So did the Japanese at Pearl Harbor. So did the Russians in Finland and Poland. And the Chinese in Korea don't declare at all. Thus Congress is, in the nature of the fact, reduced to acting after the event. It is true, furthermore, that the disposition of our armed forces, however defensive the purpose, has become a global matter, with the consequent risks of major conflict vastly greater than we ever incurred by forays in Nicaragua and Santo Domingo. And in spite of the provincialism of some Congressmen, it is also true that in the tight little world of 1951 resistance to an invasion of Korea may well come under the head of "repelling sudden attack."

It is these altered circumstances, plus our commitments to the United Nations, and not the wilfulness of Mr. Truman, that have reduced the role of Congress in the field of foreign relations. If a "revivifying" of our system of checks and balances is really called for, as Mr. Lippmann suggests, it can properly be achieved only by amending the Constitution in the light of historical changes. Certainly it cannot be forced by vengeful attacks on the President or by withholding funds for specific actions—not, at any rate, without sacrificing our capacity for leadership in the world and inviting political chaos at home.

Coming soon in The Nation

Sinclair Lewis: An Appreciation

BY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Beginning of the End?

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Lake Success, January 13

TO MEASURE the length of the road traveled this week in the United Nations toward the discovery of a solution to the tormenting problem of Korea, one has only to remember where the Political Committee stood on Monday and where it finished on Saturday. The week opened with the announcement by the chief American delegate, Warren Austin, that since Peking had twice rejected a cease-fire, the only conclusion to draw was that it did not want one, and consequently the United Nations should take the next logical step and formally charge Communist China with aggression. After that further measures could be considered—withdrawal of recognition by members having diplomatic relations with Mao, possibly even the imposition of sanctions if enough delegates could be induced to go so far. On Saturday, with the approval of fifty nations, including the United States, a five-point program was adopted calling for a cease-fire and including the bold proposal for a conference to deal with all Far Eastern problems which would bring to the same table representatives of Peking and of Washington. The other major participants would be Soviet Russia and Great Britain, and the latter opposes America on many Asian issues, as the recent Commonwealth Conference in London has confirmed.

Some people were inclined to minimize the importance of this sequence of events, assuming that progress made at Lake Success would inevitably be nullified in Moscow, but many observers regarded today's vote as definitely opening the way to negotiation.

The atmosphere of the week's debate was as interesting as the conclusions to which it led. It faithfully reflected developments in London, where the Commonwealth Prime Ministers were hammering out decisions of capital importance. More sharply than on any previous occasion since the start of the Korean war, the London conference revealed the cleavage between the United States and its major associates on the various problems relating to peace or war in Asia. In the final communiqué one could easily discern the hand of Nehru, but the fact that Mr. Bevin had chosen the conference as the occasion for his most explicit rejection of America's China policy was not the least important aspect of the Commonwealth gathering.

In consonance with the tone adopted by his chief, Sir Gladwyn Jebb, in the Political Committee, emphasized the idea that a cease-fire in Korea should be followed "immediately" by negotiations among the four powers chiefly concerned, covering not only Korea but all the other vital issues in the Far East. This move alone in effect brought Communist China to the conference table; it remained only for Mao to accept the procedure laid down in the Israeli resolution to become the official voice of China in the United Nations. The first person on the committee who realized what the resolution implied was naturally the representative of Chiang Kai-shek, and this explained the tenacity with which he opposed the cease-fire group's proposal, incorporated in the Israeli resolution, and the bitterness of his final words today, when he denounced the decision as a betrayal of China, Korea, and the Charter of the United Nations.

The fact that it was Mr. Pearson, Canada's Minister for External Affairs, rather than Sir Benegal N. Rau, chairman of the cease-fire group, who introduced and defended the plan ultimately adopted, proved the reality of the division in the "American majority." It was no longer the "confused and unrealistic" Indians, or the Scandinavians, frightened by the presence of Russia on their very borders, but the closest and most natural ally of the United States in the entire Atlantic coalition who recommended a course almost diametrically opposed to that previously demanded by Mr. Austin. In the face of this development, the United States would have been poorly compensated by the support of such diehards as Dr. Tsiang and General Romulo, even backed by eighteen Latin American votes, plus Greece and a few other minor followers. Realizing the situation, Mr. Austin chose to accept the unavoidable, expressing his "feeling of gratification" at the agreement achieved by the cease-fire group and announcing that he would support the Israeli resolution.

Of course there were delegates who, in response to the able appeal of Mr. Eban, voted for the proposal with tongue in cheek, counting upon a refusal from Peking which would open the way to a declaration of aggression. Their eyes and ears were therefore directed toward Mr. Malik, and the moment the Soviet delegate characterized the Israeli resolution as "nebulous" and "indefinite" Señor Santa Cruz of Chile seized upon the Soviet reaction as conclusive evidence that Peking would reject the entire plan. That view was strengthened when the Soviet bloc, instead of abstaining, as rumor during the morning session suggested it would, voted against the resolution. But a more incisive analysis of the attitude of Mr. Malik during the entire debate leads, in my opinion, to a different possible conclusion. To begin with, Soviet opposition to the Israeli resolution lacked that aggressive quality which characterizes the Russian delegation's attack when it really intends to kill a measure. Even at the moment of voting, instead of concentrating on the substance of the proposal Mr. Malik stressed the procedural point, insisted upon by Russia from the beginning, that Communist China and North Korea had been excluded from the body making the decision. Of course nobody

can predict at this moment what Peking's reactions will be. It may say yes or no or, more likely, present counter-proposals. In the latter case a period of negotiation will open which will mark the beginning of the end, at least in Korea, even if many difficulties have to be overcome.

Taft Stands Pat

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, January 12

A DRUMFIRE of speeches in the Senate yesterday made it clear that the Great Debate on foreign policy, provoked by Herbert Hoover and then practically taken over in a burst of non-stop oratory by Senator Robert Alphonso Taft, will soon fizzle out. Taft lacks support in his own party, and no serious doubt can exist that Congress will continue to support the Atlantic Pact while retaining normal control of financial appropriations. But it has been almost impossible for the last few days to attend a press conference or twist a radio dial without hearing Taft expound his views on tactical air power and the defense of the Malay Peninsula, the future of the United Nations, or our proper attitude toward Europe or Chiang Kai-shek. Sometimes the flood of words is bewildering—Taft seems to be arguing with himself. However, there is really nothing puzzling about his position. He remains the same isolationist with respect to Western Europe that he has always been, the same narrow, though inaccurate, legalist regarding the powers of the Presidency, and the same skilful, unscrupulous politican, ignoring unpleasant facts and piling up statements to suit his purposes.

To understand Taft one must realize that in all the years he has been a national political figure he has never gained a sense of fulfilment. Twice he has sought the Republican nomination for the Presidency, and twice it has been snatched from him. In 1940, moreover, the snatching was done by a rank outsider, Wendell Willkie. Twice in his home state, running for the United States Senate, he was barely elected. In 1950, however, after a vigorous campaign which was largely an attack on the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, he won by a comfortable margin. Now he feels his oats and is obviously proud of his "Mr. Republican" nickname.

As I said, it is a little difficult to discover from Taft's verbiage precisely what he advocates in foreign policy. But let us not be naive; he is opposed, fundamentally, to the defense of Western Europe with American divisions. This has always been the Taft view. The record shows that while the Axis was defeating France and putting Britain under siege in 1940, Taft was adamant against any American aid to the Western powers. He voted against the 1940 draft to build up our own army and against the extension of the draft in 1941, only a few months before Pearl Harbor. He voted against the release of surplus American war stocks to Britain and France, against repeal or revision of the Neutrality Act, against Lend-Lease. He tried to block the seizure of Axis ships in our harbors and their transfer to Britain, and he supported a resolution, which was beaten, restricting Roosevelt's use of American forces to the Western Hemisphere.

In 1951 Taft says he is "not opposed" to the shipment of arms to Europe, but in 1949 he voted against the Atlantic Pact for the specific reason that the treaty and the shipment of arms were "inextricably linked." If we sent arms to Europe, he said then, we might goad Russia into war; now he says that sending troops might goad Russia into war. Step by step he retreats from positions that are no longer defensible, but his program continues to add up to the expendability of Europe.

The powers of the President as commander-in-chief of the armed forces, which Taft denied, are discussed in an editorial on a preceding page. But a footnote may be added. Before the Senate ratified the Atlantic Pact in 1949, it debated the question of advance authorization for use of our troops abroad. A reservation offered by Senator Watkins would have absolved the United States of any obligation to employ its forces until Congress had approved the action. Taft voted for the reservation, but the Senate turned it down by the overwhelming vote of eighty-four to eleven. A somewhat comparable provision had been turned down in 1946 during debate on the bill implementing our adherence to the United Nations. One cannot charitably assume that so practical a debater and so stubborn a tactician as Taft has forgotten these incidents.

With fantastic distortion Taft charges that Administration plans are sent to Congress merely for a yes or no vote and are not adequately discussed. But the Marshall Plan, for example, was proposed in a speech on June 5, 1947, and debated on the rostrum, in newspapers, and in Congress for ten months before an authorization bill was passed. The Atlantic Pact, drafted and ratified in 1949, was preceded by the Vandenberg resolution of 1948, through which, after full debate, the Senate called for "continuous and efficient self-help and mutual aid" from nations formed in a regional group to promote American security. The U. N. Charter of 1945 was preceded by extensive debate on the 1943 Ball-Burton-Hatch-Hill resolution, expressing the Senate's desire for this country's adherence to a new international organization, and by passage of the Connally resolution embodying that concept.

When Taft argues that Republicans have not been consulted on foreign policy, he means that he has not been consulted. When he complains about insufficient

debate, it is because the outcome has not suited him. But a way has been open to Taft to get personal "advance consultation" on foreign policy. He could long ago have had a place on the Committee on Foreign Relations or on the Armed Services Committee, where he would have had access to a continual flow of information and secret intelligence. He rejected both these posts but still complains; he even thinks that the Republicans on these committees, who are constantly consulted, should echo his protests.

Without military experience or the background knowledge that service on these committees would have given him, he urges use of sea and air power to hold a "bastion," demands the "release" of Chiang Kai-shek's forces to create a "diversion" in South China, and confesses he is not sure that Formosa and Japan can be held against Soviet submarines and mines. With no confidence in the United Nations or the Atlantic Pact, he cries for development of a twentieth-century American counterpart of the British Empire, not realizing, apparently, that the British Empire's sea power depended on the control of bases around the world. While he conjures up the vision of an American empire, safe behind its undefined "bastions," he shrinks from measures to secure the vital industrial and land bases of Western Europe and leaves our allies to face the grim prospect that if they are occupied again we will liberate them by bombing their cities.

Presumably Taft has not identified his reelection in Ohio last November with his election to the Presidency next year, but even some of his fellow-Republicans are beginning to wonder "upon what meat doth this our Caesar feed." There has not been such a spectacle in Washington, in my opinion, since the late Senator Borah in 1939 blandly told Roosevelt, Secretary Hull, and the public that all our sources of diplomatic information were faulty, that he (Borah) had superior private sources of information, and that these sources made him feel sure that Hitler would not start a general war.

Redirecting Farm Policy

BY THEODORE W. SCHULTZ

AT THE end of the last war the opportunity to overhaul farm-price supports and other farm programs was missed. Recent developments may provide another chance. A great deal of work has been put into policy statements for agriculture since the middle forties. Useful and competent reports have been issued by the Colmar and Hope Congressional committees, the land-grant colleges, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and the Committee for Economic Development. But it is always a difficult task to integrate politics and economics in national policy, and the agricultural field is no exception.

The stage is now set for a new attempt. The rise in consumer expenditures, the strong price situation, and above all the importance of adding to our man-power in industry make the present a propitious moment for increasing the efficiency of agriculture. At least three and possibly five million persons can be added to the labor force in industry during the next three years by helping some of the underemployed in agriculture to get jobs and find a place to live. This adjustment would do much to correct the low-productivity and low-income problem that plagues many parts of American agriculture —a problem virtually by-passed by successive farm programs since the recent vast improvement of our economy as a whole.

Before suggesting the economic possibilities and choices open to us with regard to agriculture in the existing circumstances I will briefly outline those circumstances. I take it to be highly improbable that this country will enjoy in the near future the privilege of real peace founded on stable power relations among nations. It may therefore be assumed that reasons of national security will require large commitments of men and materials to the armed forces. This situation has a critical bearing on how we manage our economy.

In mobilizing our military power we cannot afford to freeze the economy because this would slowly but surely undermine its great strength. Although our economy is already highly developed and technically advanced, it is exceedingly dynamic in absorbing new capital, improved techniques and skills, and a growing population. It is not only expanding but undergoing in the process profound structural changes, which are necessary adjustments if our productive plant is to remain efficient. If the American economy were essen-

---

THEODORE W. SCHULTZ is chairman of the Department of Economics at the University of Chicago and economic consultant to a number of federal agencies. Among his books are "Food for the World" and "Agriculture in an Unstable Economy." This is the second article in a series on the controls required in a rearmament economy. In the issue of February 3 Keith Hutchison will write on man-power controls.

tially stationary or if the present emergency were to be of short duration, we could manage by freezing the existing patterns of prices and wages. But such action is inconsistent with growth, and growth is imperative if we are to maintain the economic foundations of our political power.

Agriculture, like the rest of the economy, must remain dynamic. While it has become a relatively declining sector of the American economy, much depends upon its capacity to adopt new techniques and to use more capital and less human effort. Agriculture made truly remarkable forward strides in improving its efficiency in the past decade, but anyone who knows how uneven the development has been is aware that we have a long way to go. Many farmers still use poor and obsolete equipment, have altogether too little land, and use much more labor than would be necessary if enough capital were available and modern techniques were employed.

SUPPOSE now that the international political situation remains unsettled for years, that expenditures for the armed services increase for several years before they level off, or are reduced, and that for the most part indirect controls—monetary and fiscal measures—are used in the over-all management of the economy: under these circumstances it is extremely probable that (1) "availability" of man-power will become the primary limiting factor in altering and expanding production; and (2) product and factor prices will in general rise as a consequence of the inflationary pressure.

If these developments occur, the problem facing farms that are reasonably efficient will be different from that facing inefficient farms. Efficient farms will have to maintain their efficiency in a rapidly changing economy—prices spiraling, labor becoming short, inflationary pressures increasing. It will be no small undertaking, and its importance should not be minimized, for our agricultural output comes very largely from these farms. In weighing the possibilities, the main considerations, as I see them, are as follows:

Most farmers in this group have improved their financial balance-sheets very substantially during the past decade. They are not subject to nearly as strict capital rationing as they were in the thirties. Most of them have the financial assets to improve their farming operations and thus to keep their farms efficient. A strong price situation will give them additional income and financial flexibility to adjust to changing factor and product prices and to adopt new techniques. Acreage allotments and marketing quotas are not only unnecessary but cause waste and inefficiency. They have become a major liability. The corn and wheat acreage allotments announced for 1951 fortunately have been revoked. National farm programs, in general, were developed to help farmers under the depressed conditions that existed in the thirties. Since those conditions no longer prevail, the programs are obsolete and have become a major hindrance to bringing about the kind of farming now required.

A difficulty will be created if price ceilings are set on farm products to "protect" consumers. Such controls would act to suppress an aspect of the inflation, but they would make farm-product prices much less efficient as indicators telling farmers what and how much to produce. To avert this difficulty, it is exceedingly important to strengthen fiscal and monetary controls.

Let me now turn to the inefficient farm. I shall not try to describe or identify these farms except to say that there are many of them in the Appalachian highlands and the Piedmont, the northern parts of the Lake states, the lower central parts of the inter-mountain region, and the cutover areas of the Northwest. In most of these areas it would be very difficult to make the farms efficient. Little was accomplished during the forties despite full employment and marked improvements in most parts of the economy. The problem has long been neglected by students of agriculture, by organized research, by the extension services, and by Department of Agriculture administrative agencies. Data and studies are lacking, there are few educational programs, and our farm programs, except for the ill-fated Farm Security Administration, have not been designed to do this job.

Here, again, the main considerations can be set forth briefly. Much will depend upon our time-table. It would not be too hard gradually to bring about more efficient farming in these communities, provided the will to do so existed. However, given the unstable world situation and the importance of increasing the strength of the economy for purposes of national security, it becomes urgent to get rid of this waste of resources, especially of man-power, as rapidly as is consistent with the preservation of democratic values and our social and political institutions.

The farmers in this group do not have the necessary financial resources to enlarge their farms or to buy, borrow, or rent the equipment needed for an efficient farm. Even in the prosperous forties their income did not allow them to save enough to acquire the needed capital. Their scale of operations is seriously limited by capital rationing.

The labor market functions badly in relating the labor force in agriculture, and in rural communities, to the rest of the economy. As a result underemployment is widespread. If three million individuals, say, during the next three years could be induced to leave these farms and communities to take up non-farm jobs, the total output of agriculture would not necessarily be

reduced—on the contrary, it would probably be increased—and this added labor force in industry would raise the national income by some six billion dollars.

Those who are willing to leave agriculture should be furnished employment information, loans and grants to help them move, training programs to prepare them for new jobs, and housing facilities in the new locations. Those who wish to stay and to organize efficient farms should be furnished educational and technical assistance, *a land-purchase program designed to help farmers in this group buy additional land to give them an economic-size farm*, and credit to acquire the other necessary resources.

The problem of wide fluctuations in the flow of farmers' income will remain. I do not believe that our economy can be kept on so even a keel as to eliminate fairly large changes in aggregate demand. But it is a mistake to hold that a major depression of the kind we experienced in the early thirties is inevitable and may occur soon. Nor are the more efficient farmers in as weak a financial position as they were then.

If a major depression does occur—which seems very unlikely during mobilization—producing five million or more unemployed and a marked drop in consumer expenditures, it will be necessary to provide some income safeguards for agriculture. Agricultural production, however, should go forward unmolested. Acreage restrictions and marketing quotas are not the solution; the markets of farm products should be left free to clear forthcoming supplies; farm prices should not be maintained in order to "protect" the income positions of farmers. Instead, there should be income payments to farmers which will not clog market channels at home or hinder sales and shipments abroad.

The national emergency provides the United States with a new, big chance to overhaul its obsolete farm policy. It will also perhaps provide the public compulsion needed to bring about the long overdue redirection.

The Commonwealth Divided

BY ANDREW ROTH

London, January 12

THE demand for a Big Four conference on Pacific problems which took form unexpectedly in London was the result of the combined influence of two London meetings. The first was an announced but closed meeting of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers whose content was revealed only through a distorted official briefing of the press and unofficial leaks. The other was a crowded open meeting of peace-minded, non-Communist Britons. Both meetings expressed the West's sense of frustration at being thrust by America toward the bottomless pit of war with Communist China without doing anything effective to prevent it. Both urged that an effort be made to draw back from this abyss before it was too late.

Although it was generally ignored by the British press, the public gathering epitomized the virtual unanimity in Britain against war with China. Lord Stangate was chairman, and the speakers were Norman Bower, Conservative M. P.; Ritchie Calder, science editor of the liberal *News-Chronicle*; Reginald Sorenson and Michael Foot, Labor M. P.'s; and Kingsley Martin, editor of the *New Statesman and Nation*. The audience packed Kingsway Hall and held an overflow meeting outside, despite a minimum of advertising. In order to keep the movement as broad as possible and exclude Communists, the speakers took the deliberately naive line that the British government has always said the right thing and only requires popular pressure to do it. There was complete agreement that Formosa should be returned to China and that the Peking government should be admitted to the U. N. Mr. Bower underlined the need to escape from the vicious circle in which China is becoming increasingly implacable because it is outlawed and is outlawed because it is so implacable. Although the speakers were strongly anti-MacArthur, they insisted that they were not anti-American. Mr. Bower favored an alliance with the United States but not on the basis of "lord and satellites." Kingsley Martin emphasized the fact that Britons merely oppose the views of irresponsible rightist Americans. He paid tribute to the submerged American liberals and particularly to Freda Kirchwey, editor of *The Nation*, as one of the bravest women in the United States. Violent applause greeted his insistence that the United States must be told of Britain's refusal to follow the lead of militarists.

MR. ATTLEE'S talents as a conciliator have been severely tested in the Commonwealth conference. His difficulties were enhanced by the fact that he had little to offer and much to ask. Britain was able to

ANDREW ROTH, a staff contributor, is now living in London after four years in the Near and Far East.

relinquish Marshall Plan aid largely because the "overseas sterling area"—the sterling dominions represented at the conference plus Malaya and West Africa—lent Britain, in effect, about £375,000,000 in 1950. This was the amount in hard currencies earned for the sterling pool less the value of manufactured goods and services obtained from Britain.

In 1951 Britain will be less able to satisfy the dominions' import demands than it was in 1950. Last year even the 9 per cent increase in British productivity was unable to keep pace with the increased export earnings of the dominions and colonies. In the coming year British productivity, already hit by the raw-materials shortage, will show less improvement and will be increasingly diverted to war purposes. The Commonwealth countries will therefore be asked to accept from Britain the consumers' goods it can produce in surplus instead of the machines they want. Under these conditions the projected aid to underdeveloped South Asia envisaged in the Colombo Plan* will be reduced by Britain's need for aid from the rest of the Commonwealth.

The *Economist* has already suggested that the dominions foot at least part of the bill for Britain's rearmament effort, preferably in the form of grants. This may be feasible for Australia and New Zealand, which are comparatively prosperous, have close ethnic ties with Britain, and have shown an interest in standardizing all Commonwealth arms on British models—which would demand a considerable increase in British production. But any attempt to impose additional burdens on the archaic, overstrained economies of India and Pakistan might prove disastrous.

Liaqat Ali Khan's dramatic hesitation about coming to the conference spotlighted the weakness in the Commonwealth structure caused by the breach between India and Pakistan over Kashmir and other issues. As the Pakistan Prime Minister cabled Mr. Attlee, his country has been spending 78 per cent of its income to provide what it considers necessary military security against India and Afghanistan. This makes pipe dreams of the plans of British strategists to have Moslem Pakistan take over British military commitments in the Moslem Middle East. India cannot afford the mere half of its budget allotted to defense, since strained relations with Pakistan require it to finance much greater food purchases from abroad for its famine-threatened people.

An even more important structural weakness emerged in the first days of the conference. While the rest of the Commonwealth is being pulled into the American camp, India is refusing to follow. Australia and New Zealand, under Conservative governments, have moved willingly in the direction in which America is urging them. Britain, with more reluctance but under stronger economic compulsion, has seemed to be following suit.

In closed sessions of the conference Pandit Nehru is reported to have lashed out against the whole American policy toward Communist China as unrealistic and unnecessarily provocative. He did not dispute that China might, technically, be considered an aggressor. He admitted that China was a full-blown ally of the U. S. S. R. but denied that it was a "satellite." He emphasized above all that the emergence of a unified and powerful China under Communist leadership represents a revolution in the world's affairs that cannot be suppressed by force any more than the American, French, or Russian revolutions could be; any country which attempted to intervene in China might be bogged down for decades or even centuries. He insisted that one of the important preconditions for ending Peking's military action was the discussion of all its outstanding grievances, including Formosa and the U. N. seat.

NEHRU also distinguished himself from his colleagues by suggesting that the U. S. S. R. had no aggressive intentions for the immediate future. He recommended that the Commonwealth take the initiative for peace instead of accepting the inevitability of war. The diversion of sums now spent on armaments to purposes of social betterment would be, he declared, a constructive method of limiting Communist expansion.

The warmest defense of American policy came from Messrs. Holland and Menzies, the New Zealand and Australian Prime Ministers. While they looked askance at the more extreme examples of MacArthurism, they warned that the non-Communist world must not give the impression that it is divided. One of them even suggested that the Commonwealth conference send a representative to Washington as a gesture of non-Communist unity. Both these dominions are moving more rapidly into the American fold than the increase in American investments and their dependence on the American fleet would seem to warrant.

Britain has up to now put most weight on the foot it has in the American camp, while keeping at least a toe in Nehru's peace-with-China camp. But during the past week it has been shoved hard toward Nehru's position by the crushing economic burden of even the current limited war. The automobile industry, Britain's main exporter, has curtailed its work week for want of steel plate. Behind closed doors Bevin has talked with increasing emphasis about his six-point peace program. Finally the conference decided to ask Washington whether it would consent to a four-power conference on Korea, Formosa, and a seat for Communist China in the U. N., provided China agreed to a cease-fire. One query and a favorable reply do not make a peace settlement, but Britons—who are bomb-wise but not bomb-happy—cannot help hoping.

* Described by Kelth Hutchison in *The Nation* of December 9 and 23.

The Vatican vs. the Public Schools

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

I. Italy: No Halfway Measures

THE battle between the Soviet Union and Western democracy is so spectacular that it has tended to obscure another mighty struggle which is dividing Europe—the struggle between the Vatican and public education. In Eastern Europe the Vatican has already lost the school battle to the Kremlin. In the West, Socialists and liberals are fighting desperately to prevent domination of their cultures by the Vatican. The struggle has reached an acute stage in Belgium, France, and the Netherlands. Even in Italy and Spain recent encroachments of Catholic power upon public education have made school policy the second most important political question, the first being communism.

The strategy used by the Vatican against the public schools is not alike in all countries. Its aggressiveness depends on many local factors. Grouping the most important countries according to the degree of their conformity to Catholic educational policy, one may make the following generalizations: In Spain, Portugal, and Italy there are no neutral public schools in the American sense. The government schools teach the Catholic faith to the exclusion of any other. In the Netherlands and Great Britain the government schools do not teach the Catholic faith, but the taxpayers pay the primary costs of a separate Catholic school system. The hierarchy directs its people to attend the Catholic schools only, attacks the public schools as godless, and conducts a running campaign for more complete financial support from the public treasury for its own establishments. In the United States and France the public schools are neutral on matters of religion and the church maintains its own separate school system at its own expense. In the Soviet Union the government schools are hostile to the Catholic faith and the church is not permitted to maintain a competing school system.

In all these countries Catholic educational dogma remains the same. According to Vatican theory, the church and not the state has the primary right to educate. The state owes the church support in its educational enterprise and must not attempt to supersede the church. The school, Pius XI declared in his standard encyclical on Catholic education, "owes its existence to the initiative of the family and the church, long before it was undertaken by the state." Pius XI elaborated on this point in his 1929 letter to Cardinal Gasparri: "Logic further requires that it be recognized that the full and perfect mission to teach does not belong to the State but to the Church, and that the State may not prevent or interfere with her in the exercise and fulfilment of that mission, not even to the extent of restricting the teaching of the Church exclusively to the teaching of religious truths." If the state should undertake to make Catholic children attend public schools only, the children would have an obligation, as Cardinal Gibbons pointed out, to "resist to the uttermost."

It should be remembered that this basic educational dogma of the Vatican was not formulated and is not necessarily approved by the Catholic population of any country, and that they should not be held responsible for it. Educational doctrine and educational strategy are both made in Rome and imposed upon Catholics throughout the world without any pretense of democratic process. Even Cardinal Spellman had no authority to soften the Vatican policy on education, as he appeared to do by issuing an ambiguous and conciliatory statement at the conclusion of his bitter controversy with Eleanor Roosevelt.

Catholic canon law and the Catholic catechism are fearfully explicit on the duty of Catholics to oppose the public school. It is a mortal sin for Catholic parents to send their children to public schools over the opposition of their priests, and the bishops are authorized to suspend the rule only in exceptional circumstances. The latest American Catholic catechism says on page 198: "The Church forbids parents to send their children to non-Catholic or secular schools in which the Catholic religion is not taught unless the bishop of the diocese grants permission because of particular circumstances." The standard book on Catholic canon law (Bouscaren and Ellis) makes it perfectly clear (page 707) that under a ruling of the Holy Office, which it quotes, Catholic parents "cannot be absolved in the Sacrament of Penance" if they are "contumacious" and send their children to a public school "without sufficient reason." Under Canon 2319, Section 2, young Catholic couples may be excommunicated if they make an agreement when they are married to have any of their children educated in a public school.

How does this philosophy of education work in the Vatican's home country? The struggle between

---

PAUL BLANSHARD, author of "American Freedom and Catholic Power," was The Nation's *representative in Rome during the Holy Year. In three following articles he will discuss the struggle between the Vatican and public education in France, the Netherlands, and Belgium.*

THE CATHOLIC LAW AGAINST THE PUBLIC SCHOOL

Canon 1374. Pueri catholici schola acatholicas, neutras, mixtas, quae nempe etiam acatholicis patent, ne frequentent. Solius autem Ordinarii loci est decenere, ad normam instructionum Sedis Apostolicae, in quibus adhibitis cautelis, ut periculum perversionis vitetur, tolerari possit ut eae scholae celebrentur.

Catholic children must not attend non-Catholic, neutral, or mixed schools, that is, such as are also open to non-Catholics. It is for the bishop of the place alone to decide, according to the instructions of the Apostolic See, in what circumstances and with what precautions attendance at such schools may be tolerated, without danger of perversion to the pupils.

Canon 2319. Subsunt excommunicationi latae sententiae Ordinario reservate catholici: . . . Qui matromonio uniuntur cum pacto explicit o vel implicito ut omnis vel aliqua proles educetur extra catholicam Ecclesiam.

Catholics are subject to excommunication, incurred automatically and reserved to the local bishop, who, when they are married, make a specific or implied agreement to educate all or any of their children outside the Catholic church.

Vatican and public school is less intense in Italy than in other countries because Catholicism is an organic part of public education. Italy has almost no neutral schools. Even in the period between 1870 and 1929, when the Kingdom of Italy and the Papal States had no diplomatic relations, Italian children received instruction in Catholicism in some public schools. Article 36 of the concordat signed by Mussolini and Pius XI in 1929 provided that the Italian elementary and middle schools should give religious education "according to the form received by Catholic tradition." All non-Catholic religious education was excluded.

TODAY Catholic indoctrination is compulsory in the public schools, the concordat with the Vatican having been incorporated in the constitution by reference. The priests who teach religion in the public schools receive a salary from the government. Nominally parents who so desire may have their children excused from religious classes, but the machinery of exemption is not administered impartially. The segregation of the non-Catholic child often exposes him to real hardship and discrimination. The religious class may be scheduled for the middle of the morning, and the dissenting child may have no place to go while the priest occupies the classroom. Moreover, the Italian public school attempts to teach Catholicism in many non-religious classes, and anti-clerical parents know that no child can entirely escape it. In practice, even Communist parents seldom ask for exemption.

The extent to which the church dominates education is far greater than this bare recital of facts would indicate. The position of the priest in the school makes him the moral mentor of the community. The Minister of Education in the present Christian Democratic government is Guido Gonella, former editor of the Vatican newspaper *Osservatore Romano*, fanatical member of Catholic Action, and secretary general of the Christian Democratic Party. To parallel this situation in the United States one would have to imagine Cardinal Spellman, with Cabinet rank, dominating our entire educational structure. Discrimination against critics of Catholicism permeates the Italian educational system from the central office in Rome down to the tiniest village in Calabria. In his public utterances Gonella treats culture and Catholicism as Siamese twins.

I have just run through ten textbooks used in the Italian elementary public schools. In them I noted 143 pictures that would be branded as Catholic propaganda if they were introduced in an American schoolbook and 185 pages of religious text that was essentially Catholic in character. Italian schoolbooks are not like American ones: religion, history, arithmetic, and science are all in the same book. Usually religion comes first, and no child with any curiosity could escape it, even if he did not attend the courses in religion. A standard book used in the fifth grade, "Il Tuo Sapere," devotes the first 57 pages to Catholicism, the next 109 pages to history and geography, the next 123 to arithmetic, and the last 63 to natural science. The religious text material includes specific instruction concerning the Mass, prayers for the dead, and the like, and gives no hint that any other religion has a right to exist. Catholic instruction begins in the nursery school and goes through to high

school, and every classroom in the system is supplied with a crucifix.

Religious material is sandwiched in between other material in the secular part of each textbook. (The religious part must bear the imprimatur of both the local bishop and the Ministry of Education, and the book as a whole must, in practice, receive church approval.) In a standard fourth-grade textbook the introductory thirty-two pages of the history section are devoted chiefly to the lives of medieval saints. Standard readers used in the first and second grades are sprinkled with pictures of angels and devils, with accompanying moral conclusions. In one history Italy's great victory over the papal armies on September 20, 1870, by which Rome was conquered, is mentioned without naming the defeated foe. This omission is consistent with the attitude of the present Christian Democratic regime toward the Vatican. The regime, in fact, has recently eliminated September 20 as a national holiday.

THE Vatican is not content with its privileged position in Italy's public schools. With the help of its powerful propaganda organization, Catholic Action, it is fighting for public funds for its own competing school system, and the resultant division between Communists, Socialists, and liberals on the one side and devout Catholics on the other is threatening to parallel the cleavage in France. Gonella, although pledged by virtue of his office to support the public schools, is backing the church's drive.

The liberals thought that the issue of public money for Vatican schools was settled when the present constitution was written, for at that time the effort of the pro-Vatican forces to write in a clause specifically authorizing such grants was defeated in the proportion of six to five. But the clause adopted was ambiguous: it gave private organizations the right to establish schools "without burdens for the state" but did not absolutely prohibit state grants. Gonella and the pro-Vatican forces are now insisting that there is nothing in the law of the republic to prevent "the state from spontaneously helping the private schools." They are advocating an "educational assistance" plan which would permit the siphoning of public funds to Catholic schools by a system of compensation for "needy" parents for the tuition they pay to such schools. The arguments for this plan are familiar to Americans: Catholic parents are lightening the burden of other taxpayers by supporting their own schools; so why should not the government give help to those who need it?

The Vatican's new emphasis upon its private school system has netted immediate results. Catholic schools have increased prodigiously during the past five years, and today the pupils in the public schools outnumber those in the private (nearly all-Catholic) schools only in the ratio of ten to three. The number of students in the recognized private middle schools, corresponding to our sixth, seventh, and eighth grades, is almost seven times as large as in 1937.

Why should the Vatican try to build its own school system when it already firmly controls the teaching of religion and morals in government schools? The answer seems to be twofold. First, the hierarchy fears a defeat of the present Christian Democratic government by a left-wing, anti-clerical coalition. Second, since its schools are an organic part of the church, some part of the government subsidy could be legally diverted to general church purposes—the salaries of nuns could be used for construction, and so forth. (This is the policy used in the Netherlands.) The political fears of the Vatican are not wholly unjustified. The Catholic party has a majority in the Chamber of Deputies but did not poll an over-all majority in the 1948 election, and much of its present strength is based on temporary, anti-Communist panic. If the fear of Communist revolution should be lifted, Italian anti-clericalism might reassert itself with some success.

Piero Calamandrei, one of the few great cultural leaders left in the Chamber of Deputies, charged at the last convention of the Association for the Defense of the National Schools that the present Vatican-dominated regime is weakening public education in three ways—by starving the public schools, by permitting the private schools to employ substandard teachers, and by diverting public funds to private schools under the guise of welfare and relief. There seems to be no doubt that his indictment is just. Catholic schools operate with almost no inspection, and the unevenness of their standards is beginning to undermine the standards of public education. Salaries of teachers in both public and church schools are at a starvation level: a typical elementary public-school teacher begins at about $12 a week and may earn $25 a week after twenty years of service and the acquisition of four children. There are 40,000 unemployed elementary-school teachers in Italy and 20,000 to 25,000 unemployed high-school teachers, largely because the nation has too few classrooms and a wretchedly negligent enforcement of the laws concerning compulsory education.

In many districts in the south, such as Calabria, Sicily, Campania, and Puglia, more than 75 per cent of the children drop out of school before the fifth grade, in spite of a law on the statute books which nominally compels them to go to school for eight years. In the whole nation almost one-fifth of the children of school age are not in school. It is true that the government is building schools rapidly with E. C. A. help, but it will take thirty years at the present rate of construction to supply classrooms for the children of school age now living in Italy—and their number is increasing at an alarming rate.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Scope and Cost of Containment

POLICY FOR THE WEST. By Barbara Ward. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.75.

THE cornerstone of the argument in this lucid, persuasive, and urgent book is the conviction that a modus vivendi with Russia is impossible except by submission. This is neatly bedded on the foundation stones of what happened to Poland, Eastern Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, and to non-Russian Socialist and Communist collaborators like Ehrlich, Alter, Benes, Masaryk, Petkov, Kostov, Tito, and Rajk whose "submission to Moscow was insufficiently total." "The aim [of Russia] is always total intervention and total control." But historically "general war is not the Soviet strategy," and therefore the correct response is containment in a spirit "sustained, calm, and supremely positive." Finland and Yugoslavia have been practicing it, and even though the West's front line in Europe and its other real or potential positions of strength seem like "ridiculous appendages" to the land mass of Russian-dominated Eurasia, the examples of Iran, Greece, Turkey, and Berlin seem to show that a united West can operate containment successfully. Germany, however, could be another Korea. East of Suez, although the situation has been perhaps more dangerous than in Europe on economic, nationalistic, and ethnic grounds, chaos and famine have been prevented; the United States has kept Japan on its feet and carried through a land reform; the United States, Australia, and Great Britain have sustained several parts of Southeast Asia; and Holland and Britain have helped to set up Indonesia, Burma, Pakistan, India, and Ceylon, the last three of which have voluntarily associated themselves with the British Commonwealth. Even new and heady Asiatic nationalism has not cast out internationalism.

But rearmament, readiness for total mobilization, and rehabilitation are not enough. Western society must improve itself, for since its pretensions are very great, its failures are very dangerous. The Marshall Plan was "the most momentous act of statesmanship in the modern world," but it must be followed by economic and social planning in terms of a generation or more and of all that that involves in the relation between the costs of containment and social and economic stability. "The West must capture the initiative or risk defeat." At this point the author dons her mantle as assistant editor of the *Economist* and plunges into the manifold intricate problems of the business cycle, full employment, inflation, deflation, production, consumption, international trade and investment, and the dollar deficit. She emphasizes consumption in developed countries and investment in underdeveloped ones. An avowed Keynesian, that is, an economic interventionist, and an acceptor of economies partly public and partly private in their enterprises, she moves sturdily on through the manifold precariousnesses of the world economy to demand its planning on a global scale. She then reverts to the politics of unity, relying a great deal on federalism and calling attention to the now almost habitual international action under the United Nations, the Marshall Plan, and the Atlantic Pact. She concludes with an appeal to the Western faith that men and policies determine events against the Russian faith that history itself does the work—particularly if given a helping hand by those who have mastered the laws of historical necessity. "The Western world is a world of freedom, and in it the Western powers can freely choose and freely act."

Within its terms the book is a brilliant performance, and not because difficulties are eclipsed by grand simplifications. The skeptical reader may have to wait a while for his criticisms to be anticipated and met, but they nearly always are. Even in Parts II and III, the body of the book, where the intricacies of international politico-economics are pursued step by step from the national and regional to the global, the unresolved obstacles are singled out with honest insistence and self-critical shrewdness—for instance, the awe-inspiring effects on the world of even slight recession in the United States; the difficult contradictory elements in the relations of Great Britain to continental Europe, to the Commonwealth and Empire, and to the United States; or the insolubility of the dollar gap. A great deal of the argument rests on the moral and political as well as the economic content of the Marshall Plan and related American policy, and on the political content of Mr. Acheson's success in using the U. N. Assembly as a by-pass round the road block in the Council. In short, this is a very bold, venturesome body of proposals by an author who is better informed about the barriers to its aims than most readers are likely to be, who proclaims them, and who provides good reasons for believing that they can be surmounted.

This promises to be a much-discussed and influential book. Its basic premise may be debated, as it was at length in the recent anniversary number of *The Nation*. Beyond that, difference may be taken chiefly in a number of specific details and in the matter of emphasis. Thus, while the whole book can be read as an attack on neutralism and isolationism, the former phenomenon as it has been manifested recently in France, Britain, and Germany in its relation to atomic warfare receives less specific attention than it seems to deserve. Again, while the infectious passion and visionary qualities of expansive communism and its paradoxical disregard of economics are briefly and vividly illustrated, its successful political technology deserves much closer attention. In fact, although the pervasive emphasis of the book is upon freedom, it does not grapple with the greatest problem that has been dropped in our laps by the progressive industrialization and secularization of the last two centuries—the relation between freedom and authority in the modern state or in a collection of states. In 1936, at the end of a life devoted to historical and philosophical studies, Elie Halévy, a great liberal, concluded tragically that we had entered upon the Era of Tyrannies. At the

moment Russia and its satellites are grimly and successfully underlining his conclusion. Miss Ward's book eloquently and ably argues an opposing case but leaves it to someone else to tell how the degree of authority and unity that she judges necessary is to be reconciled to democracy and to the ordinary man's need to feel that in some area or areas his ideas and wishes can be meshed into the management of the world's affairs.

J. B. BREBNER

Frogs and People in Nazi Germany

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF HELL. By Eugen Kogon. Translated from the German by Heinz Norden. Farrar, Straus and Company. $4.

EUGEN KOGON'S unique and monumental sociological study of the Nazi concentration camps, first published in Munich in 1946 as "Der S. S. Staat," now appears belatedly in English in a revised and enlarged edition as "The Theory and Practice of Hell." Kogon, a devout Catholic and early anti-Nazi, was arrested in 1938 when Hitler marched into Austria, spent seven years in concentration camps, and several times narrowly escaped death.

What distinguishes the Kogon book from most of the vast literature on this theme is that the author was not tempted to exploit the macabre and the abnormal. With exquisite precision he documents both the so-called "normal" routine of daily life in the concentration camps and its ever-present horrors. He recreates from an enormous accumulation of always pertinent details a rounded story of the European tragedy. His account, magnificently controlled and dispassionate in the presentation of fact, achieves a devastating impact.

The chapter titles of his book indicate the scope of his investigation: The Categories of Prisoners, The Physical Setup of the Camps, Daily Routine, Working Conditions, Statistics of Mortality, Sanitation and Health, Reprisals Against the Jews, Reprisals Against Other "Inferior" Races.

This book is primarily a study of the men who built and controlled the "S. S. Staat" and not an investigation of the leaders of the Nazi regime. However, the author's treatment of such men as Himmler, Heydrich, and others, whose roles in the Nazi hierachy, it appears, have been grossly underrated, adds to our understanding of the forces unleashed on Europe. The reader will also gain from Kogon's account the first really comprehensive picture of the minor hirelings of the "S. S. Staat," who were equally perverse and sadistic.

In a book in which every fact and event strains our credulity, we are yet shocked, for example, by the case of Master-Sergeant Sommer, who would "force the stripped prisoner to immerse his testicles in ice cold and boiling water, painting them with iodine when the skin came off in strips." And who "applied an iron clamp to his victim's temples, screwing it shut until the skull was crushed." Pastor Schneider, who was brought to Buchenwald in 1937, "refused to take off his cap before the Nazi emblem . . . was thrown into the bunker," and "finally murdered, having suffered indescribable agonies." Kogon reports that in 1943, when the Nazi regime had suffered military defeats, Nazi commandants at Buchenwald received an order of which the implications were clear: "All Jews in Europe to be shipped to Koch in Lublin."

One may observe that the sadism and perversion which Kogon describes were often reported to be surpassed by Commandant Koch and his wife Ilse, and the author dispels any illusions, if they still exist, about the Kochs' guilt. Kogon omits nothing and spares no one. While he testifies to the superhuman heroism and endurance of the victims, he also reveals that in some instances prisoners systematically demoralized and debased by the Nazis and driven by the instinct for survival became the collaborators of their masters. But they rarely escaped the fate of the betrayed. Often they too were sent to the crematoriums; sometimes their fellow-prisoners plotted secretly to end their ignominious careers.

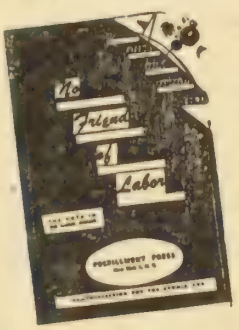
While on the whole the author confines his aim to a comprehensive study of the Nazi concentration-camp system, he incidentally contributes to our perception of the entire Nazi phenomenon. In a sense this book complements such studies as the recently published "Rehearsal for Destruction" by Paul Massing, which explores the historical roots of Nazism. The crimes of the Nazi élite, Kogon writes, "were carried out with truly German thoroughness . . . their motives were not simply sadistic in character. They were in keeping with a certain universal German predilection to justify the most abysmal barbarism by recourse to certain 'idealistic' principles." And by citing an instance when "tens of thousands of victims . . . were gassed and tortured in so many camps during the very time that music was in the air," he enables us to grasp, to some degree, the peculiar schizoid German character, which David Rousset suggested so ironically in "The Other Kingdom" with "There exists a decree by Göring protecting frogs."

This book supplies evidence which would appear to counter the pleas that the German people surrendered to Nazism solely because of economic or historical factors. These arguments do not explain why Germany, faced with problems similar to those of other nations, chose thus to resolve its dilemma. One wonders if this split in the German character had not already been foreshadowed by Goethe's Faust, who despaired, "Two souls, alas, dwell in my breast together . . .".

It is pertinent to observe that the first

NO FRIEND OF LABOR

EXPOSE OF THE ASSOCIATION OF CATHOLIC TRADE UNIONISTS



In church-ridden Catholic countries (Portugal, Spain, Italy, etc.) poverty is and always has been most widespread, standards of living lowest, literacy and illegitimacy highest.

In countries where its control has been undisputed, the Catholic Church has made no move towards improving the lot of the underprivileged. These realities stand in glaring contrast to the Catholic Church's lip-service, to the cause of the poor.

For the real uncensored background of labor's tragedy read

"NO FRIEND OF LABOR"

by JAMES MORTON FREEMAN

32 pages of startling and fully documented facts.

Only 35¢ per copy

3 copies for $1 ■ 10 copies for $3

Other Pamphlets Still Available

VATICAN POLICY IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR. The classic work by L. H. Lehmann 25¢

HOW THE POPES TREATED THE JEWS..... 15¢

CLERICAL FASCISM IN ITALY..... 15¢

BISHOP STROSSMAYER'S SPEECH IN THE VATICAN COUNCIL OF 1870 (against Papal infallibility) ..... 10¢

Order from DEPT. N 151

THE FULFILLMENT PRESS

P. O. Box 994, General Post Office

New York 1, N. Y.

edition of "Der S. S. Staat" sold 35,000 copies in Germany in 1946, 100,000 in 1947, and only 5,000 in 1949. While a certain decline in the sale of any book is to be expected, one is neverthless inclined to wonder to what extent the sharp decrease in the sale of so comprehensive and monumental a study of a problem that is still vital and immediate is related to the state of mind of Germany today.

ELIEZER GREENBERG

The Art of Soutine

SOUTINE. By Monroe Wheeler. The Museum of Modern Art. $3.95.

THIS catalogue for the retrospective exhibition of Chaim Soutine (1894-1943), current at the Museum of Modernt Art, contains seventy-five illustrations, including ten rather too shiny color plates, and an urbanely written essay by Monroe Wheeler. The essay covers very thoroughly Soutine's life and his development as a painter. Wheeler's estimates of the pictures rightly emphasize color and brushwork as basic elements in the violent expressiveness of Soutine's art. As if to compensate for the rigors of formal analysis, Wheeler occasionally goes overboard in literary apotheosis. On such occasions he falls prey to what we might call the pathetic fallacy in art criticism. The violent theme in all its rawness, or the noisy use of the medium as such (Soutine's reds would dim the blood on Dr. Gross's hands in Eakins's great picture of the clinic)—these are expressionism's favorite traps for critics. But Soutine is too fine an artist to set them—in their context his reds are not raw but resonant—and Wheeler is too fine a critic to spring them, very often.

Many of Soutine's best pictures are highly personal transformations of motives in other artists' works. In addition to the several allusions to Courbet and Rembrandt, Wheeler might have mentioned Chardin (Ray-Fish), Goya (Plucked Fowl, very naked), and Corot (Chartres Cathedral).

In Maternity can we be sure that the child lies back in the mother's lap "in defeat and exhaustion"? Is not the child dead—"as though on a field of battle," to use Wheeler's own words? Soutine painted it in France during the occupation. Wishing to check my impression with the original painting, I was disappointed to learn that this picture, as well as several other crucial ones in the same private French collection, were unfortunately withdrawn from the exhibition after the catalogue went to press. But dead or alive, the child—and the mother too—conveys Soutine's highly charged sentiment. They betray, however, no hint of the sentimentality with which Edvard Munch interpreted such themes. If we may define sentimentality in art as emotion derived through association and not recreated by visual means, then between Soutine and Munch, both good painters, we have the difference between the painter of sentiment and the sentimental painter.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

The Failure of Gentility

THE YEAR OF THE OATH. By George R. Stewart, with the Collaboration of Other Professors of the University of California. Doubleday and Company. $2.

AS FAR along as June, 1950, the authors of "The Year of the Oath" felt justified in concluding their manuscript thus:

> . . . if you wish to be in the forefront of the struggle for Academic Freedom, if you wish to be where much may have to be risked and much may perhaps be gained, then—if you can also accept the terms of our present contract—we call to your attention, not without pride, the still strong and distinguished faculty of the University of California.

Yet less than four months later the game was up: on the eve of a state election the legislature passed and Governor Earl Warren eagerly approved an act requiring all state employees to take a loyalty oath. Thus, in the end, the faculty was betrayed by its former "friends": Governor Warren, who had opposed the regents' oath, certainly looked with favor on, if he did not actually inspire, the Levering act, which now imposes a test oath on all state employees, including members of the faculty of the University of California. The non-signers, of course, still have their lawsuit; a movement for repeal of the Levering act is shaping up; but these, at best are fragile and elusive "straws." The basic question remains: How could a group of trained and seasoned scholars have so grossly misjudged a situation which was crystal-clear to so many others?

The answer appears to lie in the same frame of reference that has permitted twelve obscurantist regents of the University of California to bamboozle, intimidate, and, it now appears, indenture their 3,700 teaching employees. Faith and good-will as ultimate ordnance in the struggle of men to consolidate or to maintain their liberties come to seem impotent and feckless as one follows the chronicle of the loyalty-oath battle offered by Stewart and his collaborators. Dignity, honor, integrity, fair play—all were expendable in the putsch by California reaction to extend the area of its insecure power.

The focus of this effort to present and clarify a complex situation to a confused, misinformed, and fact-starved "non-professional" public is upon the controversy as it has concerned the regents and the academic senate. The authors define and generally equate "academic freedom" and "tenure." They discuss the implications, to the student and the whole community, of restrictions upon either of these. They review, in cogent detail, traditional academic responsibilities and privileges and tenure procedures. They formulate, in eight arguments, the real issues involved. And they submit a valuable calendar of the loyalty-oath history from its inception in January, 1949, through the regents-faculty "compromise" of April 21, 1950.

Then there are the results: the teaching assistant at Berkeley and the pianist in the women's gymnasium at U. C. L. A. dismissed with questionable procedure as the only "Communists" that a stateful of zealous patriots could flush out of the chaparral; professional men and women worn, strained, harassed, and immobilized as effective teachers and researchers; departments vitiated in morale and crippled by resignations and blacklistings.

The well-supported analysis of the relationship of state politics—and in particular of the Associated Farmers—to the loyalty-oath fight and the rather cursory but illuminating histories of earlier A. A. U. P. blacklistings and of fascism in European universities seem more pertinent than the human-interest stuff. The analysis of the big-capital domination in the board of regents is much more to the point than the ration-

alistic and neo-Kantian shreds and patches toward the end of the book. For it was never a question, at the University of California, of being right; it was a question of being effective.

And here, essentially, is the weakness of "The Year of the Oath" and, correlatively, of all but a handful of men and women on the University of California faculties. Moral posture, balanced judgment, logical analysis, democratic imperatives, reason—these are only openings for the Philistine strategy. Until teachers in danger are willing and able to fight together in groups to retain or extend the privileges of the individualism they have inherited from other men's fighting, they will suffer both the burden of having to live with their uneasy rationales and the consequences of a failure to recognize that their relationship to the society which they should be leading is one of oblique evasion.

. . . pessimism, however, seems hardly to be warranted . . . it assumes a certain diabolical quality, an intense drive for power, on the part of a majority of the regents, and there is little reason to believe that such a state of mind exists.

The fault lay not so much in the prognosis as in the diagnosis by mystique.

ROBERT WULIGER

Memories of Riley

JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY AS I KNEW HIM. By Minnie Belle Mitchell. The Old Swimmin' Hole Press, Greenfield, Indiana. $3.50.

THE name of James Whitcomb Riley is still a magic passport into the state of Indiana, land of the green fields and running brooks described by Riley's poems of his own childhood and the childhood of a land, a people. But Indiana is greatly changed since the days when Riley, the Homer of Griggsby Station, was writing his exuberant poems to describe the romantic village which preceded Edgar Lee Masters's Spoon River or Sherwood Anderson's Winesburg, Ohio, hypothetical places which have more in common with their idyllic early ancestor than is commonly supposed.

Riley's types, such as Little Orphant Annie or the Raggedy Man who have entered so much into American myth, were part of a living, coarse-fibered mythology he knew with intimacy and conservatively recorded not as usual figures but as the deviates, the eccentrics, the persons who did not quite conform in an age of non-conformity. Riley was always, even in the old village, looking for an older village which had all but passed away, for his was the enthusiasm of a resurrectionist, an archaeologist, and he saw that the volcanic lava of time would cover over his Greenfield, Indiana, and that horse-and-buggy age. He was always seeking out the disparaged and neglected characters of his time and place, such as the drunken idiot poet in whose babblings, though others might dismiss them as unconventional, he found not only the seeds of his own art but something which should pave the way toward a new realism growing out of the old romance. When he was writing of the barefoot boy in Indiana, Theodore Dreiser was still a barefoot boy there, one who, in the true Riley manner, was carrying home his mother's wash along a bleak and lonely railroad track. Riley's sewing-machine girl is the great-aunt of Theodore Dreiser's Sister Carrie.

Mrs. Mitchell's book is a rare and delicate embodiment of her many memories of Riley's life and times—one which should be an invaluable item for collectors of Americana, recreating the past in tiniest detail, telling those small, fugitive matters which are usually dismissed by more ambitious historians and biographers.

MARGUERITE YOUNG

Economic Theory Revisited

A RECONSTRUCTION OF ECONOMICS. By Kenneth Boulding. John Wiley and Sons. $4.50.

THE author has much to say that is constructive and original in modifying economic theory at a number of points. Readers untutored in the intricacies of the theories examined, however, had best look elsewhere for a picture of the defects of economics today. On the other hand, those who have plodded through some study in the field and are able to handle rather complex graphic notation will find the book most rewarding. Incidentally, they would do well to scan first the author's preface—an illuminating two-page summary.

Boulding seeks to rework many of the theories of price and employment. In textbooks, it appears, the firm "is a strange bloodless creature without a balance-sheet," and this has led to embarrassing problems. For example, business enterprises are supposed to maximize net revenues. Yet in markets occupied by relatively few, giant firms, their behavior often seems inconsistent with any such attempt. Boulding's new "balance-sheet" approach may offer a key.

Even more difficult to handle with traditional tools is the behavior of organisms like the trade union. For instance, there is little evidence that unions seek to maximize a total wage bill. Such considerations as size of membership, time since the last wage increase, wage rates compared with those in other industries are apparently more important in the formulation of wage policy. Again, the author suggests that emphasizing the union's assets and liabilities may provide a more realistic basis for explaining its demands.

The "most original and most controversial" chapter, attempts to answer the crucial question: what determines the relative share of national income going to interest, rent, profits, wages? Ricardo and Marx are held inadequate in this area. In any case, Boulding would deny the prime importance of wage bargaining. He sees decisions of households and firms on investment, consumption, finance, and liquidity ulti-

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR
Just Arrived! KONSTANTIN FEDIN
NO ORDINARY SUMMER—2 Vols.
Stalin Prize Novel
In English — 1255 pp. — Set: $2.25
Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
1951 Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals
Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

THE PROGRAM
that could have prevented the present world crisis—
THE PROGRAM
that most liberals, four years ago, self-righteously condemned—
THE PROGRAM
That may still serve as the pattern for a libertarian underground, if fascism comes—
"STANDARDS AND DISCIPLINE FOR LIBERALS"
Price 25¢ Order from
MAX CARASSO
P. O. Box 994, G. P. O., New York 1, N. Y.

mately determining the portions of national income going to workers, business men, and other sections of the population. HARVEY LEVIN

Books in Brief

THE LETTERS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND JANE MECOM. Edited, with an Introduction, by Carl Van Doren. Princeton University Press. $5. Letters exchanged by Franklin and his favorite sister between 1727 and 1790. Jane gives the impression of having been an insufferably dull woman—at least on paper; and Franklin's replies are correspondingly prosy and domestic. There are occasional passages of interest, but for the most part the letters deal with the minutiae of family affairs.

ONCE MORE THE THUNDERER. By Henry Beetle Hough. Washburn. $3.50. Stories and anecdotes of life in a New England town by the editor of the *Vineyard Gazette* of Edgartown on Martha's Vineyard. A mildly pleasant second helping by the author of "Country Editor."

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

THE fourth production in the A. N. T. A. series is a play by the Spanish poet Federico García Lorca, "The House of Bernarda Alba" (ANTA Theater). The play is described in the printed version as "a drama about women in the villages of Spain," and as in other plays of Lorca's the weight and the fateful aspect of folk experience are consciously invoked both as a frame of reference and as silent commentary on the particular drama which is being unfolded.

The particular drama here is the conflict of the wills and passions of six women—a mother and her five daughters; and it illustrates the other, and saving, feature of Lorca's preoccupation with folk experience. While his characters are in a sense folk characters and their "destiny" is in a sense foreknown, they are individuals as well and their destinies are convincing in terms of their individuality.

Thus Bernarda Alba, the mother, is not only the product and the preserver of tradition, family and social, especially as it concerns women. She is also a powerful and power-seeking individual who has dominated her husband and upon his death condemns her daughters to eight years of mourning—and eight years of incarceration in a manless house. Each of the daughters is likewise individualized, though some, to be sure, are more vividly realized than others. And, similarly, the servant-companion Poncia is at once a type and a clearly delineated person in her own right.

Bernarda has forbidden her daughters' marriage with the men in the village. Her excuse is that her fellow-villagers are inferior in status, but it becomes clear that her real motivation is a desire to dominate. For various special reasons, and under the prodding of Poncia, Bernarda does consent to the marriage of the oldest daughter, Angustias, to one Pepe el Romano, in spite of his low status. This break looses the avalanche. Preparations for a wedding are coals of fire on the heads of the other daughters, and the tension becomes intolerable. Pepe, who is marrying Angustias for her money, really wants the youngest and prettiest of the daughters, Adela. He accomplishes her seduction, and Adela resolves to escape into life even if it must be a life of shame. The crippled sister, Martirio, also in love with Pepe, betrays Adela to her mother. Bernarda drives Pepe away and Adela hangs herself. The mother's main concern is that the world believe that Adela has died a virgin—"Tell them, so that at dawn, the bells will ring twice"—and at the end she once more decrees incarceration for the others.

"The writer states," says a note in the printed version, "that these three acts are intended as a photographic document." They are more like prints of engravings come to life, engravings of women in black moving against white walls. The setting of the A. N. T. A. production is appropriate, and the Spanish effect is achieved, particularly at those moments when the brilliant outdoor light flashes into the dead white precincts of Bernarda's house.

Katina Paxinou has the authentic face, figure, and presence for the part of Bernarda, and her performance sustains the illusion throughout. I thought Ruth Saville's interpretation of Poncia was faulty, particularly in the first scene, where Poncia's earthiness and broadness of expression appear as mere vulgar looseness devoid of dignity. Ruth Ford as the crippled girl, Martirio, and Kim Stanley as Adela have the richest parts among the sisters and play them very well.

"The House of Bernarda Alba" is an interesting play and an excellent choice for a repertory theater. (Since I have said harsh things about A. N. T. A.'s previous choices, this statement is in order.) It is the work of a highly gifted writer little known here whose plays are hardly likely to be produced in the ordinary commercial course of events. I must say, however, that it seems to me to have less to say to a non-Spanish audience than, for instance, Lorca's "Blood Wedding." Despite its universal elements of character and event, its primary interest lies in its portrayal of the lives of women in the villages of Spain. It is, in other words, essentially a period piece. The way of life which is the context of "Blood Wedding" is likewise remote; but it is also primitive and therefore broader in its significance and appeal. What is far more important, while the present play is written in prose, "Blood Wedding" is cast in poetry—and it is Lorca's poetry that embodies not only his best work but his universal quality.

CONTRIBUTORS

J. B. BREBNER is the author of "North Atlantic Triangle: The Interplay of Canada, the United States, and Britain" and other books.

ELIEZER GREENBERG is coeditor of the Yiddish literary quarterly *Getseltn.*

S. LANE FAISON, JR., on leave as chairman of the Art Department of Williams College, recently left for Germany to become director of the central art-collecting point at Munich.

ROBERT WULIGER, formerly a member of the English Department of the University of California, is teaching at Dartington Hall in England.

MARGUERITE YOUNG is the author of "Angel in the Forest: A Fairy Tale of Two Utopias" and other books.

HARVEY LEVIN is a member of the Economics Department of Pennsylvania State College.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

WITH everyone around falling on his knees before God's word embodied in the Landowska recording of Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier, I can only report concerning the second group of eight Preludes and Fugues on an RCA Victor LP record, as I did concerning the first, that the works themselves, though composed by Bach, include a large number of dull pieces of music along with a few engaging Preludes and things as fine as Fugue No. 10, Prelude and Fugue No. 16, and the beautiful Prelude and Fugue No. 12; and that all—including some which call for lightness and grace—are relentlessly pounded out on the harpsichord with occasional emphatic distentions of tempo that are not accounted for by what is happening in the music.

Mozart's powerful Fantasia K.475 and Sonata K.457 are played by Firkusny on a Columbia LP and by Leonid Hambro on an Allegro (81). The sharp inflection and cohesive outlining of phrase with continuing impetus in the succession of notes that one hears in Hambro's performance is completely lacking in Firkusny's; and this difference is to be heard also in Hambro's performance of the engaging Sonata K.311 and Firkusny's of the Fantasia K.396 on the same records. However, the Fantasia K.475 should have more spaciousness and grandeur than Hambro gives it; and there are questionable tempos and other details. Also, the surface of the Allegro record is not quiet; there are some thumps and buzzes; and treble must be reduced.

Amparito Iturbi's performance of Mozart's Sonata K. 333, on RCA Victor 78 rpm, is something completely and precisely achieved, and maintains an unfailing rhythmic coherence, in its small-scale, on-the-surface, prettifying style.

Hambro also plays Beethoven's fine early Sonata Opus 10 No. 3 very well, on another Allegro record (85), except for an *Andante* pace which deprives the *Adagio* movement of breadth. But his performance of Beethoven's Opus 101, on the reverse side, is inadequate. I once heard a painter speak of the importance of the spaces between the forms in a painting; and that statement came to mind as I listened to Hambro play the notes of the *Adagio* movement with no apparent awareness of the spaces between them that must contribute to their effect. The entire performance is no more than a clean playing of the notes.

In a number of Chopin's Mazurkas and Schumann's "Scenes from Childhood" on one Victor LP, and in Chopin's Sonata Opus 35 on another, Horowitz does the *affetuoso* teasing of music and piano that doesn't constitute performance of one or the other for me (the middle section of the Funeral March of Opus 35 he plays simply, but in an uninflected *pianissimo* throughout). Coupled with Opus 35 is Samuel Barber's Sonata Opus 26, which, to my ears, demonstrates Barber's ability to manipulate sounds in a modern idiom which say nothing (the first movement) or nothing of distinction or consequence (the slow movement and finale)—only the scherzo, in a more conventional idiom, being engaging.

Much of Schumann's "Carnaval" is acceptably played by Arrau on a Decca LP (DL-7502), but some of it with exaggerated capriciousness and *rubato* (e.g. in the *Chopin* episode). The dubbing from the original Parlophone 78 rpm records cuts off the beginning of one of the episodes (*Eusebius*, I believe), and occasionally reproduces a recurrent 78 swish; but with bass reduced the sound is good.

Stravinsky's Sonata and "Serenade en la" for piano, as played by his son Soulima on an Allegro LP (74), I find uninteresting.

Mr. Ernest B. Zeisler has written me that he often heard Godowsky, Carreño, and his mother Fannie Bloomfield-Zeisler and heard their Welte-Mignon recordings, which recently were rerecorded by Allegro; and that the unevennesses of tone and tempo heard on the Allegro record were caused by the use of a defective Welte-Mignon reproducing mechanism in the transfer. I must concede the possibility that Mr. Zeisler is right; but I must also say that since the playing of Godowsky reproduced by the Allegro record is exactly what I remember of Godowsky's living performances the presumption is that the reproduction of the Bloomfield-Zeisler performance is no less accurate, and that a defective Welte mechanism which played haltingly would not produce the identical extravagances of tempo and *rubato* in the first and last sections of Chopin's "Minute" Waltz.

A reader reports that the three recitals at Harvard in which Webster Aitken played Beethoven's last Sonatas, Bagatelles, and "Diabelli" Variations were "the musical high point of the last couple of years for me." Aitken is repeating the performances of the Sonatas and Bagatelles at the Frick Collection on January 21 and 28; and New Yorkers can hear them on the radio from WNYC.

BLUEBERRY JAM

Made from the finest cultivated blueberries and pure sugar—cooked in small batches in gleaming copper kettles—a real home-made delicacy. Unsurpassed for taste and freshness—makes a wonderful gift. 1 Box—Six 11-oz. Jars Pure Blueberry Jam—$3.75. Shipped prepaid anywhere in U. S. but add 25¢ west of the Mississippi. No COD's please. If not satisfied, money back immediately. Send your order now.

BLUEBERRY HILL PLANTATION
Dept. N-120, RR-2, Paw Paw, Michigan

GOOD NEWS for Music Lovers

Pocket-Sized, Low-Priced Editions

BACH: The Well-Temp. Clavier, 2 vols., each.. .98
SCHUMANN: Carnaval: Fantasiestucke; Symphonic Etudes; Fantasy .98
CHOPIN: 25 Preludes; 2 Piano Sont.; Fantasy .98
BRAHMS: All Violin Sonatas .98
& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG

Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From

LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138 New York 32, N. Y.

25% Less than List on LP Records

Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:

DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB
DEPT. N-14
Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.
Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges (50¢ minimum). SAME-DAY SHIPMENT.



LANGUAGES

IT'S EASY TO LEARN A LANGUAGE BY LINGUAPHONE

At home, in leisure time, quickly, easily, correctly master Russian, French, German, an Oriental language—any one of 29 languages through LINGUAPHONE World's Standard Conversational Method. Send for FREE book.

LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE
8101 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y.

LEARN easily, inexpensively at home. ALL MAKES. Sold, bought, rented. ALIN, 475 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C. MU 3-1093.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, $5.00.

SHOES



KING-SIZE, Inc., 541, Brockton, Mass.

PERSONALS

YOUNG WOMAN, Phi Beta Kappa, completing M.A., English Literature, Columbia. 2 years teaching experience. Seeks position where effective use could be made of cultural background, energy, initiative. Box 208, c/o The Nation.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Fiscal Follies

Dear Sirs: In cleaning out our woodbox to make room for the Yule log, I came upon a dust-covered copy of a newspaper patiently waiting to kindle a fire. Shaken free of wood dust, it turned out to be a copy of the Parisian Fair Deal daily *Franc-Tireur*, dated March 1, 1949. On one of the lead stories was a bold black banner, "France, Country of Fiscal Injustice," and a subhead, "172,688,333 holes through which our money pours." The story contained an exchange of correspondence between an office of internal revenue and a butcher, which in an Orwell novel would have seemed outrageously funny. It was outrageous, but not funny. The burden of it was that the tax-collectors were so wrapped in red tape and so hot in pursuit of butchers that they had no time to track down the big tax evaders.

According to an article in the June 9, 1950, issue of *United States News and World Report*, a wealthy Italian is obliged to file an income-tax return only once in his lifetime; after that he simply reports any changes in his income. The man may become a millionaire and still be registered as earning the salary he was making twenty years before. The wage-earner's income is reported by his employer; so he, unlucky fellow, cannot get out of paying it. Frenchmen are notorious for their distrust of banks and checks. Taxes, says this article, are too complicated for a Frenchman to even try to understand how they are computed. He inclines to skepticism about the government's whole method of computation, and is sure taxes are too high anyway. Reforms, this news weekly concludes, have been ordered by United States administrators.

The question should be put before the American people: why should their pockets be emptied and the whole productive mechanism of the country drained to provide the wherewithal in money, men, and arms to defend wealthy French and Italian tax evaders from the logical consequences of their own folly? Are we to be deprived of our freedoms, one by one, in order to defeat communism, and must we defend the right of others not to pay the taxes we are obliged to pay on their behalf?

The military budget of two billion francs voted by France at the end of December also raises the highly pertinent question: where is the money to come from?

CARY DESBOROUGH

New York, December 30

"Luscious" Repudiated

Dear Sirs: In your issue of December 23, S. Lane Faison, the reviewer of the recent book on Renoir to which I contributed, takes exception to the word "luscious" and to "sentimental clichés like 'the essence of femininity,' 'the very spirit of childhood,'" and several others," as applied to the work of the great artist. I too find them objectionable, but none of them is in my text, as I can say after a careful rereading of my pages. "Luscious" and the the rest are possibly to be found in the comments on the illustrations, but these, as the table of contents states, are the work of the editorial staff, of which I was obviously not a member. Moreover, the title page of the volume tells that I wrote only the introduction. It was doubtless through an oversight that I was blamed for words I did not write; none the less I think it only fair for you to correct the error.

WALTER PACH

New York, December 31

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

The NATION

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine . . . . . $9.50 **You Save $2.50**

☐ *with* Consumer Reports . . . . . $10.75 **You Save $1.25**

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine and Consumer Reports . . $13.25 **You Save $3.75**

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION BY ITSELF:

☐ **One Year $7** ☐ **Two Years $12** ☐ **Three Years $17**

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years. ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

_____

_____

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

1/20/51

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JANUARY 27, 1951 NUMBER 4

The Shape of Things

THE RESIGNATION OF DR. ALAN VALENTINE as Economic Stabilization Administrator is, we hope, a sign that Washington officialdom has been shaken by public protests against the recent spurt in prices. Since the middle of December, retail food prices have risen sharply, and there have been still greater advances in wholesale markets portending further increases in grocery and butcher bills. Meanwhile action in Washington has been paralyzed by a controversy between those who believe indirect controls are adequate to prevent inflation and those who want direct controls, including a price and wage freeze. Actually, of course, we need both kinds. Price ceilings are likely to be widely evaded unless higher taxes and further credit restrictions cut down the volume of consumer income chasing after scarce goods. But we need a price freeze so that profiteers can be identified, and we need it immediately in order to halt panic buying inspired by fears of still higher prices and encouraged by exaggerated talk of coming shortages. Nevertheless, a plan for an immediate thirty-day freeze put forward by Price Administrator Michael DiSalle was vetoed on January 10 by Mr. Valentine. A week later Charles E. Wilson, Director of Defense Mobilization, said in a speech at Philadelphia: "Voluntary methods will not work. . . . The power of law must be invoked . . . for whatever controls are necessary to prevent inflation." Although a believer in voluntary methods, Mr. Valentine took the hint and produced a plan of his own for mandatory wage and price ceilings to take effect about February 1. Told by Wilson that it was "not acceptable" he resigned. He is to be replaced by Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Pictures Association of America, a puzzling choice which leaves us with fingers tightly crossed. Whatever Mr. Johnston's virtues as a public-relations man, we shall be pleasantly surprised if he proves to have the toughness and administrative vigor which leadership of the fight against inflation demands.

*

IN THE OPINION OF MANY AMERICAN editors and commentators Dictator Franco is rapidly becoming democracy's best asset. Yet it was with a feeling of sadness that we read an editorial in the New York *Herald Tribune*, which had previously opposed degrading the Atlantic coalition by admitting Hitler's last heir, arguing that "the whole Western community must weigh anew the resources and strength which Spain offers." Such language would be natural in a Senator McCarran, who would even embrace Adolf Hitler if he could be revived for use against the Russians, but in a reputable paper it gives alarming evidence of how easily positions of decency can be abandoned in exchange for men and materials. American experts, according to Sam Pope Brewer, the New York *Times's* Madrid correspondent, are in Spain studying the resources of wolfram and other war-vital commodities. One should remember the tones of indignation with which our delegates in the United Nations rejected Soviet accusations that our policy of supporting Franco was inspired by strategic considerations. The illusions surrounding Franco's strength were heightened when José Felix Lequerica, the new Spanish ambassador, immediately after presenting his credentials to President Truman offered the Caudillo's famous one-million-man army to the defenders of freedom. In a biting article in the *New Republic* entitled Heil Lequerica! Harold L. Ickes has expressed the abhorrence with which American liberals regard these latest developments. But we must note, with regret, that there has not come, either from other liberal groups or from the C. I. O. or the A. F. of L.—committed by their membership in the International Committee of Free Trade Unions to take a stand in the matter—any effective protest against a policy that deprives this country of the right to tell the world we are fighting for democracy.

*

THE RELEASE AND REHABILITATION OF NAZI war criminals by the American occupation authorities, coming on top of the farce of denazification, constitutes a scandal. At this moment in our fervent courtship of the Germans it may hardly be considered good form to examine this odorous situation; nevertheless, a brief review of the events of the last six months is called for to demonstrate the shocking extent to which General Eisenhower's "let bygones be bygones" speech was anticipated by our officials. In August, 1950, eight top offenders and eleven lesser figures were released for

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 69
"Socialism" or Defense? 71
Apprehensive Allies 72

ARTICLES

Mao's Counter-Proposal *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 73
Civil War in the G. O. P. *by Willard Shelton* 75
Can France Rearm? *by Alexander Werth* 77
The Tragedy of the Spanish Refugees *by Charles R. Joy* 79
The Vatican vs. the Public Schools. II. The Netherlands *by Paul Blanshard* 81
"Mr. Point Four" *by Andrew Roth* 83
Everybody's Business: The Bulls Have It *by Keith Hutchison* 85
Dangerous Thoughts: The FBI Reviews a Book *by The Observer* 86

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Essays and Asides: "A Passion for Literature" *by Perry Miller* 87
Loyalty vs. Freedom *by M. R. Werner* 88
"Island Within" *by Arthur Hertzberg* 89
The Paradox of Japan *by Harold Strauss* 90
A Prosody of Relaxation *by Hayden Carruth* 91
Inside Reports *by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.* 91
Art *by Manny Farber* 92
Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 92
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 93

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 95

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 397 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 96

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Executive Editor: Harold C. Field

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo — *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Washington Editor: Willard Shelton

Contributing Editor: Robert Bendiner

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch — *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

"good conduct." They included Friedrich Flick, one of Hitler Germany's most powerful industrialists, sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for exploiting slave labor in his mines and mills; two former members of Hitler's Cabinet, Otto Dietrich and Walter Darre, found guilty of furthering the program that killed 6,000,000 Jews; S. S. General Rudolph Lehmann, former judge advocate of the German army, charged with drafting orders for the execution of captured commandos and Soviet army commissars; Kurt Rothenberger an ex-state secretary who specialized in racial persecution; and an I. G. Farben official, Fritz Ter Meer, who plundered plants in occupied countries. Ter Meer with grim insight, said, "Now that they have Korea on their hands the Americans are a lot more friendly." In November General Handy, European commander of American forces, announced the release of fourteen concentration-camp guards, nine serving life sentences for extreme brutality on grants of clemency. In December four men found guilty as war criminals by the Nürnberg tribunal and sentenced to terms ranging from nine years to life were paroled because of bad health.

*

THE GERMAN REACTION TO THIS LENIENCY on our part has in the main been one of sullen acceptance of long overdue justice. Some papers, to be sure, have argued that Germans should try the released men, and last week a German court found Ilse Koch guilty of murdering at least one inmate of Buchenwald and sentenced her to life imprisonment, the maximum penalty under the new constitution. (General Clay's commutation of a similar sentence by an American court to four years' imprisonment had been followed by unconditional release.) But these must be considered as isolated incidents in the light of the appeal made to High Commissioner McCloy by a parliamentary group which is headed by Carlo Schmid, Social Democrat, representing *all* of the major parties in the Bundestag. Because so much time had elapsed since their conviction Dr. Schmid asked for an amnesty for the war criminals awaiting execution in order to improve political and psychological factors "at a time when West Germany was being called upon to make a military contribution to Western defense." When one considers that 53 of the 402 members of the Bundestag are ex-members of the Nazi Party, the appeal should not come as a surprise. Nor should it occasion comment to learn that the government of the state of Schleswig-Holstein is headed by an ex-Nazi—now a Christian Democrat—whose six-man Cabinet contains four Nazis. None the less, when a recent public-opinion survey showed that only one of four German youths and but one of three adults believe that our efforts at democratization have had any great success, Commissioner McCloy's office attributed this unfavorable attitude to German susceptibility to Communist propaganda.

WHEN THE SUPREME COURT ON JANUARY 2 declined to review the case of the seven Martinsville, Virginia, Negroes who face death for raping a white woman, it missed a chance to reexamine a classic area of Southern crime. Once before, in June, 1949, the court refused to hear the N. A. A. C. P. attorneys who are appealing the case. At that time the defense claimed that the men had been tried in Martinsville in "an atmosphere of prejudice and hostility." But while it is natural to suspect that colored defendants cannot get unbiased trials before white Southern juries—particularly if the crime is raping a white woman—the existence of a hostile climate of opinion is a difficult thing to prove. In its new appeal the defense relied upon the argument that, in Virginia, the death penalty for rape is reserved for Negroes. Records were cited showing that of the men convicted of this crime forty-five Negroes had been electrocuted since 1908, but not a single white man. The Virginia courts were unimpressed, reasoning that if juries could no longer give death to Negroes guilty of rape, white defendants would suffer discrimination, since the juries before which they were tried would be instructed as to the supreme penalty. The roots of this apparent dilemma lie, of course, in the hypocrisy and inner contradictions of a segregated society. Meanwhile the seven defendants, after two years in jail, face execution on February 2 and 5. The N. A. A. C. P. plans further proceedings on the same basis through the lower federal courts and, if necessary, up to the Supreme Court again. The court may have another opportunity to help shape Southern law so that members of both races may be assured of justice.

London, January 18

ANEURIN BEVAN has gambled on peace in accepting the thorny post of Minister of Labor in the reshuffling of the British Cabinet. After mulling over the decision for two weeks he finally accepted because he hopes that war will be avoided and that his record in the government's most difficult posts—Health and Labor—will insure his succeeding Attlee as Premier. Under Bevan the Ministry of Labor will be in effect the Ministry of War Production. He told his friends last week that he knew his rivals in the right wing of the Labor Party expect him to "break his neck" on this job because he will have to persuade the workers to produce more arms while wages remain stationary and prices continue to climb. Six weeks ago he said privately that he was disgusted with the government's foreign policy but fearful of splitting the party. He feels that Labor would lose an election right now but would win if one were held after the projected Big Four talks on Germany had relaxed the international tension. Left-wing back-benchers who had looked to Bevan to lead a revolt against the Attlee-Morrison policies admit that they have been out-maneuvered by the right-wingers, who have appealed to Bevan's love of important office. They consider Bevan's confidence that peace will break out wishful thinking to cover his mingled reluctance and satisfaction in taking over as the boss of British war production. A. R.

"Socialism" or Defense?

CONSERVATIVE political leaders, Republican and Democrat alike, appear to be shocked at the revelation that President Truman is still a Fair Dealer. Governor Dewey, "deeply disturbed" by the President's budget message, says the proposed increase in certain supposedly non-defense items "imperils the nation's essential unity." Senator Byrd thinks it "the very height of fiscal irresponsibility" for the President to renew his "advocacy of socialistic measures known as the Fair Deal." Senator Bridges is "shocked" to find that the budget "provides for the 'Fair Deal' under the guise of defense spending." And from many other quarters come similar expressions of dismay that at a time like this Mr. Truman can still be interested in social security, public health, housing, financial aid for the schools, and a federal Fair Employment Practices Commission.

Given the complexion of the new Congress, we are afraid the President was speaking largely for the record. The danger is not that he will obtain his Fair Deal program masked as defense, but that the Eighty-second Congress will smother it even more effectively than the Eighty-first, and do so in the name of defense.

Even in a military sense it is not easy in a complex society to draw the line between defense and non-defense projects. Senator Bridges can blithely write off the St. Lawrence seaway as an "unnecessary item," but besides providing a tremendous increase in electric power, that project, as Mr. Truman pointed out, "would also provide economical and safe access . . . to the large deposits of iron ore in Labrador and Quebec." Similarly in the field of housing, the emphasis in the budget is entirely on aspects connected with the defense effort. The Administration would seem, in fact, to be leaning over backward in curtailing residential construction by a third, inasmuch as the Federal National Mortgage Association will show for the fiscal year a net income of $530,000,000, thanks to "an accelerated sales program" that hardly smacks of socialism. In any case priority will go to housing required by the shifts and concentrations of population connected with defense production and military training.

Even in the narrowest terms the other "socialistic" items complained of are utterly insignificant in proportion to the total budget or are not intended to be paid for at all out of general taxation. And here, too, the link to defense needs should be obvious. The country's educational plant is approaching a breakdown, and the chaotic effects of the draft on colleges and secondary

schools makes the situation daily more desperate. At the same time, war or even preparation for war demands a steady flow of trained personnel in all fields. The importance of improving the health standards of the country, from a military standpoint, should be obvious even to Senator Byrd if he would take the trouble to check on the appalling percentage of men who are physically or mentally disqualified for service. Yet the Administration's health-insurance program calls for no present federal outlay but for a pay-roll tax of one-fourth of one per cent on employer and employee alike. With manpower a crucial problem, a ban on discriminatory hiring practices would seem to be highly relevant. As Senator Humphrey states the case, "Many American citizens are today unable to contribute their skills and abilities to defense production solely because of their color, religion, or national origin."

These are all immediate and material considerations, such as might be expected to appeal even to conservative politicians who put the safety of the country above partisan advantage. But there is a broader perspective which takes into account not only the ultimate possibility of violent conflict with the Soviet Union but the glaring fact that psychological war is already raging throughout the world between our own social concepts and those of the Communists. So keen has the struggle become that the President last week launched a project to block Communist efforts to capitalize on "falsehood." Experts were called in to advise on methods of improving the presentation of our case before the world. That case can be made more eloquent not by outdoing our opponents in the techniques of propaganda, but by providing concrete evidence, day by day, of the gains which a free society is capable of providing, without prejudice to individual liberty, in the living standards of its people—in health, education, housing, and economic security.

There is little use in pressing this argument on Representative Joseph Martin, who sees in such a course only "the same old, tired Socialist program" that Roosevelt launched eighteen years ago. Yet even the minority leader of the House might understand the conclusion of the Baltimore *Sun*, to wit: "The cry of 'socialism!' is all very well. But how else does one go about mobilizing a nation for an immense strengthening of its defenses except by increasing the central government's authority?"

Notice to Our Readers

In spite of the fact that our print order for *The Nation's* Eighty-fifth Anniversary number was increased by almost fifty per cent, the supply of this issue is now completely exhausted. We therefore announce with regret our inability to fill any further orders for copies of this issue.

Apprehensive Allies

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

TO CONFOUND or frighten the enemy is not enough; in a time of danger the most important test of foreign policy is whether it reassures friends and strengthens alliances. By this test America's foreign policy cannot be called a success, and current attempts to blame the Russians for the uneasiness of our Western allies can only result in self-deception, a luxury no country can now afford. The Russians have doubtless done their best to exploit the differences that exist; they did not invent them, for they are based upon genuine conflicts of interest and feeling.

Eisenhower's inspection tour through Europe has produced a flurry of optimistic dispatches, but even if the "will to resist" is as strong as the General reports he has yet to discover how far the European governments will go—or how far the people will follow—in any direction that may increase the chance of early Russian attack, and thus of Europe's destruction. Some of this country's most aggressively defended policies seem to Europeans reckless and provocative; they think we are pressing for them too hard and ignoring the reasoned objections of the countries most intimately concerned.

The fact is, as an American at Lake Success remarked last week, our best friends don't like us. They may follow us—most of them will—because they dare not forfeit our backing, either military or economic, but not because they have confidence in our stability and wisdom or approve the actual policies in which we demand their unquestioning acquiescence. If Russia has tried to increase discord by magnifying existing divisions, they have also provided, stupidly enough, the binder that holds the Atlantic amalgam together; it is not that our allies love us more but only that they fear us less.

The struggle in the United Nations over China and Korea is a striking illustration of the trouble American policy has run into. Put plainly, we have had almost no sincere support for our "strong" position on Chinese intervention. Until Peking's answer came in, even the Latin Americans resisted our urging that the Chinese Communists be branded aggressors. The chief European nations, along with the British Commonwealth and the Asian-Arab group, were set upon averting any action that might lead to sanctions and thus to war; so firmly set that in the end the United States was forced to choose between standing alone and saying yes to the resolution embodying the "five principles" drawn up by the cease-fire group.

The State Department's decision to go along with the majority was based on a shrewd conviction that Peking would reject the offer; this it was assumed would insure

adoption of our resolution charging aggression. The Chinese obligingly did their part by laying down conditions in their counter-proposals which seemed designed to help the American case. Apparently they did resolve the doubts of the Latin Americans, but the reluctance of the nations most directly involved has not been overcome. The feeling that the United States was trying to rush through a decision the result of which might be general war was shared by delegates who harshly criticized Peking for failing to take advantage of a generous and conciliatory offer, and who would willingly have supported a charge of aggression if moral condemnation could have been divorced from strategic consequences.

But fear of being hurried into war is not the only line dividing the United States from its natural allies. Many nations, especially among the Asians, have become suspicious of American purposes and irritated by American behavior. It is hard, no doubt, for the strongest power in the world organization to behave as a mere fellow-member. Even though we fell in line with the majority on the cease-fire offer, our delegates managed to give the impression that this was an act of immense magnanimity not likely to be repeated—especially since our misgivings had been so thoroughly validated by the Chinese Communists. This and President Truman's naively open announcement that we would use all possible pressure to force adoption of our resolution grated on the national sensibilities of other, still doubting, countries. Nor was it exactly tactful, in a situation charged with such ominous possibilities, for the United States to invite certain nations to act as co-sponsors for the resolution and then, after they had received orders from their governments to accept, blandly to brush them off, explaining that since Britain and France had declined we would prefer to have no co-sponsors at all.

Our methods have undoubtedly increased suspicion of our purposes. In spite of the cautious language used in the resolution, the statement made at the beginning of the week by the American delegate, Ernest A. Gross, must have dispelled any doubt about this country's intentions. To insist on Chiang Kai-shek's presence in any negotiations on Formosa and to declare in advance that American security needs will dictate our Formosa policy is to quench whatever hope remains of renewed peace efforts. It introduces without warning a condition which was not even mentioned in the principles for which the United States voted last week, and at the same time violates Washington's promise to leave the future of Formosa to the United Nations. The effect of this startling pronouncement has not been registered as *The Nation* goes to press, but it can only confirm the general belief that a formal charge of aggression will lead inevitably to an American demand for economic sanctions, a naval blockade, and probably the ending of present restrictions on air attacks across the Chinese border.

The idea of a "limited" war is regarded as wildly unreal by our chief allies. They foresee, too, that if the fighting is carried to China the last excuse for rejecting the offered aid of the Nationalists will have vanished and the United Nations will soon find itself engaged in a war to help Chiang Kai-shek recover the mainland. No single development could so profoundly alienate the independent Asian countries or so reinforce Europe's dread of headlong American decisions unilaterally announced or carried through.

Mao's Counter-Proposal

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Lake Success, January 22, 3:30 p.m.

STOP-PRESS NOTE: At this moment Sir Benegal N. Rau has set off a bombshell in the session of the Political Committee by announcing that he has received word from his government to the effect that Mao Tse-tung, in response to a direct appeal from Prime Minister Nehru, has agreed to negotiate a settlement of the Korean war in two steps. The first is a cease-fire for a limited period during an initial meeting of the seven-nation group; the second, a long-range settlement based on several conditions, which include the withdrawal of foreign troops, negotiation for the withdrawal of United States forces from Formosa, and the admission of Peking to the U. N. Sir Benegal announced further that if point one, the withdrawal of foreign troops, is accepted, China will immediately recall its "volunteers."

This startling proposal, in which Mao for the first time agrees to a cease-fire in advance of negotiations, has created an entirely new situation in the United Nations. In view of the statement of Mr. Gross, commented upon elsewhere in this issue, the American response to Mao's offer cannot be predicted.

January 21

THE proposal for a cease-fire in Korea voted by the Political Committee on January 13 offered such a tempting opportunity to the Peking government to score a diplomatic success that it is hard to understand why it was not accepted. International developments in the past fortnight have been of such a nature that Mr. Chou En-lai, by making a different reply, might have put himself in a position to dominate the proposed negotiation while at the same time ending the threat of a general war in Asia. I refer not only to the impressive unanimity with which the other countries of the British Commonwealth supported India's efforts at conciliation but to the upsurge of European public opinion in favor of holding the four-power talks proposed by Moscow. In the last analysis Korea and Germany are parts of the same problem, which is how to bring about a negotiated

settlement between East and West. From this angle, as well as from that of the conflict in Korea, China's reply was intensely disappointing.

But it was far from being a flat rejection of the U. N.'s offer. In form and even in substance it was a counter-proposal and, acceptable or not, should be treated as such by the Political Committee. I am certain that if a committee of international experts, say the High International Court of Justice at The Hague, were asked to view it as a simple diplomatic paper and to decide, independent of all political considerations, whether it was a flat rejection or a counter-proposal, the verdict would be that it was the latter. This apparently technical point is important, especially to those nations like India which do not wish to slam the door on further attempts to negotiate.

The discussion that began on Thursday in the Political Committee, however, was an indictment of Communist China rather than an objective examination of Chou En-lai's note aimed at determining points of agreement or disagreement or which demands could be considered and which were impossible. General Rómulo used all his eloquence, as in previous sessions, to discredit the idea of conciliation and reveled in his role of prophet of catastrophe. He had predicted what Peking's reply would be, and here it was, confirming his political acuteness. His speech in support of Mr. Austin's proposal to brand Communist China an aggressor was designed to place Great Britain, the Commonwealth, and France in a most uncomfortable position if they refused to break definitely with Peking and renounce any chance of reducing the gap between the points of view of the U. N. and China. He singled out Sir Gladwyn Jebb particularly in this shrewd and malicious attempt to eliminate possible future mediators.

The British delegate replied in the hurt tones of one who honestly could not understand why the Chinese government had paid no attention to the conciliatory stand of the Commonwealth conference in London. He took good care, however, not to fall into the trap set for him by General Rómulo and align himself with the unconditional partisans of the declaration of aggression.

Even on Thursday it was clear that although Great Britain, Australia, and France—the countries whose votes had most weight—felt forced to follow the United States in branding Communist China an aggressor, they were not at all inclined to subscribe to a decision which might permit the bombing of the Chinese mainland or impose diplomatic or economic sanctions on Peking. So until Saturday it was believed that the American resolution would be only a platonic denunciation of aggression. In that case what would be its real value? And what would be the moral effect if a country like Great Britain voted for it in order not to dissociate itself entirely from the United States and at the same time continued its diplomatic and commercial relations with the proclaimed aggressor? If bombing of the Chinese mainland was excluded, how would this new move help General MacArthur? Arms and money have been sent to Chiang Kai-shek during the past few weeks without any permission from Lake Success—and this in the very period when the United Nations was seeking a truce and the proposals of the Political Committee were being worked out; Chou En-lai might have mentioned this fact in his note if he had wished to make it a flat rejection. No, the single practical result of the declaration of aggression would be to close the door of the United Nations to Communist China. And that is precisely what should be avoided, for Mao's absence from Lake Success is the original cause, as Nehru has consistently pointed out, of present difficulties in Asia.

In Friday's session not much happened. The Polish delegate, Dr. Katz-Suchy, made the first argument in support of the claim that Peking's reply was a counter-proposal; only if the offer made by the Political Committee was meant as an ultimatum, he said, could the Chinese reply be construed as a rejection. He also established the difference between the actual Munich of 1938, when the hope of peace was so quickly frustrated, and the so-called Munich of 1951. The delegate of Chile, Señor Santa Cruz, propounded the amazing theory that a declaration of aggression would not prevent and might even improve the chance of later negotiation—with a state placed outside international law!

ON Saturday Mr. Austin introduced his resolution, a stronger one than had been expected. It not only charged Peking with aggression; it called upon "all states and authorities to continue to lend every assistance to the United Nations action in Korea" and requested that a committee composed of the members of the Collective Measures Committee be appointed to consider "additional measures to be employed to meet this aggression." The vagueness of the wording heightened the apprehensions of delegates who remembered that the equally vague resolutions adopted in June, on the outbreak of the Korean war, had started a long controversy over whether General MacArthur was subject to restrictions in carrying on the war or could override them when military considerations seemed to him to dictate stronger measures.

All the Latin American delegations enthusiastically supported Mr. Austin. Throughout Saturday afternoon it was strange to hear drastic action recommended by the spokesmen of countries which had always taken pride in the Latin American tradition of arbitration and of which few sacrifices would be required by such action. They were not going to send troops to fight the Chinese Communists; they had little trade with China to be cut off; there was no possible way in which they could cooperate effectively in these "additional measures."

The delegate of Czechoslovakia supported Dr. Katz-Suchy in maintaining that the Peking reply was a counter-proposal and thus a sign of Mao Tse-tung's willingness to negotiate. The delegate of Indonesia in a well-reasoned speech recalled that the United Nations had made many futile attempts to end the conflict between his country and the Netherlands before a settlement was finally attained. Comparing the address of Ambassador Wu to the Security Council with Cho En-lai's note, he found the latter more moderate, and he demanded, therefore, that the U. N. make another attempt at conciliation.

The last speaker on Saturday, Sir Benegal Rau of India, was listened to with extraordinary attention and made a profound impression. He referred to the action of Great Britain in granting freedom to India in words which may have been meant as a warning to London not to spoil its record in Asia by an intransigent attitude now.

> It may be contended [he said] that the People's Government [of China] is in fact a rebel against the United Nations and that to negotiate with a rebel is inconsistent with the prestige of the organization. Five or six years ago there was an organization in India which had rebelled against British authority; British statesmen, nevertheless, negotiated with the leaders of that organization, amid prophecies of disaster to all concerned. What happened? Those leaders are now world figures; India remains within the Commonwealth of her own free will; all trace of bitterness against the British has vanished; the Commonwealth is stronger than ever; indeed, in this very crisis it has played an important role—the prestige of the United Kingdom has never stood higher in India. All the prophets of disaster have been proved wrong and, I may perhaps add, have been glad to be proved wrong. This is not the only instance of the kind in the history of the United Kingdom; there are several others; they all show how a little imagination and understanding at the right moment can achieve what war and force cannot.

After this lesson in diplomacy and history Sir Benegal made a subtle appeal to the other nations not to disregard the vast changes taking place in Asia and explained why the Chinese Communists were suspicious of the West. He had analyzed, one by one, in the precise terms of a legal expert, the points in the Chinese reply which could be considered counter-proposals and offered "room for elucidation and adjustment, for further discussion and negotiation."

I will not venture to predict whether the American resolution will receive the necessary two-thirds' vote or not. It will get no real support from the principal European countries, from the Commonwealth, from India, or from the Arab-Asian group, and so, even if it is adopted, its value as an expression of the will of the United Nations will be questionable.

Civil War in the G.O.P.

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, December 19

THE results of the savage infighting among the reinforced Republicans in the Eighty-second Congress show that the Taft-Wherry-Martin conservatives misread the election returns and overestimated their strength. Taft has been beaten in his attempt to dictate foreign policy. And although the conservatives dropped from the G. O. P. policy committee Senators Irving Ives of New York and Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, two of the Republicans who last year signed the "Declaration of Conscience" repudiating Joe McCarthy, they were outsmarted when they tried to push an isolationist into a vacancy on the Foreign Relations Committee. This incident is worth reporting.

Normally the Foreign Relations post would have gone to Senator Morse of Oregon, who had urgently requested representation for the West Coast and had the explicit backing of Senator Vandenberg. But Vandenberg was ill in Michigan, and Taft and Wherry were determined that the liberal and internationalist Morse should not be appointed. Since places on major committees are allotted strictly according to seniority, the conservatives were able to cook Morse's goose by proposing Senator Capehart of Indiana, who outranks Morse. The liberals countered with Senator Aiken of Vermont, who outranks Capehart. The conservatives next advanced Senator Brewster of Maine, who outranks Aiken. The liberals came back with Senator Tobey of New Hampshire, who outranks Brewster. That was when the fun really started.

Tobey already was the ranking Republican on the Banking and Currency Committee and the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. Brewster did not have top rank on any committee, although he was second to Tobey on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Delicate negotiations were now begun, with Brewster trying to obtain an assurance from Tobey that if he went to Foreign Relations, he would withdraw from Interstate and Foreign Commerce, leaving Brewster top Republican there. Tobey for his part offered to renounce Foreign Relations if Brewster would do the same, thus clearing the way for Aiken. Brewster and the conservatives did not like this and redoubled the pressure on Tobey to take the Foreign Relations post if he wanted to, but to retire from the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

Tobey is a stubborn man. He knew that the conservatives, headed by his own New Hampshire colleague, Styles Bridges, had tried, first in the Republican primary, then in the November election last year, to punish him for his independence by driving him out of office. He recalled how little help he had received from Senator Brewster, chairman of the Republican Senate Campaign

Committee. He understood exactly what was involved in the ruthless fight which opened with the conservatives' sandbagging of Morse: the issue was the control of Republican policy in the committees, where the Senate's real decisions are made. Refusing to do any favors for Brewster, Tobey quietly retired from the Banking and Currency Committee, applied for the Foreign Relations post and got it, and held on to his ranking position on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Brewster was left in second place. If the Republicans win control of the Senate in 1952, Tobey will be chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and dominant in its affairs. He will also have a vital vote on Foreign Relations.

The conservative-isolationists met their second defeat, this time on a substantive issue, when the Republican Policy Committee on January 18 decided not to try to make the Wherry resolution a "party issue." The Wherry resolution, embodying Taft's ideas and scheduled to be buried in a Senate vote on January 23, would express the Senate's decision that no more American troops should be sent to Europe without its prior approval. Any attempt to make this a "party issue" was obviously doomed in view of the violent opposition of the Republican internationalists, and Taft, recognizing the imminence of defeat, sought to arrange a compromise. Instead of flatly objecting to sending any more American divisions to Europe, as he did in his January 5 speech, he suggested yesterday that Congress should merely specify and limit the number. This change, however, affects only the details of the plan, and there is historical precedent for believing that the new version would create an impossible muddle.

In the Civil War a special Congressional committee to instruct Lincoln on the conduct of the war set a record for ignorant and irrational meddling in the appointment of commanders, the operation of campaigns, and even the movement and placement of troops. When the Truman Committee was organized in World War II, its members recognized the Civil War performance as an example of what they should avoid. They deliberately rejected any effort to tell the President or his military commanders where, when, and how to fight the war, concentrating instead on bottlenecks in production, favoritism or faulty policy in procurement, and ineffective use of available resources.

WHEN the President recommended that Congress set rules for redrawing Congressional districts on the basis of population changes recorded in the 1950 census, he was proposing to reform a rotten-borough system perpetuated by rurally controlled state legislatures and resulting in gross over-representation of farm populations and under-representation of cities. The current horrible example is Ohio, where one city-suburban district has more than 900,000 people and several rural districts only about 200,000. It is exceedingly unlikely that the President will get what he wants, since dozens of Representatives benefit from such inequities. Rural members won't want to vote themselves, in effect, out of office by supporting a bill requiring state legislatures to establish new districts approximately equal in population and drawn along straight geographical lines to forestall gerrymandering. Nor will the state legislatures, unless forced to do so, take steps to redraw Congressional districts fairly. If they did, they would be compelled to revise their own legislative districts so as to give adequate representation to the huge cities that have grown up in the past three or four decades. The Supreme Court has had several opportunities to break this stalemate but has declined on the ground that the question is "political." In consequence city workers are likely to continue underrepresented both in Congress and in state assemblies, and liberal legislation will be defeated.

BY THE skin of his teeth Secretary Acheson, aided by the Chinese Communists, escaped this week an explosion in an outraged Congress that might well have blown him out of office. The timing allowed him to wriggle free, like Houdini on a stage, in full view of more than a hundred reporters gathered for a press conference. In the opinion of other nations, the United States did what was right and necessary in voting on January 13 for the third U. N. cease-fire proposal, which provided for a conference with the Chinese Communists on all Far Eastern problems after the fighting should cease. Acheson carefully told his news conference that the "overwhelming majority" on the U. N. Political Committee had warned that our opposition or abstention would wreck any chance of the proposal's success. But in Congress the wrath of both Democrats and Republicans reached the boiling point. The Department of State was accused of having abandoned its announced principle that the Chinese Communists would not be "rewarded for aggression" or allowed to "shoot their way into the U. N." Senator Connally flayed Assistant Secretaries Rusk and Hickerson because the American delegation had cast its vote without consulting any member of the Foreign Relations Committee. Rusk and Hickerson, according to "leaks" from a secret committee session, were driven to the desperate expedient of asserting that we voted for the plan only in the belief that Peking would turn it down, and that then we could gather greater support for denunciation of the Chinese as aggressors.

Congress was aroused to fury, and Acheson knew it. He was fifty-five minutes late in meeting his press conference, having been occupied with last-minute revisions of his formal explanation of the American vote. The conference almost broke up when a reporter with an early deadline muttered, "Thank you, Mr. Secretary,"

and ran for the telephone. It was reassembled when other reporters insisted they had more questions to ask. Acheson, urbane and articulate as always but showing unmistakable signs of strain, then gave a long extemporaneous discussion of our "obligations," if any, under the Atlantic Pact, and of why he told the Senate, in April, 1949, that he did not "expect" substantial additions to be made to the American troops in Europe under the treaty.

Suddenly, however, came an acutely embarrassing question: if, under pressure from our allies in the "free world," we had agreed to discuss Far Eastern problems with the Chinese Communists, might not similar pressure from our "free world" allies control our actions in the conference—possibly even in regard to Formosa? At this delicate moment, Mike McDermott, in charge of public information, handed the Secretary a piece of news-ticker copy which had been brought to the conference room three minutes earlier. The question, Acheson blandly replied, seemed to be academic, and he read aloud the first wire-service bulletin reporting the Chinese rejection of the cease-fire proposal. He smiled genially as the conference broke up. Two hours later, still on the basis of news-service reports of the Chinese reply, he issued a statement calling the counter-proposals completely unacceptable.

Can France Rearm?

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, January 16

THE Western powers are much too slow," said Mr. Spofford two weeks ago. "The Western powers must make as many sacrifices as the United States for the common cause," said General Eisenhower. That was only a few days after M. Pleven had got the Assembly to pass the 1951 defense and rearmament program of 740 billion francs. Many good deputies who had meekly voted for the program, while wondering how their constituents would react to the increased taxation, were a bit taken aback by these new reproaches.

A few days before General Eisenhower arrived in Paris, a friend of mine staying in a quiet little hotel on the Left Bank was suddenly informed that the house was in danger of collapsing and that the city of Paris had ordered everybody out by noon. My friend protested and asked for written evidence, but when a United States army car drove up and two young officers started counting the rooms, he did not "insist." Many places are being commandeered.

The American military are established at Bordeaux and La Pallice, and the Communists, of course, have raised a rumpus about it in the Assembly, saying that the Americans chose southwestern France as their main base so as to be able to retreat conveniently to Spain and North Africa, after having "provoked a war with the Soviet Union," turned France into "a field of carnage," and scorched it as black and flat as Korea. Mr. Pineau, for the Socialists, said, on the other hand, that if the Russians came to France, they would send all the French peasants to Siberia as slaves. With these two extreme glimpses of the future the great competing "working-class parties" are trying to give the French people the creeps.

In the main the rearmament debate in the Assembly was on a different level. A curious aspect of it was the reticence observed on a number of vital questions. Scarcely anybody except the Communists mentioned German rearmament—evidently an indecent subject to which it was best not to refer. M. Moch and other Socialists who have violently opposed the proposal have a crestfallen look when anyone tactlessly speaks of it now. Some vague assurances were given by the government to the effect that nothing had yet been finally settled and that France was still hoping that something would come of the four-power conference. But while the government is credited with a desire to arrive at an agreement with Russia on the demilitarization of Germany, there are no illusions about America's intentions. Whatever Eisenhower's views on rearming Germany, Truman and Acheson are believed to have made up their minds, and the delay they are now causing by sending more queries to Moscow is considered a bad sign. In the Assembly there seemed to be a sort of gentlemen's agreement among the respectable parties that none of this must be brought up, and that the purpose of the debate was to convince the United States that France was pulling its weight in the organization of Atlantic defense.

At heart everybody agreed with most of the statements made by M. Mendès-France about the unsound economic and financial basis of the French rearmament program. But time and again M. Pleven indicated that Mendès-France's facts were beside the point, and that it was essential to convince the world of France's solidarity with its allies and of its determination to carry out the

---

ALEXANDER WERTH, for many years The Nation's *Moscow correspondent, is now a staff contributor living in Paris.*

promises given in Washington and Brussels—ten new divisions in 1951, increased to fifteen in 1952, and to twenty in 1953.

M. Mendès-France, whose sound economic advice to successive French governments since the Liberation has been consistently ignored, was in a way the central figure in the debate. Cassandras are popular in French parliamentary life. Just as before the war Louis Marin's homilies on secret German rearmament and Paul Reynaud's home truths on the inadequacy of the French army were listened to with admiration and respect, so now everyone paid close attention to Mendès-France's ruthless analysis of the country's economic weakness. But now as then routine or international considerations won the day. Everyone felt that even if Mendès-France was 100 per cent right, his arguments were unacceptable in Washington. His was a long-term program of economic consolidation, but Washington was in a hurry.

M. MENDES-FRANCE argued as follows: The French economy had been unhealthy even before the rearmament drive, for which there was not enough coal, steel, cement, or labor. Labor lacked fluidity, and industry lacked elasticity. Prices were rising, and the cost of raw materials was causing havoc. Conversion to war purposes would be slow, and much of the 740 billion francs would be spent unproductively.

Neither the moneyed classes in France nor the government would accept the kind of controls and restrictions in force in England. Instead of imposing controls, the government was saving money by cutting down capital investments to the extent of 66 billion francs. The Monnet plan, despite some achievements, had not been a success. Only lip-service had been paid to the policy of increasing capital investments; no government had had the courage and imagination to limit consumption.

Real "national defense" depended on industrial power. Despite Marshall aid—whose value to France had been immense—capital investment in France since the war had been less than half that in Britain. In 1949 only one-twelfth as many houses had been built in France as in Britain. Quoting Mr. Strachey's Dundee speech of November 26, Mendès-France repeated his arguments against weakening the nation socially and economically through rearmament.

While the new taxation required to bring in 165 billion francs was heavy, it was inadequate to meet the need, and France was the only country in the West to finance a large part of its rearmament by borrowing. This was unsound and could only lead to further inflation. What was the good of international security if internal security was thus to be undermined? The cost of defense should be kept to last year's figure, and this could be achieved if stricter controls were imposed on expenditures and if France cut its losses in Indo-China.

A desperate attempt should be made to increase public and private capital investment and cut down consumption; the standard of living of the masses should not be reduced but there should be curbs on those who spend without counting and do not pay their taxes. If not austerity, at least a certain sobriety should be introduced into French life. The maldistribution of wealth was accompanied by scandalous tax evasions.

Mendès-France's main theme was, of course, that if France wished to build up a powerful military machine, it must greatly raise its industrial potential. M. Pleven's central argument was that there was no time to waste; Britain and America were protected by the Channel and the ocean, while France had the expected aggressor on its doorstep. It was clear from what he said that since America was contributing 140 billion francs to French rearmament and was expecting France to contribute at least as much, the defense and rearmament program was, in his view, *politically indispensable* regardless of the economic objections. M. Mendès-France quoted M. Petsche, Minister of Finance, as having told the Finance Committee of the Assembly that he felt grave anxiety about the country's financial equilibrium. Moreover, in open debate M. Petsche had deplored Washington's refusal to pool the economic resources of the Atlantic powers. In the last analysis, M. Pleven's answer to M. Mendès-France consisted chiefly in calling him an ostrich.

Mendès-France himself said at the end of the debate:

> The government has given no reply to any of my anxious questions about the non-extensibility of our industrial production beyond 6 or 7 per cent in 1951; it has said nothing about the shortage of raw materials and the various industrial bottlenecks. No austerity of any kind is contemplated, but capital investments are to be cut down. It's the wrong way. Nor has the government said anything about the deficit of 320 billion francs in the general budget or answered my warnings against inflation and the dangers of large-scale borrowing for unproductive purposes.

Yet the chamber followed M. Pleven, for reasons not far to seek. The whole debate had a tragic undertone. Several speakers feared that if France did not decide on large-scale rearmament it would be left "alone and abandoned." The gesture required by the United States must be made. It is probable that the ten divisions will, somehow, be equipped. Of the 740-billion-franc program—including the 350 billions of new expenditure—only a small part, many said, would in fact be spent on new equipment; the rest would go for "administration," for personnel, for paying for the extra six months' military service, and, to the tune of at least 200 billions, for the hopeless war in Indo-China.

One got the impression that in order not to be isolated and not to play into the hands of the American isolation-

ists French opinion felt it necessary to take the plunge—whatever the effect on the country's financial and economic stability—but that no one really believed the future of the world would be decided by whether or not French taxpayers paid another 165 billion francs. At the back of many minds was the haunting thought of German rearmament. This, in conjunction with Russia's threat not to "tolerate" it, is an infinitely graver problem than any other. Perhaps many deputies voted for French rearmament in the desperate hope that it might help delay the rearmament of Germany. They would undoubtedly have cast their ballots more whole-heartedly if the question had been only one of contributing generously to an Anglo-French-American defense force on the Rhine.

The Tragedy of the Spanish Refugees

BY CHARLES R. JOY

I REMEMBER him as if it were yesterday, the young lad leaning listlessly against the side of the miserable shack in the camp of Argelès. He was only seventeen, but he had been interned for three years and before that had passed through the horrors of the Spanish civil war. A boy warrior, he had been captured and summarily condemned to death. With fifty others he had been lined up before a machine-gun and with the others mowed down. The firing squad moved on; it was not for them to bury the dead.

But the boy was not dead. He crawled out from among the lifeless bodies and was found by a kindly peasant, who nursed him back to health. A little later he slipped across the French frontier and was interned at Argelès. When I talked with him, three years of wretched idleness had not marred his fine, intelligent, spiritual face. He was waiting, like his comrades, for a chance to go home and begin life once more.

I have often wondered what became of that boy. Is he still waiting, or has he given up all hope? Has he returned to Spain? Has he emigrated? Has he found some kind of insecure place in French life? Has he succumbed to those twin foes of the unwanted refugee, undernourishment and disease? I shall probably never know; but recently I have spent some time talking with many other Spanish refugees in France and with the French authorities, welfare organizations, and others who are trying to help them, and I feel I must remind the world of their fate.

Part of their story is known, written on the pages of history. When the war in Spain ended in 1939, 500,000 refugees crossed the Pyrenees into France. Some of them were soldiers, some were the women and children of their families, some were sympathizers, some people who had lost everything in the war and were looking for peace and a new opportunity. They found no peace, for that same year the war spread from Spain to almost all Europe, and no new opportunity—only more wretched years in internment camps. The French government did the best it could for them, but it had a war on its hands and after that the occupation. So the best it could do was to provide *camps d'hébergement*, literally "lodging camps." And what lodgings!

I visited almost all of them in 1940, 1941, 1942, and the names come back to me like a litany of misery—St. Cyprien, Argelès, Noe, Recibedou, Rivesaltes, Gurs, Vernet. Argelès was typical—a sandy stretch of Mediterranean beach at the foot of the Pyrenees, swept in summer by blistering hot winds from the Sahara and in winter by the biting cold that rushed down from the snow-clad summits of the mountains. The frail shelters were largely constructed by the Spaniards themselves, out of materials they found or what was provided by the French engineers. The inmates slept on the ground, or on lengths of corrugated iron bent down at both ends to make legs for a bed, or on vermin-filled cots. Here they stayed for years, subsisting for long weeks at a time on a diet of turnips.

Rivesaltes had been built by the French army for colonial troops, black Senegalese, who loved the heat. Several thousand little children were there. Gurs was on low, wet land, which in winter became a sea of mud. Vernet was a detention camp for criminals, and for others who had no idea why they were detained there. Some of the able-bodied Spaniards were released from the camps to join work companies, some were sent up to the Maginot Line, some joined the French *maquis* and fought against the Germans.

Finally the war came to an end. The camps began to empty. Many of the inmates had died. Some went back to Spain. A few found a home in Latin America. In 1939 there were 500,000 Spanish refugees in France;

CHARLES R. JOY, consulting editor of the Beacon Press, has been executive director of the Unitarian Service Committee and European director of the Save the Children Federation. As field representative of CARE he has just returned from six months in Europe spent in studying the continuing need of the people for that organization.

250,000 of them are left. This means an enormous number of unassimilated people herded together in southwestern France, around Toulouse and Montauban and at the foot of the Pyrenees. But they constitute a problem, an official of the French government told me, not because of their number but because of their health. The Spaniards in France are slowly starving to death.

Have you caught the full meaning of that sentence? Now, in 1950, fourteen years after the outbreak of the Spanish civil war, five years after the end of the World War, 250,000 Spaniards in France are slowly dying because they cannot be integrated into the shattered French economy, and because the long years of malnutrition make them an easy prey to all the ills that man is heir to.



Lina, who is now twelve, came with her parents to France as a tiny baby, back in 1939. They were interned in a succession of *camps d'hébergement.* At the outbreak of the World War the father was sent up to the Maginot Line as a laborer in a company of foreign workers. When the Germans overran northern France, he escaped and rejoined his family. Once more he was put into a labor company but escaped by hiding in the woods. His wife earned some money by washing clothes in the stream near the camp. In the winter she had to break the ice in the stream. In 1941 a third child arrived, and then the mother lost her health. For nine years she has been ill, and now is dying of tuberculosis. The father is unable to look after the children and at the same time seek precarious employment.

The father of Pepito and Libertad was killed in the war in Spain. Pepito is twelve and Libertad is fifteen. They have an older brother twenty. Their mother is only forty. They all came to France in 1939. They were put in a camp near Limoges for a time, and then they went to Toulouse, where they have lived ever since. The mother has a serious heart trouble. She tried making sandals at home, but even this was impossible. The older boy was trained to be a plumber but has been unable to find work. Naturally, with so much unemployment in France, the French workers always have the preference. Libertad is the only member of the family who has a job. She works thirty hours a week in a knitting factory and earns 600 francs (about 85 cents). With a family allocation of 8,000 francs a month, the total income of the four is about $23.70 a month. The Unitarian Service Committee helps them with a little clothing, and friends occasionally give them something to eat.

Ricardo has a wife with tuberculosis, a son of nineteen with a bad heart, a frail and sickly daughter. He escaped from a Franco prison and arrived in France in 1947. For a time the International Refugee Organization helped him with a monthly grant, but last July all relief payments by the I. R. O. stopped. He has served an apprenticeship in shoemaking, but the only work he can get is unloading vegetables for a half-day three days a week. The girl does housework, for which she receives only her food and some clothing. The family lives in one small room under the eaves of a miserable house, without water or heat.

A FEW such stories are heartrending. After a while they get monotonous. Finally people cease to pay attention. That is the tragedy of the Spanish refugees. Their suffering is repeated so endlessly that it has lost its impact.

What is most pitiful about their situation is that it is steadily growing worse. In the first half of 1949 the I. R. O. was helping 19,000 of these people. In anticipation of liquidation it reduced the number month by month and at the end of June, 1950, stopped all direct relief in France. It has set aside a certain amount of money to take care of about 12,000 "hard-core" cases—that is, the aged, crippled, ill, who require institutionalization; but the institutions are not yet in existence, and when they will be is anybody's guess.

Unemployment, undernourishment, overcrowding are making their deadly inroads upon this group of refugees. The representative of the Unitarian Service Committee, Persis Miller, whose unflagging devotion to their needs can never be adequately praised, summarized their condition in these words: "To the sufferings of the civil war, internment, occupation, resistance, and hardship, the passage of time and the aging of bodies, must be added cumulative neglect." Almost all the Spaniards are living at a very low subsistence level, and some 27,500 cannot get along without aid. The generous heart of America must once again be awakened to this vast area of distress. The Spaniard himself will make no outcry. His creed is to take what comes without wincing.

Such strength of character may make our pity for these unfortunates less necessary, but what shall we say of the little children who share their fate? They are beautiful children. You look into their wide eyes and see their frail bodies and you feel like cuddling them and weeping over them at the same time. I can only plead for them, as they cannot plead for themselves, as their elders will not plead for them, and beg that you will continue to send them food and clothing and, best of all, your loving message of friendship.

The Vatican vs. the Public Schools

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

II. The Netherlands

Amsterdam

THE story of the Vatican's war against the public schools in the Netherlands is significant because it is a success story of Catholic power in a non-Catholic environment. The success could be repeated in the United States if the Catholic population should be doubled by a high Catholic birth rate, and if the leaders of the church should develop their political resources with equal skill.

Today Holland is more nearly a federation than a nation, a federation of Catholic and non-Catholic peoples ruled by a government which acts as arbitrator and co-ordinator of two competing cultures. Both the Catholic and the non-Catholic private elementary schools are larger than the public schools; in the denominational struggle for power it is the nation which suffers. "Holland," said a Dutch friend of mine, "is divided into three classes of people—Catholics, Protestants, and Socialists. Our nation is a living exhibit of the evil effects of bringing religion into politics."

Catholic power reaches not only into education but into every branch of the nation's life. There is a Catholic organization for almost every form of activity in the field of medicine, science, music, economics, and sport. The Catholic labor unions are almost as large as the regular unions; the Catholic Party is the largest single party in Parliament; the Catholic press includes many of the most important daily and weekly newspapers in the country. There is a Catholic Employers' Association, a Catholic Radio Broadcasting Society, a Catholic Society for the Keepers of Goats.

The nature of Catholic separatism in Dutch life can best be made clear by an example which lies outside the field of education. When I was in Rome last spring attending a labor conference on the Marshall Plan, one of the most influential leaders of Dutch labor, A. Vermeulen, told me that Catholic bishops in his country were denying the sacraments to Catholics who joined the regular labor federation, the N. V. V. This federation, like nearly all labor bodies in Europe, is socialist in its general outlook but has no organic connection with the Socialist Party; it is not anti-religious, and it is distinctly hostile to communism—in fact, there is a separate Communist labor federation in the Netherlands, the E. V. C., which fights the N. V. V. very strenuously. There is also, of course, a separate Catholic labor federation, the K. A. B.

I could hardly believe that any Catholic hierarchy in Europe today would be so brash as to exercise continuous religious coercion against such a respectable labor body as the N. V. V., but when I came here to Amsterdam I found that the policy not only was in force but had been affirmed at least once since it was promulgated in 1946 in an edict read in all Catholic pulpits in the country. When I asked the leaders of the Catholic trade-union international at Utrecht about the ban, they did not attempt to deny its existence but placed all the responsibility upon their bishops, taking for granted that it was for the bishops, not the people, to decide such matters.

Penalties are even applied against Catholic members of the N. V. V. after they are dead. Last year, when the body of an N. V. V. railroad worker, G. M. v. d. Heyden of Heerlen, was being taken to a Catholic cemetery for burial, his cortège was stopped two hundred yards from the cemetery by order of the Catholic authorities and a wreath given by the N. V. V. removed.

The denominational narrow-mindedness manifested in such an incident helps to explain why the Catholic bishops of the Netherlands fight to maintain their separate school system: they feel a sacred obligation to save their people from the corruption of non-Catholic thought. On the whole, their policy of separatism and segregation has been quite successful—if success can be measured in terms of school enrolment. The Catholic population of the Netherlands is just under 40 per cent, and the enrolment in Catholic elementary schools in just under 44 per cent. Evidently the hierarchy is holding almost all its own children in its school system, and getting a few non-Catholic children. The public schools occupy third place in Dutch education, and their relative enrolment seems to be declining. In 1948 the Catholic elementary schools had about 60 per cent more students than the public schools, and when the hierarchy has completed its construction program for new Catholic high schools there may be 75 per cent more students in Catholic than in public schools.

The primary reason for this striking Catholic success in a predominantly non-Catholic country is the grant of public money. The Dutch government, like the British government, was persuaded in the last century to accept

---

PAUL BLANSHARD, author of "American Freedom and Catholic Power," has just returned from a year in Europe. Last week he described the struggle betwen the Vatican and public education in Italy; next week he will discuss the situation in France.

the principle that public money could be legitimately used in a democracy for the support of private religious schools which attained a minimum standard of education. The long fight for equality of contributions to Catholic elementary schools, which began in 1878, ended in a Catholic victory in 1920, and ever since then the Dutch taxpayers have been supporting both Protestant and Catholic elementary schools on essentially the same basis as public schools. The only preference now shown to public schools is in the matter of the construction costs of high schools—the religious schools do not receive quite as complete a building subsidy.

The extent of the triumph of the Catholic schools in the Netherlands varies with the region. Much of the north is predominantly Protestant, and in some cities there the Catholic schools are weak; on the other hand, in many Catholic sections in the south, bordering the most Catholic parts of Belgium, public schools do not exist. In these sections the Catholic bishops use great pressure to prevent the construction of public schools and threaten their people with dire penalties for supporting non-Catholic institutions.

The law gives the Catholic bishops a considerable advantage in fighting against public-school construction. When, for example, a new high school is proposed in a district, the government requires proof that a sufficient number of families will patronize it, and the decision whether it will be a public or a Catholic high school may depend largely on the number of signers to petitions. The bishops, with their great power over congregations, are often able to head off the construction of a public school. And since nuns and brothers receive full salaries from the state for teaching in diocesan schools, and since all members of religious orders are obliged to turn back to the church the excess of their salaries over living expenses, the bishops can amass a private building fund at public expense. They need to raise only 10 to 15 per cent of the building costs of a Catholic high school; the government does the rest. In the last twenty-five years the Catholic educational building program has surpassed that of the government, partly because of these special advantages.

The separatist educational program extends even into the areas of health and vocational guidance. The Dutch government now administers a medical-care program for all children in both public and denominational schools, but the hierarchy is demanding that the service in Catholic schools should be turned over to the church. There is also one system of vocational guidance and placement in all Dutch schools, but Catholic leaders are demanding a separate employment service for Catholic students, and in some districts a kind of qualified segregation has already been inaugurated.

Fortunately for Dutch children, the religious struggle for educational power has not thus far been allowed to impair the quality of elementary-school education. The compulsory-education laws are well enforced, and the very fact that the taxpayers pay virtually all the costs of Catholic and Protestant education gives the government a special sanction to supervise the quality. The inspection of Catholic schools in the Netherlands is far more thorough than in France, Italy, or the United States.

BEHIND the religious separatism in education is a structure of political power which seems bizarre in an age of secular democracies. The Catholic Party, the largest party in the state, polled 32 per cent of the votes at the last national election and as a result took eight of the fifteen posts in the Cabinet. The party has participated in Dutch governments for about thirty years and has naturally obtained political and educational favors for the church. As parties go, it is not particularly reactionary. For many years it has collaborated with the Socialist Party in maintaining a cautiously progressive welfare state in which denominational divisions are carefully preserved. The collaboration of Catholics and Socialists, those natural enemies, has had a strangely pacifying effect on Dutch politics. Few bitter clashes of opinion mark Dutch elections, and the Socialists have become so accustomed to second place in the coalition that they would scarcely know what to do if they were suddenly given a majority in Parliament. From election to election the proportionate strength of the Socialist and Catholic blocs remains almost constant. Religious origin seems to determine the voting more than any specific issue.

As a result of coalition and compromise the separation of church and state in educational policy has become a dead issue. The Socialists have definitely accepted the theory and practice of state support for religious schools, and their only dispute with the Catholics at present in this field is over the extent of public- and private-school development. The Socialists are still primarily champions of the public school, and in individual communities they are sturdily resisting the encroachments of the Catholic system of education. Strangely enough, the same hierarchy which forbids Catholics to join the non-Catholic labor federation permits them to join the Socialist Party.

While the Socialists may be accused of forsaking their principles by accepting a denominational system of education, they have no very practical alternative. Both Protestants and Catholics support the present tripartite school system, and if the Socialists should challenge the practice of allotting public money to religious schools, they would be faced by a coalition of Catholics and Protestants which could easily dominate the government. Moreover, the Socialists have nothing to gain by withdrawing from a coalition with the Catholics to form one with the Protestants, for the Protestant political parties

here are no more progressive in economic matters than the Catholic Party.

But Socialists have many misgivings as they watch the steady increase of the Catholic proportion in the population. They cannot help wondering how long it will take the Vatican to make Holland into a clerical state. Already the Catholic church is the largest single church in the nation, and it is gaining slowly, while the Dutch Reformed church is losing. The future of Dutch culture seems to depend chiefly upon the denominational birth rate and the denominational proportions in emigration. The well-known tendency of Catholic families to multiply and replenish the earth would lead almost any prophet to hazard that the country will be predominantly Catholic within a century, but there is one counter-influence which should not be overlooked: the church is suffering tremendous losses among the educated classes.

The tripartite school system tragically perpetuates and emphasizes religious differences. Almost 75 per cent of Dutch children are taught to think of themselves first as belonging to a denominational group in the community and second as members of the community. Each religious group tends to become a biological and cultural colony in the federated nation. The separatism moreover, reaches into the most distant parts of the Dutch colonial empire, as I saw in some of the Dutch Caribbean islands during the war.

"Mr. Point Four"

BY ANDREW ROTH

London

ALTHOUGH ours is the industrial age, the men we know least about are those who plan our industries. Admittedly some engineers would be difficult to dramatize, seeming to be little else than animated slide-rules. But some have had as fascinating careers as the politicians and generals in whom we are usually more interested.

Recently I sat in a London hotel room and watched a chunky, energetic engineer fussing around while his wife packed for a trip to Israel. I had watched the same couple unpack in Shanghai and New Delhi, for the man had been called on by India and China to do the same sort of job that Israel now wanted him for—to advise on how to step up productivity by industrialization.

The engineer's name might well be "Mr. Point Four" instead of Dr. Solomon Trone, for he is better equipped than almost anybody else in the world to talk about industrial planning for underdeveloped countries. Certainly few engineers have known so intimately the industrial citadels of capitalism and communism. Dr. Trone not only served the giant General Electric Company for a quarter of a century but also worked as chief engineer on the Soviet Union's first hydroelectric achievement—the Dnieperstroy Dam. In addition, he has a first-hand knowledge of the industrial development of Japan, Germany, China, India, and other countries. It is hard to name a country in which he has not spent months or years working or studying.

Almost every newspaperman who has known him even slightly has urged Dr. Trone to write his autobiography. But he is first of all an engineer and does not think that writing is "constructive." Wherever he is, when he decides he can no longer contribute anything constructive, he pulls up stakes. He did this early in 1950 in India, where he was industrial consultant to Prime Minister Nehru. Although he was anxious to see India industrialized and Nehru urged him to stay, he left because he saw no hope that his plans could soon be realized.

Dr. Trone has passed seventy and has crowded enough into his life to satisfy a dozen men, but he still works and travels and absorbs knowledge at a tremendous pace. He was born the son of a rabbi in Mitau, Latvia, which was then part of czarist Russia, although its culture was dominated by the Baltic Germans. The students of his place and time helped spark the 1905 revolution, and Dr. Trone spent a brief period in a czarist prison—no student generation since then, he tells you, has had so much spirit. He has long been an American citizen, but speaks English with a slight accent which might be called Russo-German. He speaks Russian with a slight German accent.

It is hard to find a subject on which he does not hold trenchant opinions. They are frequently dogmatic but always informed, as a result not only of his wide and varied experience but of an unusually catholic education. He has, indeed, three doctorates—in philosophy, in chemistry, and in engineering. After studying at Riga and in Germany, he attended the famous "Free University" which once graced Brussels. To pay his way he worked as a dock laborer. He was discharged when he devised a blower system to remove from the air the flour dust which was causing lung trouble among the workers.

One of his first jobs was with the General Electric

ANDREW ROTH, a roving reporter for The Nation, *is now in London after several years in the Near and Far East.*

Company, then establishing itself as the world's greatest electrical manufacturing concern. As a Socialist employed for years in high engineering and executive positions by one of the biggest and most efficient American firms, he understands how subtly and effectively a firm like G. E. can "buy" the minds of even its most intelligent employees. This was brought home to him recently when he found on a visit to Brazil that his only son, who had followed in his footsteps as a first-rung engineer, was a "100 per cent General Electric man" in his thinking. Dr. Trone tells many humorous anecdotes about his attempts te broaden the outlook of his G. E. colleagues.

Dr. Trone's work for various foreign branches of General Electric took him to the world's most interesting places at the most exciting stage of their development. He was in Japan before World War I, when that country was feverishly trying to catch up with the industrial West. In 1918 he was in Siberia, dodging back and forth between the battling reds and whites. One of the incidents Trone likes to recall from this period occurred when he tried to go from one town to another by the overburdened Trans-Siberian railway. After much trouble he received a travel permit and was fighting his way into an overloaded coach when he was thrust aside by a giant Red soldier. "But I have a permit!" Trone protested. "And these," retorted the soldier, patting his gun and the grenades hanging from his belt, "are *my* permits."

SOME lives have been considered rich because of a single "rendezvous with history," But Trone has had one rendezvous after another. In Italy in 1922 he saw the Fascists march on Rome. In Germany in 1933 he saw the Nazis seize power. He negotiated a huge contract for hydroelectric turbines between G. E. and the Soviet government and then sat in on the First and Second Five-Year Plan. His first chief was Trotsky, and he came to know most of the other Soviet bigwigs. He is enough of a student of Marxism to have come to his own conclusions as to where and why the Russians "went off the track."

Although many Russians remember his work on the Dnieperstroy dam, the current generation knows him best as the comical but wise "Mr. Adams" made famous by the Soviet humorists Ilf and Petrov. When these two visited the United States to do their famous "Little Golden America," the Trones were enjoying a brief respite from work and agreed to drive across the country with the Russian writers, serving as chauffeurs, guides, and interpreters. Ilf and Petrov paid tribute to Trone's remarkable ability to get people to pour out their life history while he seemed to do no more than cluck sympathetically, "Of course, of course!"

Part of 1940 was spent rescuing people from Nazi-occupied countries in Europe. After America entered the war, Trone worked in Washington for the Bureau of Economic Warfare; at the war's end he served on the United States Reparations Commission, studying the damage Germany had done in Russia.

His particular interest has always been the industrialization of underdeveloped countries. His longest post-war job in this field was in China, where he was industrial consultant to Dr. T. V. Soong, Chiang Kai-shek's brother-in-law and former Premier of China. In the frenetic period of China's civil war he helped keep China's cadres of engineers at work and planned industrialization which could be put into effect as soon as peace returned. He had an amusing experience in battered Harbin. Immediately on his arrival on a Sunday morning the city commandant knocked on the door of his hotel room to say that the electricity was not working, that a *terribly* important guest was expected that evening, and since he was an engineer, would he try to fix it? Dr. Trone looked the situation over and saw he only had to replace a blown fuse. He was himself the expected terribly important guest.

He remained in China as the Kuomintang government's industrial consultant until the very eve of the Communist capture of Nanking. He would have liked to stay on to watch the Communists carry out the industrialization he had helped plan, but he realized there was no place for an American engineer in Communist China.

Nehru had long dreamed of raising India's living standards through industrialization and engaged Dr. Trone to advise him on what steps were required. Dr. and Mrs. Trone lived with him for a time and formed a deep friendship for him, but the engineer's remorseless logic did not permit his sentiments to influence his analysis of India's condition. In confidential reports he warned Nehru that India faced economic collapse unless a tremendous effort of national planning, combining the best features of capitalism and socialism, was immediately undertaken. Nehru agreed and appointed a National Planning Commission. It soon became evident, however, that conservative bureaucrats and private interests would prevent the energetic application of the rest of Trone's suggestions, and the dynamic engineer looked around for new fields.

I encountered the Trones walking in the streets of Tel Aviv last April. On their way home from India they had decided to take a quick look at Israel, which Trone had visited in the early '30's. After inspecting a number of factories, he could not help making some suggestions for improvements. He wound up with an urgent invitation to return and make a survey of the tiny country's economic prospects. He has now returned. Before he left London, when he was asked how long he intended to stay, he made a characteristic reply: "I'll look around. If I can do a job, I'll stay as long as needed. Otherwise I'll search for something else to do."

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The Bulls Have It

TUESDAY, January 16, was a big day on the New York Stock Exchange. With 3,740,000 shares changing hands, the Dow-Jones industrial and rail averages both advanced to new highs despite rumors that margin rules might be stiffened to discourage speculation. After hours these rumors were confirmed by a Federal Reserve Board order increasing margin requirements from 50 to 75 per cent, which means that henceforth buyers of stocks cannot borrow more than one-quarter of the purchase price.

Next morning this news put a slight damper on trading, and in the first hour prices tended to move a little lower. But there was no rush to sell, particularly after the Stock Exchange Board of Governors made it clear that the higher margin requirements would not apply to existing commitments. In addition, it appears that traders will be able to sell securities now held on a 50 per cent margin and substitute others without putting up more cash. This liberal interpretation of the Federal Reserve directive served not merely to discourage selling but to bring in new orders, with the result that by noon the market was boiling merrily. At the close the industrial average had climbed 1.36 points to 248.01, its highest mark since the middle of June, 1930.

One reason why the market took this development in its stride, as market commentators have been quick to point out, is that the total volume of margin trading has been relatively small. According to C. Norman Stabler, financial editor of the New York *Herald Tribune*, brokers' loans, excluding amounts borrowed on government bonds, total $709,000,000, or 0.7 per cent of the current aggregate value of stocks traded. By contrast, before the market crashed in 1929, brokers' loans stood at $8,550,000,000, or 8.7 per cent of stock valuation at that time. On the basis of such figures it is claimed that there is no evidence of speculation on credit to justify the Federal Reserve's move. Nevertheless, it may be defended as a precautionary measure, for under present conditions there is an increasing temptation to borrow dollars, which are declining in value, in order to buy equities as a hedge against inflation.

It is now about six months since stock prices began to recover from the very sharp setback they experienced at the outbreak of the Korean war. Since then they have never looked back for more than a few days at a time. Bad news, such as the entry of Communist China into the war, has from time to time led to bouts of selling, but an effective cushion has always been provided by large orders placed just below the market. Again and again he hopes of the professional bears have been dashed by the refusal of the bulls to be easily discouraged.

The present resilience of stocks was well illustrated by their behavior on the day that the President sent his budget message to Congress. In the morning, before the news was out, trading slackened, and prices were generally marked down. But as soon as the figures were published—expenditure totaling over $71 billion, a deficit of $16½ billion to be covered by new taxes—buying orders began to flow into the brokerage offices. "Whether traders considered the outline of a $71,500,000,000 outlay for defense bullish or bearish did not seem to be the important point," said the New York *Times*. "The question was just what industries would profit most."

Despite all discouragements—mounting international tension, military defeats, threats of increasingly tight controls, the certainty of more taxes—the current bull market, which according to the chartists was born in mid-1949 during the short-lived recession, is still going strong. It has, of course, been enormously assisted by the phenomenal growth of corporate profits, which in 1950 reached an estimated aggregate of $23½ billion after taxes, or some $2½ billion more than in 1948, the previous peak year. Besides, directors have been more generous in distributing profits, and total dividend payments last year also established an all-time record.

In 1951 the earnings of some corporations will be curtailed by material shortages, and taxes will take a larger share of the gross of all. But with the economy operating at capacity, many businesses, and especially those engaged in heavy industry, expect handsome returns after the tax collector has done his worst. The last revenue bill let industry off more lightly than had been anticipated. As H. J. Nelson wrote in *Barron's* of January 8, it "made every effort to eradicate the inequities arising from any excess-profits tax." Of course, in view of the prospective deficit for 1951-52, higher imposts are inevitable, and corporations cannot expect to escape them altogether. But with the Eighty-second Congress even more friendly to business than the Eighty-first, investors are not unduly perturbed. To quote Mr. Nelson again: "There is a limit to what can be secured [from income taxes on corporations and individuals] without weakening the national economy. . . . The Washington political consensus is that chief reliance, when the chips are down, will be on excise taxes" (*Barron's*, January 15).

If this forecast is correct, we can kiss goodby to hopes of a balanced budget, for the most punishing sales tax imaginable will not by itself accomplish that end. Indeed, I suspect that today's rampant bulls are betting that Congress will lack the guts to end deficit financing. In other words, the power behind the accelerated advance in stocks is derived from a belief in the inevitability of a bigger and better inflation.

DANGEROUS THOUGHTS

The FBI Reviews a Book

FOR twenty years, thanks to the tabloids and comic strips, our children have thought of the FBI's G-men as the Good Cowboys of our time. Not much has been said about the wonderful publicity work done by J. Edgar Hoover, though as long ago as 1937 Senator Harry Byrd called attention to the large amount of "promotional" activity carried on by the bureau. Every government agency wants to widen its field of action and enlarge its budget; for such ends good publicity is no mean weapon.

In late July, 1950, the FBI scented trouble when it learned through routine announcements of the book trade that a book by Max Lowenthal entitled "The Federal Bureau of Investigation" was scheduled for fall publication. This, there was reason to suppose, would be no uncritical acclamation of the Good Cowboys. Now watch what happened.

During August several eminent radio gossipers gave advance "reviews" of the book, which they hadn't read—describing the author's character ("sinister") and his personal associations ("Communist"). Then on September 1 Representative George Dondero of Michigan in a speech before Congress identified Mr. Lowenthal as a Man of Mystery—though "not unknown at the White House"—who "lusts and thrives on obscurity" and has thus "reached pinnacles of power." Dondero accused Lowenthal of attacking, as a matter of principle, "any American institution that stands four-square for the American way of life," including the FBI. Through his secret influence Lowenthal had placed numerous "agents of destruction in our government agencies," among them George Shaw Wheeler, who later while on service in Europe "denounced the land of his birth and asked . . . Czechoslovakia for asylum." Unless Lowenthal's diabolical schemes were thwarted, Dondero concluded, we would lose "our war with Russia."

Alerted in time, the Un-American Activities Committee of Congress called Mr. Lowenthal to Washington for a hearing on September 15, 1950. The committee decided that the hearing should be held in executive session, but there were leaks to the pro-FBI press, and the entire record was made public, without explanation, on November 20, just one day before Mr. Lowenthal's book went on sale.

Mr. Lowenthal had ventured to look into the FBI; now the Un-American Activities Committee would look into him. He appeared in Washington as a rather mild-looking gentleman with a soft voice and a disarming smile. A native of Minnesota, he had practiced law with considerable success and was now retired. On and off since 1917 he had served as an investigator and legal adviser to government commissions under Republican as well as Democratic administrations.

The committee's questioning obviously sought to elicit facts about the witness's friendships. Had Mr. Lowenthal known A and B, or X and Y? But to every suggestion of an Alger Hiss or Lee Pressman, met at Washington cocktail parties, he replied by reeling off a dozen names of big business men or millionaire lawyers with whom he had been far more closely associated. He seemed to have a profound understanding of the patriotic devotion which the committee members and their examiners felt for the American Way of Life. He addressed them in their own terms; indeed, he astonished them with accounts of his experience in large business and legal affairs. And if in the purlieus of the Chadbournes and Cottons one met a junior lawyer named Pressman, could one help knowing him? When the committee persisted along this line of guilt by association, he protested, "There isn't a corporation in the United States that won't be charged with being communistic and anti-American." Warming up to his work, he seemed to be defending the freedom of our great corporations. The committee felt a bit confused.

As a witness, Mr. Lowenthal had a way of rambling off the subject, humorously, almost ingenuously, then suddenly turning and delivering a sharp jab through his inquisitor's guard. To Senior Investigator Russell he said with a gentle smile, "I realize that there are investigators who have no knowledge of that part of American life and never will have such knowledge, because they couldn't get a job in such places, except maybe as a detective."

When the committee asked about a proposed Civil Service Commission investigation of Mr. Lowenthal in 1944, during his service as an official of the Bureau of Economic Warfare, he replied with dignity:

"I told the man [who telephoned] that if he wanted to know anything about me he had better come to the office and ask me. . . . I thought it *infra dig.*, after my years in the federal government, to be questioned by some little investigator, in some little hole, in some back building, about my career. . . . I would be willing to be questioned by my peers, but not by some investigator who may not have been born by the time I had begun to serve the federal government with some honor. . . . [It] seemed rather ignoble. . . . I felt that way then, and I feel that way today."

The examination showed that all the twenty-two alleged Communists Mr. Lowenthal might have encountered had been carefully listed in the committee's dossier on him. "But I have seen, in the course of thirty-eight years of public life, tens of thousands of people," he protested good-humoredly. By mathematical computation Mr. Lowenthal's social connections could be reckoned at least 99.78 per cent "pure." Could any man do better?

The Dondero references to Machiavellian plots to give federal jobs to numerous alleged subversive characters finally simmered down to the charge that he had known George Shaw Wheeler. Had he not given Wheeler employment at the B. E. W., and later taken him along on a War Department mission to Germany? That proved to be an easy one, for the witness showed that he could have had nothing to do with Wheeler's original appointment to the B. E. W., and that on the Berlin mission, which lasted only four weeks; he had not even had a secretary, let alone an "assistant."

The significance of all this? The evidence showed that Mr. Lowenthal was really one of our old-fashioned American liberals, but distinctly of the *rentier* class. Apparently our thought police are running out of Communists. Who's next?

THE OBSERVER

Essays and Asides

"A PASSION FOR LITERATURE"

BY PERRY MILLER

"I HAVE made my living mainly by writing in periodicals," says Edmund Wilson. He calls himself a journalist, but if that is what he is, then his is journalism in the grand and historic manner of Johnson and Sainte-Beuve. To be a journalist you do not necessarily have to exploit passing fads or inflate current vogues: "You have to develop a resourcefulness at pursuing a line of thought through pieces on miscellaneous and more or less fortuitous subjects."

"Classics and Commercials: A Literary Chronicle of the Forties" (Farrar, Straus, $5) is the record of his resourcefulness through the last decade. Many of us read the pieces as they came out, in the intervals of time; we probably read them casually as "reviews." They are surely a miscellaneous lot, and sometimes riotously fortuitous. But when they are put together and can be read consecutively, they make a coherent book, complete with a plot, full of cunning, pertinacity, and a monumentally stubborn design. They make not only a chronicle but a sustained and unrelenting credo, for which the several subjects prove to have served as so many provocations or irritants.

One phrase runs insistently through the book—"a passion for literature." Of course Wilson reads prodigiously—indeed, his appetite for the sheer quantity of literature can entice him into a greater charity for George Saintsbury than I can find it in my heart to encompass, simply because with all his detestable qualities Saintsbury did live in a world of huge dimensions "populated entirely by books." How Wilson gets time to do anything but sit and read, one marvels. What keeps him from being merely an omnivorous reader is the intensity of his passion for literature. And he can find it in the most unlikely places, because in his view literature has little or no relation to the so-called "subject matter," whether that be Marxism, democracy, the American Way of Life, or the Gospel According to St. Luke. What he wants is writing that is really written. As a matter of fact, he just can't understand any other!

What must fascinate the analytical retracer of Wilson's pursuit is the question of where the drive comes from. What generates this passion, what sustains it? He is not, as was Mencken, a critic who bares his bosom and parades his prejudices: his confessions are oblique. We get one of the most revealing in his revulsion against Kafka: he quotes with scorn Kafka's much-applauded aphorism that we must not cheat the world of its triumph, and replies, "But what are we writers here for if it is not to cheat the world of its triumph?"

Well, Dante, Calvin, or Jonathan Edwards might have said about the same thing. Yet if there is one term—used in the fullest sense—that indubitably characterizes the philosophy of Edmund Wilson, it is "rationalistic." Of Steinbeck he says that despite the obvious faults in writing and thinking, his "biological realism" is of greater value than Aldous Huxley's code of self-contemplation growing "so rootlessly and palely in the decay of scientific tradition." Armed with psychoanalysis and a sense of humor, Wilson can bring into this rationalistic frame of reference a number of writers—Dante and Poe, for example—who are customarily assumed to lie far outside it. In fact, his passing references to Poe—who in Wilson's view was never interested in spooks for their own sake—make an essay in themselves, giving a better sense of Poe as a conscious artist than all the "romantic" celebrations of his tortured genius ever dreamed of.

This sort of impassioned rationality, then, must be close to the heart of Wilson's inspiration. To comprehend it is to understand something of the forces that made him and therefore —if I may speak thus of one who by length of service invites already a partial summing-up—his place in American letters. My mind goes back to the ending of "L'Oeuvre" where Zola, speaking as Pierre Sandoz, declares that his generation were sunk in romanticism, that the best they could become was romanticism's rebellious sons, and that it would take still another generation before men could paint and write in the high and pure simplicity of truth. As Wilson saw it, in the 1920's the time had come for the American generation educated by the rebellious romantics Shaw, Huneker, and Mencken to wash off the last stains of romanticism and to write at last in the simplicity of truth. This is his dedication; this is his faith: the great works of our time, he asserts, may and must express the despair and anguish of these years, but instead of discouraging they fortify, "since they make us feel the vigor of the craftsman who, in grappling with a terrible subject, scores a victory over its terrors." His passion for literature is definitely not aestheticism: his chase has an end in view.

However, it is remarkable that in diagnosing the French generation of the 1880's Zola predicted that the supernatural would open up hostilities once more, that the spirit of myth and legend would revolt, and that we should expect a last convulsion of the old religious bewilderment. If anything emerges clearly from this long soliloquy of Edmund Wilson, it is that the high expectations of the 1920's—of the novelists of complex origin, who belonged "to a bigger cultural world"—have not been realized in a decade of writers dominated by Eliot, Auden, Kafka, and Kierkegaard. Baudelaire, indeed, had the authentic passion for literature, and it burned

pure and intense through suffering and degradation: "But what has this to do with the Christian cults for whose rites the churches are built and the parsons and priests ordained?"

If Wilson makes anything that may be called mistakes—he says that all critics have failings—it is out of excess of devotion to the ideals which he feels came into their own with the rationalists of the twenties. His loyalty to the Van Wyck Brooks of "America's Coming of Age" is so profound that it commits him to an indulgence toward the Brooks of the later chronicles which I find incongruous: he will condone Brooks's practice of making a "very pretty passage" out of bits of Cooper where he would, I am convinced, condemn it in others as a malpractice. His generosity of 1940 toward "the boys in the back room"—Cain, O'Hara, Steinbeck, Saroyan—seems by 1950 to have been overgenerous. But still, those whom he will defend or spare are always those who belonged to, or remain faithful to, the ethos of the twenties—as Wilson felt it and valiantly upholds it.

For him the climate of the forties and of today is not—not by a long shot—so "favorable." The twenties were a "housecleaning." The more he looks at the present, the more filthy the house appears, what with the litter of political and theological obscurantism that has been tracked in. So perhaps I may be forgiven for suggesting that, clear and pure as is Edmund Wilson's passion for literature, the springs of it are deeper than "mere literature," that he is, God bless him, no "new critic." A journalism that has no moral interest, he says, ends with the conviction that the human race ought not to go on. Kafka may, indeed, be true to his time and place, but in that case it is a time and place in which we do not want to linger—in which Wilson will not linger—because Kafka announces in effect "that God's law and man's purpose are conceived in terms so different that we may as well give up hope of ever identifying the one with the other."

Wilson asserts the contrary: that the two laws are not so disparate. I should merely like to suggest that hardly anywhere in recent writing have I encountered an assertion so deeply religious—in the fully *Protestant* sense of the word.

Loyalty vs. Freedom

THE LOYALTY OF FREE MEN. By Alan Barth. The Viking Press. $3.

ALAN BARTH has written an important book on the dangers and vexations from which all of us have been suffering during the tense years since the culmination in victory of the Second World War and the onset of fear of another. It is a factual and philosophical account of the threats to freedom in various parts of the country that have arisen because of our phobia concerning loyalty. Never in American history have so many men and women questioned the loyalty of so many of their fellow-citizens as during these fearsome five years. Too many Americans, losing faith in themselves and the foundations of their liberty, have had recourse to unfair and irrational questioning of the loyalty of their fellowmen.

Mr. Barth traces this process through the federal and state governments, the courts, and the universities, and he does it in a series of sane essays very well written. His style exhibits lucid reasoning and dignified, controlled indignation, tempered with quiet irony. His is a book for free men, but even more a book for bigots. The principal lesson of these essays is that we have accepted so much curtailment of liberty in fear of our freedom. He also usefully points out that those stridently working for the destruction of freedom via suspicion of loyalty are, whether they realize it or not, more interested in enforcing conformity to their own forms of conservatism than in protecting us from the evils of communism. His book also brings out the extent to which Americans have indulged in the highest form of flattery—imitation of our enemy. How dangerous to our efficiency in the face of enmity the continuation of this national phobia can be is amply illustrated by Mr. Barth.

During these past five years, as Mr. Barth demonstrates, charges, whether substantiated or not, have become as damaging as conviction would have been to the life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness of many persons, and it is not at all true that Communists are the main victims. The American press deserves, along with Congressional and legislative committees composed of fanatical and sometimes irresponsible men, a large share of the blame for the character assassination which has become prevalent with the aid of ex-Communists who are so ashamed of themselves for ever having been dupes that they are eager to drag their betters down into the gutter, where they can be covered with filth and kicked at will. Newspapermen, many of whom deplore the results of their own efforts, have been so trained to the lure of sensation that they have not been careful enough to protect scrupulously the interests of those on whom they report. Trial by publicity sometimes seems to have taken the place of trial by jury during the past five years.

Mr. Barth's analysis of the methods and purposes of the Congressional and other legislative un-American committees is particularly useful, pointing out as it does that the targets are not so much Communists as liberals in general and New Dealers in particular. How far outside the law those people whom Mr. Barth aptly calls the "Americanists" have gone in their professed attempts to preserve Americanism is ably presented; how damaging to our welfare are the standards of loyalty we have been trying to set up is clearly established in "The Loyalty of Free Men." Mr. Barth writes of the task of our loyalty boards in government: "It is the task of judging inscrutable motives on the basis of imponderable evidence." He concludes: "And the most shocking aspect of the whole business is that we have accepted these curtailments of essential liberty for ourselves with no outcry, with no apparent sense of their implications." There, too, the American press has much omission to apologize for. "Risk," Mr. Barth writes, "is an inescapable element of freedom," and in its effort to determine "security risks," the government, he shows, has done grave injustice from time to time. The role of the FBI in all this has a chapter to itself, and Mr. Barth corroborates in some respects the useful findings in Max Lowenthal's "The Federal Bureau of Investigation."

An interesting chapter in Mr. Barth's book is concerned with the damage to science of secrecy and suspicion, and it discusses in considerable detail the effects of the nervous search for loyalty in American universities. In this chapter Mr. Barth seems to me to contradict

himself in one respect and to exhibit some of the fear he exposes throughout the rest of the book. He is afraid to admit known Communists to jobs in universities on the grounds that such institutions have the right to hire their help, like any other employer, and that membership in the Communist Party disqualifies a man as a teacher. But once a man has tenure and does not let his communism interfere with his work, Mr. Barth thinks he should be retained. I think Mr. Barth cannot have it both ways, and I think the test should be qualifications and performance rather than political, social, or economic views, however distasteful.

Mr. Barth's book makes the reader realize that the ideal of our security-hounds will have been reached when the government of the United States and the governments of the states, the press, radio, movies, and universities and other schools are operated by think machines which are fed cards with holes rather than by men and women with beliefs, feelings, and normal orifices. By 1984, if we go along as we have been going, the machines may be equipped to devise all questions and answers without interference from the creative human mind. Then we shall have attained the fear of making a mistake which could be called disloyalty from which Soviet bureaucrats so damagingly suffer. American traditions and instincts may be able to prevent that final disaster, but not without constant vigilance and protest. Mr. Barth's book is a grave and clear warning. It contains a stimulating foreword by our greatest specialist on violations of freedom, Professor Zechariah Chafee, Jr.

M. R. WERNER

"Island Within"

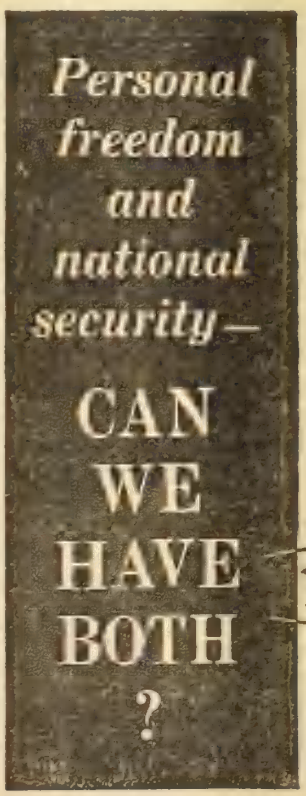
THE AMERICAN JEW: CHARACTER AND DESTINY. By Ludwig Lewisohn. Farrar, Straus and Company. $2.50.

IN ATTEMPTING to formulate a point of view and program for the American Jew, Ludwig Lewisohn approaches the problem in terms of the pervading spiritual crisis of the age. To him the murder of six million Jews by Hitler is not only an unforgettable horror caused by anti-Semitism; it is searing proof of the complete moral collapse of modern Western civilization. The way of salvation, so he asserts, is in religious neo-orthodoxy.

Despite some valid arguments and a fervor that is often compelling, Lewisohn's analysis suffers from several basic weaknesses. In his eagerness to negate the civilization created by science and the Enlightenment, he equates it in its entirety with "materialistic determinism" as exemplified by "Darwin, Haeckel, Huxley, Buckle, Marx, Wellhausen, Harnack," which, he insists, inevitably had to lead to Hitler and Stalin. Without pausing to argue whether the names Lewisohn cites are really the intellectual ancestors of totalitarianism, an equally impressive array, from Condorcet and Jefferson to Kropotkin and John Dewey, could be cited in counter-argument to prove that modernity has added new dimensions to the affirmation of human liberty and dignity. In another context, where he affirms the possibility of a continued vital Jewish life in America, Lewisohn indeed breaks with his completely negative estimate of the modern age to base his faith on the vital elements of the democratic tradition.

Lewisohn levels another charge against the liberal democratic tradition, declaring that even in one of its finest expressions, the legal emancipation of the Jew, it really intended to wipe out his uniqueness by the painless method of assimilation rather than foster a newly freed expression of his spirit. There is certainly much truth in this assertion, though the insights of sociology, a discipline which Lewisohn dismisses most cavalierly as unworthy of the attention of a man of the spirit, would emphasize for him the primacy of free choice among the forces impelling a minority to accept largely the ways of the majority. He overlooks an even more significant consideration: it was this very modern and secular age, rather than the medieval era of "faith and form," which produced the only international assent in Western history to a most intense crystallization of Jewish uniqueness in a renewed nationhood in Israel. The bitterness of the struggle of recent memory cannot ultimately obscure the fact that the Balfour Declaration was a product of the liberal democratic age at the high-water mark of its influence and that the fight for Israel could not have been won without the continued support of the liberal world.

The neo-orthodox faith that Lewisohn preaches is really a version of his "island within" of many years ago, a plea for Jewish abandonment of contemporary culture for the emotional security of the ancestral customs and traditions. Such a version of Judaism



ALAN BARTH, editorial writer of the *Washington Post*, says YES!

"With great insight and honesty Mr. Barth has shown in this important book what are the true roots of loyalty. He has performed an equally significant service in analyzing the post-war government loyalty program to show how it can endanger the true allegiance of free men." —MARQUIS CHILDS

"A first-rate book." —FRANCIS BIDDLE

"A work of the first importance; one which is indispensable reading for all Americans concerned with their freedom." —ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR., *Saturday Review of Literature*

THE Loyalty OF FREE MEN

With a Foreword by Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Harvard Law School

$3.00 at all booksellers • THE VIKING PRESS

seems to me to be both narrow and untrue to its genius. Lewisohn tells us that he has written for his own time in the spirit of Maimonides' "Guide for the Perplexed." Maimonides created his neo-orthodoxy eight centuries ago in order to mediate between the achievements of the modern culture of his time and the inherited faith. Ludwig Lewisohn has written, not a resolution of the contemporary conflict, but rather a bill of particulars describing the wounds and perplexities of his people.

ARTHUR HERTZBERG

The Paradox of Japan

ASPECTS OF JAPAN'S LABOR PROBLEMS. By Miriam S. Farley. With a Supplement by William T. Moran. Issued under the Auspices of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations. The John Day Company. $3.50.

THE OCCUPATION OF JAPAN, SECOND PHASE: 1948-50. By Robert A. Fearey. The Macmillan Company. $3.

AT ITS pre-war peak union membership in Japan was less than half a million. Eighteen months after the end of the war, thanks to MacArthur's faithful administration of Washington's liberal labor directives, union membership leaped to nearly five million. Miss Farley's book, replete with statistics, tells that story as well as the story of the subsequent crackdown—after the unions, heady with exaggerated notions of democracy, had become excessively politicalized. It is, however, a very superficial book. It reifies words pathetically. It assumes, because there is a nominal correspondence in Japan to Western labor institutions, that there is a real correspondence. But what may outwardly appear to be a progressive union may very well be a persistently feudal institution.

Miss Farley does not discuss the way in which feudal ideas of a harmonious, monolithic social organism affect the unions. She mentions the *oyabun-kobun* (labor-boss) system, but ignores its connection with the feudal morality of personal loyalty and vassalage and its usefulness to the Communists. She completely misses the Confucian, authoritarian implications of the Emperor's request, in 1947, for harmonious relations between labor and capital. She overlooks the use of high-level language not understood by the workers to thwart written agreements.

Miss Farley's account runs through 1948. Mr. Moran's supplement, covering 1949-50, hints at these problems. But on the whole the book can stand as a horrid reminder that even the most admirable ideas and institutions of the Western world need cultural translation before they can be applied in the Orient.

Mr. Fearey's book, a survey of all phases of the occupation in the last two years, is much better. It has knowledge if not always understanding. Although Mr. Fearey has no appreciation of Oriental cultural values, he at least has eyes to see the clash between them and Western values, and admits as often as necessary that powerful traditional forces have negated Western reforms. His twelve pages on labor reforms are worth more than Miss Farley's entire book because he is aware of "the peculiar nature of employer-employee relationships in Japan." His reports of the weaknesses of the democratization, war-crimes, land-reform, and anti-monopoly (*zaibatsu*) programs are even more informed.

Regarding the last, for instance: "The Japanese are not by nature or temperament adapted to a competitive system. . . . The Japanese character is in many ways better adapted to a collaborative, hierarchical system. . . . In business as in other walks of life the Japanese have not been individualists but have preferred to operate as members of a group on a basis of shared responsibility. . . . The normal tendency . . . has been to protect the weak, divide the business, live and let live." Mr. Fearey reports this quite correctly; but he also reports it disparagingly because he does not understand the ethical system underlying it. To him—he would do well to read Karen Horney's "Neurotic Personality of our Time"—the competitive system and absolute individualism are sacrosanct. That is why he cannot relate the occasional ruthlessness of the *zaibatsu* to the Confucian injunction against breaking another's rice bowl. And that is why he does not see that the subtle play of personal loyalties long after the occupation ends may offset the paper liquidation of the monopolies.

Similarly, while Mr. Fearey confirms the gloomy predictions I made in *The Nation* in November, 1946, regarding the inadequacies of the land-reform program, he attributes them to "the political naivete" of the peasants rather than to their deep attachment to a way of life for which he has no understanding. It is true that the peasants have put in power a government whose Minister of Agriculture was the most outspoken critic of the land-reform program in the Diet debates in 1946 and who is now using his office to sabotage the program by delaying the registration of transfer titles. Fearey blames this on "the continuing timidity and political inexperience of the farming population" and the peasants' "deep compunction about breaking with the traditional system of land tenure." Although tenants are grateful for sweeping rent reductions, as are the new owners for the land they have bought cheaply, they see that "the traditional village system remains substantially intact, still under the domination of the groups traditionally vested with authority. . . . Many peasants . . . would sacrifice . . . the benefits of land reform if they felt that the harmony and solidarity of the village, their basic ethical standard, were threatened."

Now these are the correct things, the true things, to say; but Mr. Fearey says them brashly and barbarously, as if a man were mad to sacrifice a material benefit for "harmony and solidarity in the village." He is self-righteously impatient with any culture save our own—impatient with a culture older than ours, in some ways more polished and sophisticated than ours, and certainly more harmonious. In the end it lands him in a maze of contradictions, for almost on the same page on which he calls the Japanese feudal and ritualistic, he calls them practical and pragmatic. There is an explanation of the paradox, for where pragmatic judgments do not transgress established ethical standards, they come more swiftly than here, since there are few rationalistic or doctrinaire blocks. But Mr. Fearey is not the man to explain his paradox, or even to notice it. A mere detail, yet indicative of that American unwillingness to understand alien cultures which has earned us the name of "coco-colonizers."

HAROLD STRAUSS

A Prosody of Relaxation

THE DOUBLE ROOT. By John Holmes. Twayne Publishers. $2.50.

THE poetry that John Holmes writes is poetry of lassitude. What has made the poet so tired one can scarcely say. There is much in these poems about a man's middle age, and one might guess that the tranquillity of a settled life has slowed the course of feeling. There is much also about the chores of parenthood and of profession. These are poems in the New England tradition, and there is a good deal in them about nature, though it is the subdued, inferential nature of the suburb and the summer resort. These are poems about the little dramas of animals, children, and college professors, dramas worth noting—delicately and carefully, if possible—but not worth very much emotional effort.

One is likely to come at last to the suspicion that these poems are the outcome of a state of doubt. They are not themselves poems of uncertainty, but they reflect the terrible fatigue of uncertainty. They seem to represent a withdrawal from inquiry, an avoidance of the things that lead to inquiry—the urges to possess, to destroy, to die, or to be born. When these things come up, as they are bound to do, they are turned aside with a smile or a shrug, and are replaced by a contentment, an active and conscious contentment which is the very lowest degree of reveling, in the ordinary affairs of the mind.

As the subjects of these poems seem to represent a withdrawal from inquiry toward contentment, their style represents a withdrawal from poetry toward prose. They never achieve prose, nor are they intended to. Holmes's poetic style was formed during the time when the low-keyed verse of Stephen Spender and C. Day Lewis was most popular, but where these poets used rhythmical understress to intimate the most powerful movements of man's personal or political psyche, Holmes uses it to convey the singleness of undisturbance. His is a prosody of relaxation, the other side of Poe's; it does not lull the reader, it detains him at a level of conversation. It makes the rules seem easy and negligible (they are not), and it persuades the reader that writing—and talking—are effortless.

These are, then, poems of little tensions. On the prosodic level there is the unacknowledged tension between poetry and prose, a skirmish from which poetry emerges victoriously, but only at the expense of the vigor needed for more pronounced metrical movement. In the areas of subject and feeling these poems are for the most part occasional and momentary, little tensions of nerve that ripple but never displace the residuum of calm. This is not the way to write great poetry, but it is a way of writing that requires considerable ability. There must be faultless taste, so that no word is too loud or too strange. There must be a high degree of craftsmanship, so that no line falls too evenly—or too unevenly—from the tongue. There must be an acute perception, so that no detail of landscape or physiognomy is either too vague or too insistent. Holmes's apple cart must proceed slowly but never come completely to rest. On all these counts Holmes has given us good poems.

They vary, of course. Some veer toward the glibness of fashion-magazine verse. Others, the ones that slip toward the pretentious modernity of the book's title, are wilfully abstruse. One, the longest, a poem called The Modern Poet, which seems to be the author's most laborious theme, is almost poisonously bumptious in its gist and awkwardly sententious in its expression. Yet most of the poems are highly readable, perceptive, and concise. They are poems for people who like to read poetry better than prose, and whose taste springs from critical principles so well understood that a new poem need not be a challenge to the aesthetic conscience.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

Inside Reports

RED MASQUERADE. By Angela Calomiris. J. B. Lippincott Company. $3.

I BELIEVED. By Douglas Hyde. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.50.

THESE two books—one by an FBI agent who spent seven years in the American Communist Party, the other by the former managing editor of the London *Daily Worker*, who broke in 1948 after twenty years in the British Communist Party—add interesting and useful notes on the ever perplexing and fascinating question why people become Communists.

Miss Calomiris's book is more illuminating in this respect than one might think. A successful agent is most likely to be the kind of person who might have joined anyway; in the case of the Azevs and the Malinovskys of czarist Russia, the line often became so blurred that the agent himself could not always tell whether he was working for the police or for the revolution. The FBI man who first talked to Angela Calomiris explained that the FBI sought its plants among the "natural" recruits to the party—that is, among "people who have had a hard row to hoe and look as if they could be persuaded to stop try-

Tired of best sellers?

NEW DIRECTIONS 12

An anthology of unconventional trends in writing here and abroad. 50 writers. 600 pages $5.00

NEW DIRECTIONS
333 Sixth Ave., N. Y. C.

JUST RECEIVED — VOL. 1, 2nd Ed.
GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA
Deluxe printing and binding. Profusely illustrated with color plates and maps. In Russian—640 pp.
This greatly enlarged edition will consist of 50 volumes to be completed in six years. The Collegium of Editors and contributors includes leading personalities in Soviet Arts, Literature and Science.
Regular Price — $9.50 per Volume
OUR SUBSCRIPTION OFFER—$8 per Vol.
Subscribers will be billed for each volume as delivered. We urge immediate subscription as the supply will be limited.
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
Importers from the USSR
55 W. 56 St., N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

THE PROGRAM
that could have prevented the present world crisis—
THE PROGRAM
that most liberals, four years ago, self-righteously condemned—
THE PROGRAM
That may still serve as the pattern for a libertarian underground, if fascism comes—
"STANDARDS AND DISCIPLINE FOR LIBERALS"
Price 25¢ Order from
MAX CARASSO
P. O. Box 994, G. P. O., New York 1, N. Y.

ing." Miss Calomiris, with her foreign-born parents, her background of poverty, her adult hopes shadowed and frustrated by the depression, was precisely the type of person who, in its less cool and intelligent embodiments, might have sought refuge in the C. P. U. S. A.

Her experience was that of a low-echelon Communist in New York City. She describes the drab implacability of life in the party in agreeable and vivacious detail; and she makes shrewd and not unsympathetic comments on the motivation which led people into the party. There are no startling revelations, partly because she operated on too low a level, partly because she is admirably restrained in throwing names around (as she writes at one point, "I'm suppressing the last names here because some of them may have dropped out of the party"). I reluctantly suppose that there are some "liberals" who may feel that Miss Calomiris's activity in boring into the Communist Party from within was somehow below the belt. But these are the same people who too often regard Communist boring-from-within with amused tolerance; and many of them were doubtless great admirers of John Roy Carlson's "Under Cover" some years back. Like John Roy Carlson, Angela Calomiris, in performing a dirty but necessary job, has rendered a service to the American people at great cost to herself—at the very least seven years of her life.

Douglas Hyde paid a larger price—twenty years—but he did so out of genuine and passionate belief. His career, including an editorship of the *Daily Worker* and culminating in the shift of allegiance from the Kremlin to the Vatican, is reminiscent in its outlines of that of Louis Budenz. But judging from their respective books, one must conclude that Mr. Hyde—in sharp contrast to the impression Mr. Budenz leaves of himself—is a man of very real humility and charity of spirit, making honest effort to understand why he and so many others were implicated in the dreadful trap. "There is magnificent material in the party's ranks," he writes; ". . . the Communist atheists often put to shame by their energy and devotion those who possess a faith that has the only real and lasting answers to our problems." It is for this reason no doubt that he follows quite a different policy from Budenz: "It is not the purpose of this book to smear old friends who now see themselves as my foes . . . I shall use no names except those who cannot possibly be hurt by what I write."

"I Believed" gives a faithful picture of life in the British Communist Party and a touching account of Mr. Hyde's own lifelong search for certitude. Between them, Mr. Hyde and Miss Calomiris show to what extent the appeal of communism is the consequence of the failure of free society to fill people's lives. Mr. Hyde reports the anguished cry of a comrade who fears to break with the party: "I'm terrified of the vacuum that would be left in my life if I went." And Miss Calomiris describes the faces at a Communist meeting: "I saw that all of them were radiant with hope for the new life." The tragedy is that the deficiencies of free society, by some weird distortion of the dialectic, have driven so many people, not into a determination to expand and improve freedom, but into an assault against freedom in the interests of the most appalling tyranny that man has ever known.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

Art

MANNY FARBER

Recommended Exhibitions

ARSHILE GORKY (Whitney). A memorial exhibition of painted drawings by a strange eclectic; using linear form-associations, swerving from Picasso to Miro, this psychological colorist created a subconscious world that suggests a tragic insect looking into sparse grass. Until February 18.

WELDON KEES (Peridot). Jazzy, eccentrically composed abstractions by a poet-critic-painter. In three years Kees has developed into one of the most purposeful designers around; shrill rubbed-color foregrounds boomeranging into solid gloomy backgrounds produce an off-beat pace reminiscent of "Father" Hines playing "Cement Mixer." January 29 to February 24.

J. DUBUFFET (Matisse). Like an urchin's sidewalk drawings, in lava-like impasto. Attempting to shock French painting out of its delicate civilized mien, this ex-banker's work shows influences of Soutine, Klee, Little Orphan Annie. Until February 3.

ROBERT DE NIRO (Egan). Half-resolved abstractions. Sloshing landscapish color on canvas, obliterating form with small bent strokes, De Niro is a strange avant-gardist, who derives from the honest, somber conservatives of the thirties (Burchfield, Speicher). Until February 3.

KIMBER SMITH (New). House-painted abstraction with scratched giraffe shapes (slightly under life-size). Using a scraped and worked-over technique, this artist achieves a cold density of color that can be heard six blocks away. January 30 to February 17.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

THE power of Arthur Koestler's "Darkness at Noon," both as a novel and as an explanation of one of the enigmas of our generation—those public confessions of old Bolsheviks about to die anyway—derives mainly from the dramatic conflict among three major characters, Rubashov, Ivanov, and Gletkin, each of whom comes alive as a personality at the same time that each stands as a type thrown up by the Soviet world-view and the Soviet system.

Ivanov, the head of the prison, is, like Rubashov, an old Bolshevik, but one who still believes that the end, however long deferred, justifies the means, however cruel, and that this end or aim retains its pristine purity uncorrupted by the means or by the temptations of great power. Gletkin, second in command, is the new Soviet man to whom such questions have no reality and who is impatient with Ivanov for trying to bring Rubashov round by argument and appeal instead of using his own efficient methods of "correct brutality." In the book the Soviet logic of each of these characters engages, at one point or another, the mind and even the sympathy of the reader. It is the highly intellectualized, inhuman and unhumane, logic of the fanatic, and its momentary appeal is to the fanatic element—the arrogant, self-righteous, and power-

loving element—in all of us. But its convincing presentation and its power to engage us are a measure of the book's merit. The conflict among three strong men generates suspense; it also serves to lay bare the workings of the Soviet mentality as well as to probe and challenge our own basic beliefs; and it makes the final capitulation of Rubashov, or rather his return to his earlier faith, convincing. What makes Rubashov the hero of the proceedings in our Western eyes is of course the fact that this fanatic logic, though it is strong enough to carry him through a public confession, is undermined and dissipated in private by human and humanitarian "softness" and that he goes to his death in the cellar as an individual human being, not as a cipher in a historical equation.

The prime weakness of Sidney Kingsley's dramatization of "Darkness at Noon" (Alvin Theater) is that only Rubashov is allowed full stature as a personality. Ivanov is portrayed as a rather cynical but amiable old-timer going along—inclined to save his old comrade because of an early and treasured fellowship—not as a forceful and convinced revolutionary who offers a cogent and confident defense of the "logic of history" and succeeds in winning over his prisoner—before he, Ivanov, is removed and liquidated, at the instigation of Gletkin, for being too soft.

As for Gletkin, he emerges in the play as a sort of simple-minded gangster, American style, who has conceived a grudge against Rubashov. This part is assigned to Walter J. Palance, who plays it in exactly the same way as he played the small-time gangster in the film "Panic in the Streets." The casting in this part of an actor of Palance's terrifying appearance might be justified, though I think a conventional-looking man would be far more effective; but his voice is quite out of line with the character of Gletkin. What is more serious, however, the reasoning behind Gletkin's "correct brutality" is not sufficiently brought out; Koestler's revealing references to the social and historical forces that have helped to mold this new Soviet type—such forces, for instance, as the headlong industrialization of a backward country—are not incorporated in the play, as they might easily have been.

This seems to me one of the most damaging simplifications that had to be made—from the point of view of dramatic interest and from another point of view as well. Americans know less about the Gletkins than about the old Bolsheviks with their Western associations; they need to know more, since Gletkins are being raised up in so many quarters of the globe.

Gletkin does at least appear as a strong character—and the fiendishly logical process by which he deduces specific criminal acts as likely consequences of Rubashov's admitted casual and general remarks is convincingly handled. So is the method of "correct brutality" in which Gletkin, by the use of logic and with the aid of such tormenting goads as bright lights and examinations prolonged into days, reduces Rubashov to complete submission.

The play is episodic—the central drama of the book, the conflict among strong personalities and points of view, being largely missing—but the episodes are dramatic and telling: the episode of the dock-workers, the episode of the girl, Rubashov's lover, who has gone to her execution without a word of defense from him, and so on.

Claude Rains appears to understand his role and the book better than Mr. Kingsley. His performance as Rubashov is marked by a steadily rising tension; at the end he even looks as if he had been through an actual, not a simulated ordeal. Alexander Scourby (Ivanov), who is made up (I suppose) to look like a benevolent version of Stalin, plays the part well as it is adapted, though as it is adapted it contains too little steel. Kim Hunter, as the devoted Luba, does very well, though she doesn't look particularly Russian. The rest of the company seemed to me well cast, well directed, and skilful on their own.

The production is worth seeing for the setting and its extraordinary manipulation. The setting is a prison—a block of cells on the right, an antechamber on the left. It appears to be made of impervious stone, but the walls are really scrim. The lighting enables us to look into the cells while the antechamber becomes by turns Rubashov's former office, a picture gallery in Germany, a bar on the docks in Belgium, the room where the examination is held. It is a striking and ingenious bit of stagecraft.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

ELENA NIKOLAIDI appears to need the early part of a recital to overcome the inertia of the muscular system involved in her singing; and as long as this inertia continues the singing lacks projection: it does not achieve the full sonority and sensuous beauty of the voice and the complete musical outlining of the phrase and song. That is the story on her performances of the Schumann and Wolf songs at her recent recital. But when she began *Bel raggio* from "Semiramide" the muscular system was working with one-hundred-per cent efficiency, enabling her to produce magnificent contralto tones with sovereign freedom and manipulate them with breath-taking accuracy, style, and dramatic intensity; and the reserve power now at her disposal was evident in the effortless projection of the luscious tones and exquisite phrasing of Strauss's "Ständchen" immediately afterward. This was again singing to cherish among

STOP SAYING THAT TRAVEL IS TOO EXPENSIVE

Passenger-carrying freighters are the secret to low-cost travel.

Yes, for no more than you'd spend at a resort, you can take a never-to-be-forgotten cruise to Rio and Buenos Aires. Or through the Canal to either New York or California. Or to the West Indies or along the St. Lawrence River to French Canada. In fact, trips to almost everywhere are within your means.

And what accommodations you get: large rooms with beds (not bunks), probably a private bath, lots of good food and plenty of relaxation as you speed from port to port.

Depending upon how fast you want to go, a round the world cruise can be yours for as little as $250-$300 a month. And there are shorter trips. Fast uncrowded voyages to England, France, the Mediterranean; two- or three-week vacation up and down the Pacific Coast or from New York to New Orleans. Name the port and the chances are you can find it listed in "Travel Around the World."

This is the book that names the lines, tells where they go, how much they charge, briefly describes accommodations. Hundreds of thousands of travelers all over the world swear by it. Travel editors and travel writers say "To learn how to travel for as little as you'd spend at a resort, get 'Travel Routes Around the World.'"

The big 1951 edition is yours for $1, and your dollar also brings you two priceless reports:

1. FREIGHTER LIFE: What vagabond voyaging is all about. What the ships are like, who goes on them, what you eat, etc. Plenty of photos.
2. LANDS IN THE SUN. Where to stay awhile—even retire—in the West Indies, Mexico, Guatemala, and other lands to the south where the dollar buys much more..

A big $1 worth. Send for your copies of all 3 guides now. On a sheet of paper, print name and address, write "Send 3 travel guides" and mail with $1 bill to Harian Publications, 45 Parkway, Greenlawn, New York.

one's recollections of the wonders achieved by human powers. After some poor French songs and a group of Greek folksongs the recital ended with a powerful and somewhat dramatized performance of the great Sleepwalking Scene from Verdi's "Macbeth," which Nikolaidi took at a slower and more effective pace than on her Columbia record, but from which she omitted the ascent to the concluding high C-sharp that is on the record.

A number of Beethoven's songs, most of them infrequently heard, are on an Allegro LP (88) sung by Ralph Herbert, baritone, with piano accompaniments by Frederic Waldman. They comprise "Bitten," "Die Liebe des Nächsten," "Vom Tode," "Die Ehre Gottes aus der Natur," "Gottes Macht und Vorsehung," and "Busslied" (texts by Gellert), "Adelaide" (Matthisson), and "Mailied," "Wonne der Wehmut," and "Neue Liebe, neues Leben" (Goethe); they are very lovely and touching; and Mr. Herbert sings them well. The German texts, with numerous mistakes, are supplied.

GOOD NEWS for Music Lovers
Pocket-Sized, Low-Priced Editions
BACH: The Well-Temp. Clavier, 2 vols., each.. 1.25
SCHUMANN: Carnaval; Fantasiestucke; Symphonic Etudes; Fantasy ..... .98
CHOPIN: 25 Preludes; 2 Piano Sont.; Fantasy .98
BRAHMS: All Violin Sonatas ..... .98
& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG
Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From
LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138 New York 32, N. Y.

25% Less than List on LP Records
Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:
DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB
DEPT. N-14
Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.
Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges (50¢ minimum) SAME-DAY SHIPMENT.

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN
MARY MARTIN
RAY MIDDLETON
IN
South Pacific
Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with BYRON WEBSTER
MAJESTIC Thea., 44 St. W. of B'way
Evenings 8:30 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

Two fine songs of Schubert, "Der Jüngling an der Quelle" and "Nachtigall," are sung beautifully by Lehmann with accompaniments by Ulanowsky on an RCA Victor 78. The third song, "Die Männer sind mechant," Lehmann overdoes in the style of her recent recitals.

On another Victor 78 is a less familiar but lovely song of Schubert, "Thekla," sung by Marian Anderson with occasionally sagging pitch. The declamation of "Dem Unendlichen," on the reverse side, she does well; and Rupp as always creates exciting musical life in the piano parts.

The French baritone Gerard Souzay also sings a few Schubert songs with accompaniments by Jacqueline Bonneau on a London LP (LLP-245). They comprise "Der Doppelgänger," "Der Erlkönig," "Haidenröslein," and among less familiar matters the engaging "Fischerweise" and the first of the three "Gesänge des Harfners," which I don't find interesting. Souzay sings them very well, with a skilful use of falsetto that becomes excessive only in "Haidenröslein." But he sings even better the Fauré songs on the reverse side, which I don't care for. No texts.

Schumann's song-cycle "Frauenliebe und Leben," one of his feebler products to my ears, is performed by Anderson and Rupp on a couple of Victor 78's, and by Uta Graf, soprano, and John Newmark on an Allegro LP (73). Miss Graf uses a voice of no great sensuous beauty with musical intelligence; but the Anderson-Rupp performance is the more impressive one, not only because of the greater beauty of Anderson's voice (and despite its sagging pitch in "Süsser Freund") but because of what Rupp does with the important piano part, which the Victor recording gives the prominence it should have, whereas Newmark's subdued playing is further subdued by the Allegro recording. The Victor record with sides 1 and 4 gives an extra metallic resonance to Anderson's voice; the Allegro has occasional high-frequency distortion. Victor supplies English translations; Allegro the German texts, with mistakes.

In the unfamiliar four Duets Opus 28 of Brahms sung by Sara Liss, contralto, and Ralph Herbert with accompaniments by Frederic Waldman on another Allegro LP (68) I find the opening statements of "Die Nonne" lovely and "Der Jäger" engaging, but "Vor der Tür" and "Es rauschet das Wasser" uninteresting. They are well sung; and Mr. Herbert alone sings well a number of the better Brahms songs: "Der Gang zum Liebchen," "Sonntag," "Salamander," "Nachtwandler" (the best), "Bie dir sind meine Gedanken," "Alte Liebe," and "Beim Abschied." The German texts are given.

Those who care more than I for the early Debussy songs—including "Mandoline," "Clair de lune," "Fantoches," "Il pleure dans mon coeur"—on a Columbia LP will find them sung with crystalline clarity of voice and enunciation by Pons with accompaniments by La Forge. No texts.

I have come to enjoy some of Stravinsky's instrumental music that I didn't enjoy before, but not the monotonous chanting of reiterated figures in most of the songs on an Allegro LP (64)—the Three Stories for Children (1917), the Cats' Lullabies (1915016), the Four Russian Songs (1918). Nor the angular declamation over acidulous harmony in the Three Japanese Lyric Poems (1912-13). In Parasha's aria from "Mavra" (1922) there is a more melodic style and some progression of musical thought; and on the other hand the earliest songs —the Two Melodies to words of Gorodetzky (1907-8), Pastoral (1908), and Two Songs to words of Balmont (1911)—are engaging and pretty in the traditional style Stravinsky inherited and departed from. Kurenko sings them all very well with piano accompaniments by Soulima Stravinsky; the recorded sound suffers from rumbling low-frequency distortion. No texts.

CONTRIBUTORS

PERRY MILLER, professor of history at Harvard University, is the author of "Jonathan Edwards" and other books.

M. R. WERNER is a journalist and biographer.

ARTHUR HERTZBERG is a rabbi in Nashville, Tennessee.

HAROLD STRAUSS, editor-in-chief of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., has spent a year in Japan and speaks Japanese.

HAYDEN CARRUTH is associate editor of the University of Chicago Press.

Letters to the Editors

A Socialist Replies

Dear Sirs: In your letters column of January 13 Roy Helfgott writes, "In the year and a half of its existence the *Monthly Review* has not had a single article by anyone who is or ever has been part of the American Socialist movement."

I happen to be in a position to dispute that statement. In its August, 1950, issue the *Monthly Review* published an article of mine titled Capitalism Seeks Sanctuary, and I am an old-line Debs Socialist. For years I was an ordained Socialist soap-boxer and writer; I was a delegate to the historic National Emergency Convention in St. Louis in 1917, and was more than once Socialist nominee for governor of Arkansas.

At this late date Mr. Helfgott might find it a bit difficult to trace my footprints from one soap-box to another, but if he can get access to the files of Victor Berger's *Milwaukee Leader* around 1920 he can find numerous articles I contributed to that journal—not to mention others.

I will not attempt to characterize Mr. Helfgott's sweeping assertion further than to say it struck me as an emotional outburst written in reckless disregard of whether it was true or false. It happened to be false. CLAY FULKS

Neosho, Mo., January 11

Freedom in Italy

Dear Sirs: It is encouraging to find *The Nation* keeping up the fight for freedom by publishing Paul Blanshard's article, Protestants in Italy, in its November 11 issue.

The current issue of *L'Europeo*, a leading Italian weekly, carries a large photograph of Eisenhower on the front page with the headline, "The Atomic Arc from London to Tripoli Will Protect Eisenhower's Fourth Landing in Western Europe." If Italy is to be one of the nations to serve as a bulwark against communism, and if liberty-loving Italians are to support the Atlantic Pact, Italy must have an ideology of freedom comparable to that of the United States. Certainly the Roman Catholic church, with its wisdom accumulated through the centuries, should be able to see the advantages of religious freedom for all people. As a free state, Italy could live up to the principles contained in its new republican constitution and be in a position to carry out the terms of the peace treaty, in which it obligated itself as follows:

> Italy shall take all measures necessary to secure to all persons under Italian jurisdiction, without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, the enjoyment of human rights and of the fundamental freedoms, including freedom of expression, of press and publication, of religious worship, of political opinion, and of public meeting (Part II, Section I, Article 15).

When Italian citizens and others residing in Italy are secure in their fundamental freedoms, then Italy as a nation can justly claim admission to the United Nations.

ANTHONY CALIANDRO
President, Evangelical Biblical Institute of Italy

Naples, Italy, January 2

"A Frail Reed"

Dear Sirs: One question raised by Hans J. Morgenthau in his article "History's Lesson" in your anniversary issue deserves more consideration than the author was able to give it in such a brief treatment. In writing of the three great revolutions of our age—the political, the technological, and the moral—Professor Morgenthau said, "It is by virtue of Lenin's and Stalin's equation of bolshevization with industrialization that Russia has developed into a first-class power. Communism in Russia has meant first of all the transformation of society by the technological revolution."

If this equation of social and economic change constitutes one of the major sources of the attraction exercised by contemporary communism, it behooves Americans to ask why the social and political values of our older industrial society have not won a greater adherence in those areas where communism is making such marked gains today. It would seem that if industrialization is to be considered a chief source of attraction, the United States would be without a rival. On the other hand, if our prior industrialization has failed to draw less-developed nations into our orbit of political democracy, will the present attraction of the U. S. S. R. for economically backward nations wear off?

But as Professor Morgenthau pointed out, at least three revolutionary developments are taking place; and the regime which rides the crest of all three will have its ideology and policy vindicated. I would suggest that industrialization is a frail reed to lean on in securing the continued active support of other nations. If we are clearly superior to the U. S. S. R. in the wisdom and worth of our political and moral traditions, it would seem advisable to concentrate on driving this fact home to the peoples in flux. PHILIP AFRICA

Rochester, N. Y., January 3

Reyes of Mexico

Dear Sirs: May I add a postscript to Mildred Adams's review of "The Position of America and Other Essays," by Alfonso Reyes in *The Nation* of January 10. Reyes is no doubt the author of delightful essays, some airy and whimsical, some erudite, many profound, but he is also able to work on the grand scale. I consider his two books, "La Crítica en la edad ateniense" and "El Deslinde, Prolegómenos a la teoría literaria," as among the finest in the field of general literature. It is our great loss that these two treatises, massive and yet luminous, are not available in English. There should be a Point Four of the spirit, through which writers like Reyes could share with us a much-needed "know how." ALBERT GUÉRARD

Waltham, Mass., January 10

Step to World Union

Dear Sirs: The Nation asks in the title of its anniversary issue, "Can peace with Russia be negotiated?" I feel war might be delayed by negotiation, but the time gained would only be used to prepare

SUMMER OF 1951:
SEMINAR IN INDIA
PAKISTAN & CEYLON
Interview political, cultural, national leaders. Study social, economic, and political situation. By charter plane from San Francisco. Non-profit cooperative basis, about $1500 two-month cost.
Write: Dr. Alfred G. Fisk
San Francisco State College, San Francisco 2, Calif.

WORK SHOP

Editor Talking
Short Writing Course • Starting February
GORHAM MUNSON
will test your fiction and non-fiction manuscripts on audience and give practical editorial advice. Lectures. Personal coaching.
For full information, write:
RAND SCHOOL • 7 East 15 St. • New York 3

ORGANIZATION

The WORLD PEACE UNION

with grass roots on the farms and a mass base in the cities, is suggested as the name of a new organization to provide ways and means of uniting the American people in immediate concrete efforts to win and preserve peace for ourselves and our children.

Persons interested in founding such an organization on principles indicated in *The Nation's* Anniversary Number write—

Rebecca, Shelley, Route 1, Box 410, Clear Lake Road, Battle Creek, Michigan.

PERSONALS

WRITER (published), sole occupant pleasant cottage (45 minutes New York), would combine with other literary person. Full amenities. Oil heat. Reasonable. Box 209, c/o The Nation.

BRITISH UNIVERSITY "DON"—immigrant U. S.—seeks newspaper work, proof reading, or similar employment. Subjects—European history, philosophy, Dr. Brown, Noank, Conn.

WILL anyone having letters of Powers Hapgood please send them to **Cecil Byrd, associate librarian, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.** All available material to help in the writing of Powers Hapgood's biography will be appreciated.

for a bigger and better war. The peace that I am interested in is a peace like that we have among our states, the by-product of good government. I liked Albert Guérard's review, but I object to his criticism of Clarence Streit's proposal for a federal union of free nations.

The step to world union must be accompanied by a world language. More than sixteen million people are behind the petition to the U. N. for Esperanto, the world auxiliary language. Although the first instalment has been presented to the U. N., *The Nation* has not mentioned it. I think that it is news, and good news, that so many people have subscribed. Guérard writes, "A world constitution, like an international language, would be at the same time an admirable symbol and a most effective instrument of unity and peace."

GLENN P. TURNER
Director, Esperanto Foundation
Middleton, Wis., January 8

The N. A. A. C. P. Needs Funds

Dear Sirs: All of us are acutely aware that the grave crisis in Korea has brought to a head the world-wide battle between democratic and totalitarian ideologies. We must also recognize that to win the support of the nations and peoples of the world America must convince them that our democracy is an inclusive and living reality. The present anti-American sentiment in Asia and Africa, based on widespread knowledge of race discrimination here, places in grave danger America's leadership of the free world.

As the nation's foremost civil-rights organization for more than four decades, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has led the forces working to strengthen our democracy. On the legal, legislative, and educational fronts the N. A. A. C. P. has moved tirelessly forward, bringing Americans of every race nearer to full realization of their democratic rights and privileges. But a tremendous job remains to be done.

Completion of this job, more vital now than ever before, is threatened by a grave financial crisis which may necessitate drastic curtailment of N. A. A. C. P. activities. Negro citizens, who heretofore have shouldered 85 per cent of the cost of the civil-rights fight, are not able to carry the whole burden of increased expenses. We must find new sources of income if our effectiveness is to continue.

We are certain that your readers will want to help the N. A. A. C. P. over this financial hurdle by answering our emergency appeal for operating funds. Donations should be sent to local offices or to the N. A. A. C. P., 20 West Fortieth St., New York 18.

WALTER WHITE
Executive Secretary
New York, January 1

Magazine Exchange

Dear Sirs: At no time in recent history have America and India been so divided on international matters. A well-informed public in both countries could do much to promote friendship. To that end *India Digest* is setting up a Magazine Exchange Department and will be glad to receive from American friends current issues of United States magazines that they have finished using. These magazines will be distributed to libraries, colleges, and schools where they will have maximum use. In return, Indian magazines of international appeal will be mailed to those who cooperate with us.

American periodicals should be addressed to *India Digest*, 9, Cantonment, Ahmedabad 3, India.

HIRO VASWANI
Ahmedabad, India, December 30

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

The NATION

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine . . . . . $9.50 **You Save $2.50**

☐ *with* Consumer Reports . . . . . $10.75 **You Save $1.25**

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine and Consumer Reports . . $13.25 **You Save $3.75**

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION BY ITSELF:

☐ **One Year $7** ☐ **Two Years $12** ☐ **Three Years $17**

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years. ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

1/27/51

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • FEBRUARY 3, 1951 NUMBER 5

The Shape of Things

THE ADMINISTRATION'S HESITATION AND appalling lack of preparation probably left Eric Johnston, the new stabilization administrator, with no alternative to the wage-and-price freeze orders of January 26. The effectiveness of his program will depend partly on the speed and realism with which the orders are modified and an enforcement staff created, and partly on the Administration's willingness to fight with Congress for new authority to control food prices and rents. The union leaders, who understandably refused to initiate wage controls in the absence of price controls, were nevertheless shedding crocodile tears when they acted as if they believed that the wage freeze was permanent. A policy had previously been established by the White House, for wage rises to match increases in living costs, and it was generally understood that Cyrus Ching's Wage Stabilization Board would continue this policy. In any case, prices are the chief problem. Only the government, armed with statutory powers and an adequate staff, can work out specific dollars-and-cents ceilings which will assure fulfilment of production needs and will protect consumers. Congress will not initiate changes in the law guaranteeing parity prices for farm products, but food subsidies worked in Great Britain and they can work here. Johnston's first step was a necessary one, but to be valuable it must be quickly followed by others, including rent controls and a roll-back of prices in fields where profiteering has been flagrant.

*

WITH NEARLY A MILLION COAL AND STEEL workers threatening to strike on February 1, Dr. Konrad Adenauer, the West German Cancellor, agreed to support legislation giving labor *Mitbestimmungsrecht*—an equal voice in the direction of the coal and steel industries. Thereupon he found himself in trouble with the right-wing sections of his coalition government—the Free Democratic and German parties—and as we go to press, the situation remains critical, with the unions refusing to withdraw their strike notices until assured of action by the Bundestag. If Adenauer pushes this legislation, he can presumably carry his party, the Christian Democrats, with him and obtain its passage with the aid of the Social Democratic opposition. But the coalition government might not survive a split on so important an issue. On the other hand, if he goes back on his agreement with the unions, he will face a devastating strike at a moment when the West German economy is already suffering from shortages of coal and steel. The German workers are in deadly earnest, and on this question the two chief groups in the trade-union movement—the Catholics and the Social Democrats—are united, despite pressure on the Catholics by some members of the hierarchy. German labor believes that only by sharing in the direction of the great coal and steel corporations can it be insured against the consequences of irresponsible management. It has not forgotten, as some American officials in Germany, preoccupied with problems of rearmament, seem to have done, that a handful of Ruhr magnates secretly financed and supported Hitler.

*

FROM ONE POINT OF VIEW THE TARIFF MAY seem to be a moot issue at this time. New obstacles to world trade are growing, but they are founded on political and strategic rather than economic considerations. With world-wide shortages of goods threatening, even high customs duties do little to deter imports. Thus in this country we are frantically bidding for foreign supplies of many raw materials and manufactured articles—metals, steel, chemicals, oil and wool, for example—on which we continue to impose protective duties. Obviously, in these circumstances it is not the foreigner but the American consumer who pays the tax. Nevertheless, for the Rip van Winkles of the G. O. P. the tariff remains American industry's first line of defense and a necessary means of preventing our standard of living from being washed away in a flood of cheap foreign products. So once again we are witnessing an effort to undermine the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, which the Administration wants extended for another three years, by adding to it the so-called "peril-point amendment." This clause may appear relatively innocuous: it provides that if the Tariff Commission advises the President that a proposed tariff cut might prove harmful to an American industry, he must justify such a reduction to Congress before approving it. In practice such a restriction would make negotiations with other countries much more cumbersome, since our representatives could only conclude tentative agreements pending the deliberations

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 97
Security and Freedom 99
Satellites or Allies? *by Freda Kirchwey* 99

ARTICLES

Return to Diplomacy *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 101
Fury and Frustration *by Willard Shelton* 102
Equal Among Equals? *by Howard K. Smith* 103
Pressures and Pictures: I *by Gilbert Seldes* 104
How to Control Prices *by H. Gordon Hayes* 106
Everybody's Business: Snyder's Costly Victory *by Keith Hutchison* 109

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Tito's Rebellion *by Robert Lee Wolff* 110
Hitler as Strategist *by H. Stuart Hughes* 111
A Universal Fable *by Ernest Jones* 112
Books in Brief 113
Drama Note *by Margaret Marshall* 113
Films *by Manny Farber* 113
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 114

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 116

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 398 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 116

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Contributing Editor: Robert Bendiner
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

of the Tariff Commission, which might be very deliberate. In addition, we agree with Secretary Acheson that any weakening of the act would have most unfortunate international repercussions.

*

IT WAS THE ELDER MORGAN, WE BELIEVE, who once said that, as a banker, he was more interested in a borrower's character than in his security. Apparently the directors of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development who have just agreed to lend the Union of South Africa $50,000,000 and the chiefs of eight leading American commercial banks who are providing a $30,000,000 credit for the same customer do not agree. "To hell with character," they seem to be saying, "as long as the security is O.K." Undoubtedly, from a balance-sheet point of view, South Africa is a good credit risk. It is the world's greatest producer of gold; it exports large quantities of wool, which now commands famine prices in world markets; it has important deposits of strategic minerals; finally, the waste from its gold mines may prove a major source of uranium. With such varied riches South Africa should have no difficulty in meeting its obligations. Nevertheless, we should have thought it proper for the International Bank directors, and the American committee which exercises effective supervision of its operations, to weigh the moral and political risks involved. Are these gentlemen unaware that the South African government has defied the United Nations by annexing its mandated territory of South West Africa? Have they not heard that it is pursuing a savage racialist policy and depriving its eight million native and Indian citizens of all rights—political, social, and economic? And does it not know that the policy, and the police-state methods used to enforce it, are creating increasingly strong revolutionary sentiments? The larger part of the International Bank loan has a term of twenty years. As things are going, a tragic upheaval in South Africa seems likely long before 1971.

*

WE SUPPOSE THAT ONLY A JUNIOR COLLEGE deep in the heart of New Jersey—for so long besotted with Hague and Hague—could command the ignorance to accuse Mark Van Doren of being a Communist sympathizer, the stupidity to remove four of his books, dealing with Shakespeare and poetry, from its library shelves, and the dictatorial arrogance to refuse Mr. Van Doren a hearing. We hope the Jersey City Board of Education, which ordered the removal, will be flooded with protests from Mr. Van Doren's wide range of readers and that a way will be found to challenge the legality of the ban as well as to demonstrate the absurdity of the charge. Meanwhile we have no doubt that the students at Jersey City Junior College will take a fresh interest in Shakespeare and poetry as set forth by Mr. Van Doren, and we look forward happily to a boom in the Bard.

Security and Freedom

OFFHAND it would seem that the last thing this country needs is another committee to deal with subversive activities, real or imaginary. Until last week we had the Subversive Activities Control Board, created under the McCarran Act, the Federal Loyalty Review Board, with subordinate Loyalty Boards for all the executive departments, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Civil Service Commission, scores of state committees and agencies, and, not least in zeal, the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Now we are to have, in addition, a Senate subcommittee, headed by Senator McCarran, himself, and a Commission on Internal Security and Individual Rights, appointed by the President.

It takes only the most meager imagination to appreciate the purpose of the new Senate group or predict its line of action. McCarran will have under him such lovers of liberty as Eastland of Mississippi, a filibustering Dixiecrat, and Jenner of Indiana, whose abuse of General Marshall shocked the entire Senate of the Eighty-first Congress, which did not shock easily. The McCarran agency is set up, first, to watch the Administration's every move in the execution of the McCarran-sponsored Internal Security Act. It plans, second, to investigate the execution of all other laws pertaining to sabotage and espionage. And, to make sure of a field-day, it will look into the extent and nature of subversive activities in its own right, thus providing competition of the most direct sort for the Un-American Activities Committee of the House. The Judiciary Committee appears certain to get half the $150,000 it requested, any fraction of which is a gross extravagance.

The President's Commission is as necessary and as promising as the McCarran subcommittee is useless and threatening. When the Tydings committee last year branded Senator McCarthy's infamous charges a "fraud and a hoax," a cry went up for a saner method of dealing with the whole problem of disloyalty and subversion. President Truman has now appointed such a body, and the mandate under which it is to operate is an exercise of high statesmanship. The commission is to examine present laws, practices, and procedures, both public and private, for the bearing they have not only on the nation's security, but also on the protection of individuals "from unwarranted attacks and from unwarranted infringement of their rights and liberties in the name of security." Its objective will be to discover the elusive "balance . . . between security and freedom," which the President wisely asserts must be guarded from "armed assault . . . from subversive infiltration . . . from internal suppression and the deadly imposition of conformity."

Experienced libertarians may wonder whether the personnel of the commission is up to such a task. Headed by Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, the nine members make their first appearance on the public scene in a capacity of this sort. Certainly a body composed of a Protestant bishop, a Catholic bishop, top executives of J. P. Morgan and Company, Firestone Tire and Rubber, and the American Woolen Company; the head of the District of Columbia Selective Service Board, the former president of the League of Women Voters, and a conservative Republican ex-Senator would seem to be beyond the range of the Know-Nothing artillery. Perhaps this was the guiding principle in making the appointments, in itself an "imposition of uniformity." If so, the gesture already seems to have misfired. Senator Ferguson has condemned the order as a devious effort to counteract the agencies of Congress.

The truth, of course, is just the reverse. Only a nonpartisan, genuinely non-political group, enjoying the confidence of the public, can cut through the jungle of intrigue that has been deliberately cultivated by self-seekers, on Capitol Hill and elsewhere. Whether the new commission will enjoy the public confidence will depend on the counsel and executive secretary it selects to do its basic investigating and the manner in which it carries on its duties. We can only hope that the personal integrity and common sense of the commissioners, plus capable staff work and expert testimony will place the question of "security and freedom" in a perspective beyond the vision of a McCarthy, a McCarran, or a Ferguson.

Satellites or Allies?

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

LAST week's discussion on this page of the reasons for the split over the Far Eastern question between the United States and its friends abroad, is impressively amplified this week in Howard K. Smith's dispatch from London. The facts he reports are even more disturbing when one realizes that they are repeated, though in a different and less overt way, in connection with Germany and the proposed meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers. Thus, while agreements on European rearmament and military organization take shape under General Eisenhower's genial prodding, and talks with the Germans about their share in Europe's defense proceed along several different lines, a contrary current seems to be gaining momentum. Europe's leaders want negotiations with Russia soon, before the arming of Germany gets under way. The threat of German rearmament, they recognize, has made talks with Russia possible; the actuality might bring about a "preventive war" launched from Moscow. What they want is to take advantage of Russia's obvious alarm, and of the proposed four-power talks, to drive a bargain, if one is possible, which will obviate the necessity of German rearmament altogether. And they

are afraid that America's reluctance to engage in any serious negotiations until the defense of Europe—including particularly the creation of German armed forces—has been completed may destroy all chance of agreement. This anxiety is increased by their belief that while Russia really fears a remilitarized Germany and wants a German settlement, the United States stands committed to the former and fears the latter.

It is not that most responsible Europeans doubt the need of preparing for defense or question Russia's desire to break the unity of the West by alternating doses of intimidation and cajolery. They know Moscow's methods quite as well as Mr. Acheson does and have more reason to be wary. But they also believe, as they know the United States does not, that a deal based on the realistic interests of both sides may be possible and that any chance to achieve it must be pursued energetically and in good faith.

Russia's note of November 3 proposing a four-power meeting on Germany was the direct result of the decision of the three chief Western powers to arm the Germans as part of an integrated European defense force. From the moment the proposal was made, Washington disliked it, and only the insistence of our allies, the French in particular, induced the United States to agree to talks if they were not confined to Germany but took in all "causes of present international tensions." Along with the Allied reply a gloomy background statement was published in which the State Department expressed its conviction that there was little chance a conference now would accomplish anything useful.

The Soviet Union answered on December 30 in somewhat ambiguous terms. It insisted that Germany must be the chief problem discussed but hinted that other related topics might be included. This note was also interpreted differently here and in Western Europe. Washington was wholly dissatisfied; France and Britain somewhat hopeful. But after much delay and difficulty they agreed on a counter-proposal that went to Moscow last week, reiterating the belief that any discussion limited to Germany would be futile but suggesting an "exploratory meeting" in Paris of "representatives" of the four powers to find "a mutually acceptable basis for a meeting of the foreign ministers" and to recommend a suitable agenda which would take in other questions besides that of Germany. To this no reply has been received.

But several warnings from Moscow, culminating in last week's angry and threatening notes to Britain and France, have made it clear that no matter how many other topics are included, the German issue will remain at the top of the agenda if a Big Four meeting is held. Those notes have generally been discounted in the American press as bullying attempts at intimidation designed only to divide and confuse the Western coalition. The recipients, especially the French, take them more seriously, accepting as genuine Moscow's fear of a Germany rearmed and geared for heavy production. More than this, France itself so shrinks from the implications of an armed German state on its borders that its government is still wriggling to discover some way out of its commitment on this point to Washington. Nor can it dismiss as invalid Moscow's charge that the rearming of the Germans is a breach of its treaty with Russia. It can take what cold comfort there is in the bland misstatements with which the Russian note is laced—such as the denial that a "para-military" police force has been formed in Eastern Germany or the claim that Russia's own forces have been considerably reduced, but the important fact for France is the dangers, direct and indirect, that lie in German rearmament. This fact, which concerns Britain and the smaller states of Western Europe quite as much, constitutes the deepest source of trouble between these nations and the United States.

WASHINGTON may want to discuss "all causes" of tension—if discussions cannot be avoided. France and its neighbors want to find a solution of the German problem which will eliminate the need to create a German army. And in this desire they are joined by an important proportion of the German people themselves. The opposition to rearmament in Germany remains a powerful obstacle to Washington's aims which can be overcome, it looks likely, only by such drastic concessions to German national pride that even Americans may boggle at the price.

One thing is certain: if the United States refuses a reasonable Russian proposal for keeping Germany demilitarized and neutral, its troubles with its allies will multiply. That a reasonable proposal will be made if the four powers meet is not unlikely. This possibility may have been hinted at in a new unity offer from the East German government reported in last Sunday's New York *Times*. The story came from The Hague and has not been officially verified as we go to press, but the supposed terms are interesting:

(1) Disbanding of the East German People's Police and abandonment of plans to rearm West Germany; (2) withdrawal of all foreign troops in Germany; (3) unification of Germany through an election to be held under international auspices; (4) establishment of a neutral German state.

If this offer turns out to be genuine, it may well be intended as a Soviet balloon, sent up in advance of the Big Four meeting to try the direction of the wind and the temperature of the air. Were it to bring back favorable indications it might become the pattern for Russia's offer to the Western powers. Such an offer would be difficult for the United States to reject out of hand even if it were not part of a scheme of general settlement.

Return to Diplomacy

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Lake Success, January 27

THIS week was an extraordinarily interesting one at Lake Success, for the debate on the two principal resolutions—one introduced by Senator Austin and one by Sir Benegal N. Rau—mirrored perfectly the world situation. As soon as Sir Benegal, on Monday, imparted to the Political Committee the contents of a communication from Peking amplifying its original counter-proposals in a way to increase the chances of a peaceful settlement, something like panic was perceptible among the active cohorts of the United States. This was not the panic which has seized the West before—at the prospect of large-scale Communist aggression directed by Russia. It was not panic at the imminence of war but panic at the possibility of peace. Certain delegates were utterly dismayed by the thought that during the forty-eight hours' adjournment asked by India, Peking might make another conciliatory move and so undermine the American resolution declaring Communist China an aggressor and preparing the machinery of sanctions.

That the chief function of the United Nations was to explore every opportunity of restoring peace, even at a time of crisis or in the midst of a battle, was in danger of being overlooked. Sir Gladwyn Jebb of Great Britain rendered a most important service by emphasizing this duty in a speech that represented a return to classical diplomacy. Weighing every word, he subjected the situation confronting the U. N. to a dispassionate analysis. He agreed with the American delegation about the aggressive character of Chinese action in Korea, but he said the first thing to do was to look for something constructive or encouraging in Chou En-lai's original note and its later amplification. His objections to the "additional measures" proposed in the American resolution were phrased moderately but unequivocally. "My government feels that until the situation has been further clarified, until we have the answers to some of these major questions, we should not do well to consider measures which in fact prejudge them. Such measures, if indeed they were applied, might only result in further crises, with consequences none of us could foretell." It was in many respects a remarkable speech—the British Foreign Office at its best.

The next day, Friday, the Canadian Minister for External Affairs, Lester B. Pearson, offered new arguments against precipitate action. He reminded those who were clamoring for a declaration of aggression that the failure of the League of Nations in the case of Ethiopia, so often mentioned in the debate, was not due to its refusal to name Mussolini an aggressor but to its naming him one and deciding to apply sanctions against him and then not applying them. Mr. Pearson's positive ideas, which he put forward as informal suggestions rather than as a resolution, were very intelligent, but his speech was strewn with contradictions, conscious or not, culminating in the statement that while he disagreed with the United States delegation he would support it.

There is little prospect that the present policy of trying to contain communism everywhere, whether or not the means are available, will be altered through the advice or warning of other members of the Atlantic coalition. The United States is irritated or offended by any sign of opposition. According to an American news agency, the British government actually received a diplomatic warning from Washington on Friday that failure to support the American resolution might have a "catastrophic effect" on public opinion here. If within the Atlantic coalition dissent is considered disloyalty and within the United States itself any criticism is branded pro-Russian and subversive, where is the hope that errors may be stopped or corrected?

The Political Committee adjourned today, Saturday, without taking a vote. Senator Austin, in response to a request from the Canadian and Lebanese delegations for a definite statement on what new authority the American resolution would bestow on the Unified Command, said that the ultimate decision on additional measures would be left exclusively to the General Assembly after the Collective Measures Committee had studied the question and made recommendations. The anxiety felt by many delegations, however, was not allayed. Once Communist China was branded an aggressor and denied admission to the U. N., and the issue of Formosa decided against it, the door to negotiation, they felt, would be practically closed, even though Senator Austin disputed this.

The only way to continue the return to diplomacy begun by Sir Gladwyn Jebb, and the only hopeful strategy to use at this stage of the discussion, would be to give greater scope and precision to the Arab-Asian resolution by incorporating in it Mr. Pearson's constructive proposals and any other amendments which might increase the number of votes it can command. Intelligently modified, the resolution of the twelve nations would still have a chance. Of course if the American resolution is supported by countries like Canada, despite their disapproval, it will be assured of the necessary two-thirds' majority on Monday or Tuesday, or whenever the vote is taken. But if adopted, it will be by the votes of nations that essentially do not like it.

If one looks beyond the accidental features of the debate, one perceives that it has been in effect an expression of lack of confidence in American leadership within the United Nations and of a conviction that diplomacy can do more than headstrong action to maintain the U. N. as an effective instrument of peace. Otherwise

bankruptcy awaits the United Nations, which with all its faults and weaknesses is the single international organization the world possesses. Its future must not be gambled away as if at the roulette tables at Monte Carlo in a mood of irresponsible panic.

Fury and Frustration

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, January 25

TWO years after he assumed office Secretary of State Acheson received from the Senate a double-barreled vote of confidence which in the matter of Far Eastern policy made him more securely than ever the prisoner of his critics. It is a curious irony that this extraordinarily intelligent official, whose aloofness and suavity have irritated Congress perhaps more than his diplomacy, should suddenly find the Senate appearing to approve his every act, yet actually tying his hands and freezing American hostility toward Communist China into so rigid a pattern that there seems little hope of change. It is Senator Knowland's China policy that has gained ground rather than the policy of detaching China from the Kremlin proclaimed by Acheson a year ago.

No one should underestimate the strength of the emotions behind the Senate resolutions calling on the United Nations to brand Communist China as an aggressor and to bar it from U. N. membership. Fury and frustration propelled them to passage. There have been more than 50,000 American casualties in Korea, and the Senators are answerable for them to the people. Ever since last August Moscow has charged in the U. N. that the United States, not the North Koreans and Chinese, was the aggressor in Korea, and the U. N. has refused to make a decision as to the truth of the charge.

None of the old-line isolationists played a principal role in the brief debate on the China resolutions. H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, a Republican who has steadfastly supported Senator Vandenberg, urged the U. N. to "screw up its courage . . . and recognize an obvious aggression" by the Chinese. Wayne Morse of Oregon, internationalist in every instinct, complained that in regard to Great Britain the problem was to determine "whether she is on our side or on the side of Red China." Senators McMahon and Lehman tried to get the prohibition against the admission of Communist China to the U. N. referred to committee, but the Democratic floor leader, Senator McFarland, forced a roll call, and neither Lehman or McMahon felt able to go on record as against the resolution. Both resolutions were passed unanimously after Senator McClelland, their sponsor, had declared: "The day that Communist China is admitted to membership in the United Nations the United States should walk out."

The Senate's action was a clear and unmistakable indorsement of Acheson's position: ever since January 6 our delegates at the U. N. have been trying to force through a denunciation of the Peking government. And just before the vote on the McClelland proposals the Senate gave Acheson another indorsement by burying the Wherry resolution, which sought to bar the movement of American forces to Europe under the North Atlantic Pact. Yet in his news conference the next day Acheson showed no exultation. With the non-Communist world still dangerously split, he seemed acutely aware that the effect of the votes was uncertain.

The plain fact is that the Department of State has no policy regarding what should be done if the U. N. finally condemns the Chinese in accordance with our wishes, though Mr. Acheson and his associates recognize that we must avoid at all costs the deadly trap of full-scale war on the Chinese mainland. President Truman at his news conference today tried to take the edge off the Senate votes by formally renewing assurances that we would avoid "rash and unwise" action and that the question of "what can and should be done" if the Chinese are denounced would be discussed with all "friendly nations." There is no present intention of unleashing General "Rosy" O'Donnell and the atom bomb or of using the undependable troops of Chiang Kai-shek to create what Senator Taft calls a "diversion" against the Chinese Communists.

But neither is there any plan for positive action. Blockade of Chinese ports and an embargo on trade? No one thinks this would be particularly effective, especially since the Western Allies need tungsten and other Chinese materials. A "limited" war, such as Acheson is believed to have urged at the time of the Truman-Attlee conference last December? It is now recognized that the Chinese would possess the initiative and set the limits. The only specific suggestion from our policy-makers has been that a do-nothing program is the worst possible.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, irritated by Nehru's refusal to recognize the moral advance signalized by our readiness to spend American blood for the principles of the U. N., today sidetracked an authorization of American aid to famine-threatened India. Because Nehru's political views are not the same as ours, thousands of India's people may be allowed to die. India could have obtained wheat from Pakistan at less than the price of American wheat, but Pakistan's wheat surplus has now been sold elsewhere, and unless America offers aid, famine in India will become an actuality. Mr. Acheson realizes that any attempt to starve another nation into supporting our position is suicidal, but the mood of Congress is bitter and intractable.

The free world is also divided on the question of German rearmament. When the United States announced its determination to arm the Germans it had not con-

sulted with Britain and France. The result was to frighten the French, to inform the Germans that they could set their price high, and to lend some weight to the subsequent massive Russian propaganda campaign against our program. The Europeans, whose living space would be the battleground in a war between Russia and the United States, were forced to wonder whether rearmament would not be more likely to provoke conflict than to create the "situations of strength" which, according to Acheson, would make negotiation with Russia feasible.

There is no danger today, as there was when McCarthy was attacking the State Department last year, that Acheson may be forced out of office on the basis of charges that he is "soft toward communism." But he faces tremendous difficulties. He must settle the Korean problem, unite the Western world, and re-create a situation in which we can speak effectively to the Asians, including both Nehru and the Chinese Communists. The men with whom Acheson most profoundly disagreed a year ago are now in control of our policy toward Asia.

Equal Among Equals?

BY HOWARD K. SMITH

London, January 28

THE rift between Britain and the United States over Asian policy that burst wide open in the United Nations this week is a real and profound division and not a temporary misunderstanding. And the sharp differences between the two nations are not only apparent in diplomatic circles but strongly manifested in public opinion. To most Americans, no doubt, Mr. Austin's arguments seem irrefutable. Chinese intervention in the Korean war is as clear a case of aggression as was Japanese intervention in China in 1933. To appease the Chinese Communists would only encourage them to overrun other small nations in the Far East in the future.

In Britain, however, most people feel that we have ignored the two big differences between the Chinese action now and the Japanese action in 1933. First, the Japanese were full-fledged members of the League of Nations with every right to state their case and the corresponding duty to respect the League's decisions. The Chinese today, however, are not permitted representation in the United Nations. They are not granted a position of equality with other nations or the right to state their case at all times at the bar of world opinion. It may then be understandable that they have little respect for an organization in which the uninfluential nations of Latin America have 40 per cent of the vote while the Chinese, constituting a quarter of the earth's population, have no vote at all. The British tend to believe that this is the original cause of the whole Asian trouble. It is no good, it is said here, talking of international principles so long as that basic negation of international principle continues.

The other difference between the Chinese and the Japanese actions is this: The Japanese then could hardly argue that they were menaced by the flabby, disunited Chinese state which they attacked. They were not fighting defensively. But the Chinese today can and do argue that they are fighting a defensive-offensive, and their argument is having great influence throughout the free world beyond America. They maintain, and their claim was supported last week in the very respectable *News-Chronicle,* that U. N. policy in Korea is being made, not merely carried out, by General MacArthur, who has in the past stretched U. N. orders beyond recognition to fit his personal ideas. The General allowed South Korean forces to cross the Thirty-eighth Parallel before the U. N. gave permission. He allowed President Syngman Rhee to set up an occupation regime in North Korea against the instructions of the U. N. He launched his home-by-Christmas drive toward the Manchurian border while the U. N. was making plans to halt short of the frontier.

MacArthur's policy is well known. Long before the Korean war it was friendship for Chiang Kai-shek and extreme hostility toward the Peking regime. In America he has become the mouthpiece of the China lobby and other pressure groups whose avowed aim is the violent overthrow of the Communists. The question asked here is: if you saw a man with that amount of power and those purposes approaching your borders, what would you do? Might you not decide to fight him before he got there? Chinese truculence, furthermore, may be all the greater because we are now preparing to rearm the old aggressors next door to Korea, the Japanese.

One need not accept this whole argument in order to agree that the Chinese may have a case that should be heard. Most people outside America believe that the Chinese action may have been provoked by fear, that their motives may be defensive. Until the opposite is proved, Britain and most of Europe are reluctant to take steps which would shut the door on a negotiated settlement. It is felt here that officially stamping China an aggressor might do just that. For once the stigma is officially attached to China, powerful interests in the United States—the China lobby, the Luce magazines, the Hearst papers—would have a plausible argument for refusing to negotiate. The British and most Western nations also balk at talk of further punitive measures against China. This objection was explained by the London *Times* the other day. With MacArthur's practiced ability to stretch the U. N.'s general instructions, the

---

HOWARD K. SMITH, European director of the Columbia Broadcasting System, is a staff contributor of The Nation.

Times' said, this vague proposal might in time be stretched to mean that he could bomb China and start an all-out conflict.

NOW the case I have stated, which is that of other countries besides Britain, adds up to one essential and disturbing fact. Our friends are growing to distrust American leadership. The London *Economist,* whose admiration for the United States is usually unqualified, said in this week's issue, "We must ask Americans to take our word for it that great harm has been done to British confidence in American ability to lead the free world." The basic reasons for this distrust can be set down in order. First, our government has shown amazing volatility and vacillation in making and carrying out policy for the West. Last year, for example, we decided Korea and Formosa could not be defended. By saying so in public, we invited the aggression which was presently launched. Then, overnight, we changed our policy and were ready to defend Korea and Formosa above everything else in the world. This, and many other indications that we do not quite know what our long-term policy is, have made our allies wonder whether we know where we are leading them. Second, no other nation allows military men such power of policy determination as we allow General MacArthur. And since many people outside the United States do not like and do not trust the policy he supports, their uneasiness is increased. Third, no other nation permits so many irresponsible public statements from high places. There were, to cite just a few, Secretary Matthews's advocacy of preventive war, General O'Donnell's atom-bomb statement of last week, the Formosa policy statement of Ernest Gross. The first two were afterward repudiated but in a fashion to further confuse our motives. Fourth, reports from America are giving the impression that the Administration is making policy to appease irresponsible internal criticism rather than to fit the world situation. Thus our friends are afraid to brand China the aggressor, for though the State Department may be restrained and sensible today, criticism from Senator McCarthy might induce it to declare later that the U. N. action ruled out further efforts to end the fighting by negotiation.

Finally, much criticism has been heard about our behavior last week toward the United Nations, especially the resolutions adopted by the House of Representatives and the Senate. The Manchester *Guardian* expressed the general resentment, pointing out that this was the first time any nation had ever been so bold as to give the United Nations outright orders. The London *Economist* wrote, "American policy has taken the shape now of issuing peremptory instructions to the U. N. by Congressional resolution and then flying into a temper when they are not immediately obeyed." Still worse was Senator Connally's statement indicating that America might deprive India of surplus American food because it voted against us. The general feeling was probably best expressed in the *New Statesman and Nation* this week. "The real issue of this week's events," that paper said, "is whether the Western alliance is to be a pact of equals or the suzerainty of one over all the rest." In that statement there is food for much thought.

Pressures and Pictures: I

BY GILBERT SELDES

ON DECEMBER 23, 1950, Edward T. McCaffrey, commissioner of licenses for the city of New York, ordered the Paris Theater to end its presentation of an Italian movie, "The Miracle." With that action began a case more complex than most in the history of civil liberties and in several ways more important than any recent test of the laws that stem from the First Amendment. By the middle of February the New York Board of Regents is expected to decide whether "The Miracle" may continue to be shown. If they decide against the picture, the issue will be taken to the courts, and the interested public will discover that *movies are not protected by the First Amendment.* If the decision is to continue the picture, a powerful organized drive will be undertaken to alter the New York State law in order to subject the Board of Regents to minority pressures. That is the bearing of the case of "The Miracle."

Some of the steps in the case were accompanied by an unusual candor. Mr. McCaffrey, for instance, made the gratuitous announcement that his private sensibilities were involved; he said he found the picture "personally and officially blasphemous." And in calling for a boycott of the picture Cardinal Spellman clearly indicated his feeling that if the Regents resisted pressure, the law under which they operate must be changed. In addition to generalized protests against "minority pressures," direct attacks on the Catholic hierarchy have been made by Protestant ministers, both in-

GILBERT SELDES is the author of "The Seven Lively Arts," "Proclaim Liberty!" and other books.

dividually and in groups. The lines are clearly drawn, and for the most part the issues have been fairly stated. On minor points, however, there have been some peculiar manifestations: pickets have denounced ticket-buyers at the theater for being Communists, pacifists have demonstrated, and a writer to the New York Sunday *Times* achieved an almost impossible combination of cross-eyed logic and sound political strategy in this statement: "I say continuing this picture is rule by the minority, because where do you have an organized group who approve it that is as large as the group that objects?" I suggest that every candidate for office hereafter should be required to parse this sentence and make public his reply.

Two legal problems have already come up. "The Miracle" was restored to the screen of the Paris Theater because the courts doubted the right of an official who *licenses theaters* to withdraw a license when the theater was showing *pictures licensed* for exhibition by the state authority, and this purely jurisdictional dispute is temporarily ended. The second point is more complicated. Pictures are approved by the Motion Picture Division of the state Board of Education; if a license is refused, the interested party may appeal for a review. But there is grave doubt whether an appeal can be made for the revocation of a license, and lawyers who have studied Section 125 of the education law, which is central on this point, are convinced that it refers only to permits for special films, including scientific and educational ones; such permits are revocable if action is taken by the director of the Motion Picture Division. But there seems to be no provision for reviewing a favorable decision on an ordinary entertainment film.

Nevertheless, the Board of Regents has ordered a review. No evidence is given that the Motion Picture Division initiated the action, but after Cardinal Spellman's denunciation of "The Miracle" "hundreds of letters" were received by the Regents, and a committee of three was appointed to look at the picture and make a report. On January 19 the Chancellor of the board announced the unanimous opinion of this committee that "the picture is sacrilegious" and set January 30 for a hearing at which the distributor, Joseph Burstyn, must show cause why the license—which had actually been given twice—should not be revoked. Appointed to hear the case were the same three men whose judgment has been quoted. One of them, Jacob L. Holtzmann, issued a statement. He said that "the Board of Regents has not characterized 'The Miracle' as sacrilegious, nor has it made a determination that it has the power to rescind the action of the Motion Picture Division in issuing the license." This is technically true, since the board as a whole has not acted.

The board has, however, opened the way for any group of "several hundred people" to threaten the security of any movie distributor. Unless it accomplishes an exceptional feat of self-denial and declares itself without power to reverse its own decisions, the area in which pressure groups can work will have been enormously extended. The board has invited discussion of this point, but the critical question is whether it had any power to appoint the committee of review in the first place.

WITH this we move out of the area of law into the ill-defined and treacherous area of pressure; occasional candor of utterance gives way to the obscurity of triple negatives, and the overtones of the words used are a joy to the amateur semanticist. What the picture actually is becomes less important than what people think it is, and those who have seen the picture are less influential than those who have been simultaneously directed not to see it but to protest against it.

Under a still from "The Miracle" *Life* ran the caption: "A demented goat girl lies rolling in a drunken ecstasy of love for a vagabond she believes is a saint come to visit her." In *The Nation* Manny Farber called the girl "a talkative idiot"; Cardinal Spellman spoke of the "seduction of an idiotic Italian woman"; and Roberto Rossellini, who made the picture, pleading with the Cardinal for a more sympathetic attitude, wrote that "the 'Miracle' occurs when with the birth of the child the poor demented woman regains sanity in her maternal love."

I do not say that these descriptions are wide of the mark; but the image of slobbering sexuality they call up simply does not appear in the picture. Nor does the image of the transfigured mother. It is only because she imagines that she is seeing and hearing a saint that the girl is presented as abnormal; when she meets a bearded stranger right out of an indifferent Renaissance painting, she babbles and accepts the wine he silently offers her; she becomes heavy and languorous with desire. After she has borne her child she murmurs a few words of maternal love. There is nothing hideous in her "idiocy," nothing orgiastic in her "ecstasy," nothing of "sanity regained" in her motherhood. The director, his enthusiastic critics, and his enemies have all created a figure in our minds that does not exist on the screen.

This does not mean that the picture is inoffensive to Catholics. It may even be offensive to others. But according to the present law, a picture must be licensed unless it offends in a specific way, by being "obscene, indecent, immoral, inhuman, sacrilegious, or of such a character that its exhibition would tend to corrupt morals or incite to crime." To be sacrilegious, the picture must hold religion up to contempt; the law does not say that a picture must be respectful to all the tenets of any single sect or church—it must respect religion. There are citizens of the United States to whom the presentation of Jesus as the son of God must seem blasphemous, but they have

not protested against the showing of "The King of Kings." And one would not have to be a Christian to be offended by a parody of the Mass. It is, in fact, as a grotesque and tasteless parody of the story of Christ's birth that "The Miracle" is being attacked largely by people who have not seen it. One cannot quarrel with their right to think they might be offended if they did see it.

There is, however, a long step between being offended by a picture and taking drastic action to prevent it being seen by those whom it does not offend. That step is urged upon Catholics by Cardinal Spellman and upon Jews by several organizations in the case of "Oliver Twist"—with the additional reason that this picture may excite anti-Semitic feeling. We have to face the fact that not only in the field of mass communication but even in regard to all expression of opinion a great many people are ready to curtail freedom, sometimes to protect their special interests, sometimes to withdraw protection from their enemies. The atmosphere is peculiarly favorable to political dickering that will end in a compromise of principle.

In a following article I will discuss the forms and the limits of pressure. For the moment I note that something like a limit was reached last week when the New York Film Critics canceled plans to present their citations for the best film work of the year at the Radio City Music Hall. They had voted "Ways of Love," of which "The Miracle" is a part, the best foreign film. "It was intimated" that the presentation "would be regarded as an offense to Cardinal Spellman and to persons of the Catholic faith . . . and it was strongly suggested that it might provoke unpleasant demonstrations at the Music Hall and a call for boycott of the theater by the Cardinal." Apparently unwilling to accept these intimations which are so close to intimidations, Howard Barnes of the *Herald Tribune* made inquiries and got the impression that they were baseless. He was soon corrected. The chancellor of the archdiocese wrote to the managing director of Rockefeller Center stating "unequivocally" that Mr. Barnes's impression that "you would not incur the disfavor of the Catholic church and that you would not offend His Eminence is absolutely false."

It should not escape notice that the original "intimation" came from Martin Quigley, with whom the idea of the Production Code also originated.

How to Control Prices

BY H. GORDON HAYES

THERE is general agreement that the price rise must be checked. Although some form of administrative control is to be applied, this will not solve the problem. It will, moreover, reduce the elasticity which is so necessary for the proper functioning of our economic system and call for a large number of enforcement officials whose services might more properly be used elsewhere. Even with their best efforts, enforcement will be very difficult. Our general philosophy of every man for himself is antagonistic to such control except in a dire emergency.

A preferable plan in a limited emergency like the present is to control prices by taxation. We are, it seems, planning to shift some $30 billion worth of additional labor services and materials per year from peace-time to military and other defense purposes. This is only about 10 per cent of our gross national product; added to the amount that we have been devoting to these purposes, it would bring the total to less than 20 per cent of our gross product. In comparison with the approximately 50 per cent devoted to war purposes in 1944, the proportion is small enough to permit us to keep prices down by levying taxes and imposing only supplementary controls.

Some inflation cannot be avoided. Scare buying, as during the past several months, by firms and well-to-do consumers cannot be prevented; selfishness will out. Merely by the use of credit and the more prompt use of checking accounts such buyers can push prices up in an emergency. Even when storerooms, basements, and lockers are filled, we must still look to our prices.

The transfer of $30 billion worth of labor service and materials from their present peace-time use to military purposes is our basic economic problem. In 1940 and 1941 the principal problem was to absorb unemployed personnel and equipment in the production of both civilian and military goods and services. By doing that we could, and did, produce more of both guns and butter. But now, with practically no unemployment or idle equipment, we must cut down consumption if we are to produce the needed guns and train men to use them. A continuing increase in efficiency will help, but our additional military effort will largely depend on our

---

H. GORDON HAYES is professor of economics at Ohio State University and the author of "Spending, Saving, and Employment." This is the third article of a series on the controls required in a rearmament economy.

curtailment of civilian goods and services. It is a case of either-or.

Some items in the non-military budget of the federal government may be reduced and the released money and labor applied to the military. Indeed, we should always be alert to the possibility that government funds are being spent for service that is little needed. Private expenditures may likewise be used for purposes that are of little use, and some even to pay for services that are positively harmful. Our aim, of course, should be to direct our effort to those ends that are most largely in the public interest, whether the expenditures be made by the government or by individuals and firms. Slashing government expenditures may be very unwise. At any rate, not enough could be saved from the $25 billion civilian budget to affect appreciably a $45 billion defense budget.

The government would be able to shift labor and materials to war work by creating new money and bidding against producers of civilian goods. But such additional money, together with the corresponding decrease in the amount of goods and services for sale to consumers, would push prices toward the roof. Obviously, therefore, new money should not be created. And it needs to be emphasized that borrowing at the banks means that an equivalent amount of money is added to the money stream.

The term "borrowing from the bank" confuses us. It implies that the money is simply transferred. Even the banks, we seem to think, can lend only the money that others have deposited. But that is far from true. The government gives bonds, or other of its securities, to the banks, and the bankers dip their pens in their inkwells and mark up a deposit for the government. This is new check-book money and is just as much an addition to the nation's supply of money as an equivalent amount of greenbacks. From June, 1940, to December, 1945, by borrowing from the banks we increased our total supply of money as measured by the Federal Reserve from $67 billion to $175 billion.

THE way to turn to military production and prevent prices from rising is, as I said, very simple. We merely have to give up enough money in taxes so that our demand for civilian goods will fall as the demand of the government for military goods increases. This will create unemployment in the one field and absorb it in the other. The supply of money left in the hands of consumers and business firms will be sufficient, but no more than sufficient, to buy the available civilian goods and services at current prices. Some persons would complain about this, as they are complaining now about the current mild increase in taxes. But financing additional military expenditures by creating new money instead of levying additional taxes would not result in more civilian goods and services but merely in higher prices for those that are available.

We should get the money needed to keep the budget in balance from income taxes on persons and corporations. The rates on personal income should be raised and the exemptions lowered as the need is manifested in relation to what the corporate tax can properly be made to yield. The taxation of corporations raises difficult problems. Heavy taxes may impede the corporations in the important service of building bigger and better plants. Without such improvements we cannot continue to experience the marked yearly increase of per capita output which has made possible the spectacular rise in our scale of living. Where to draw the line in respect to this matter calls for serious consideration. This point applies, obviously, both to what we call the corporate income tax and to the tax on excess profits.*

A national sales or manufacturers' excise tax is perhaps necessary if enough money is to be taken from consumers to keep prices down. A big danger is that such a tax, once enacted, could not easily be repealed. But dangers of one sort or another must be faced. By exempting food and food products an undue burden on the low-income groups, the most undesirable feature of a sales tax, would be avoided.

LAST year, during the five months May to September, inclusive, loans at all the banks in the United States increased by almost $6 billion. This was offset by a sale of about $2.4 billion in securities by the banks. Deposits increased by the difference, and this, with a shift of some time deposits to demand deposits, raised active checking accounts by $3.8 billion during these five months. In the same period of the year before, loans increased by only $820 million. The effect of this increase in check-book money last summer was augmented by a more rapid turnover of checking accounts. The Federal Reserve reports a turnover in New York City of 29.7 in April and 34.2 in September. For other leading cities the corresponding figures are 19.4 and 21.5. Total bank debits at "all reporting centers" amounted to $102.5 billion in April and $123.3 billion in September, or almost $21 billion more in September than in April, although checking accounts were only $3.8 billion higher in the one month than in the other. Here was a large part of the fuel for the price rise during the summer.

It must be noted, however, that newly created funds derived from business borrowing at the banks may be used to increase the output of goods for sale and in that case will not cause a price rise. But if such borrowing provides funds for the production of war goods to be delivered sometime later, an inflationary pressure will

*The excess-profits tax was discussed at greater length by Charles E. Noyes in *The Nation* of January 13.

be created even though the government pays for the goods with tax funds. This indicates the desirability of collecting taxes before the funds are to be used. An accumulation of cash balances by the government is definitely anti-inflationary. Nothing can be more anti-inflationary except the use of such balances to buy government bonds from the banks, for the bonds may be used by the banks as a reserve for an expansion of check-book money.

An important part of our program must be the restriction of additional net borrowing by business. The Federal Reserve Board has already taken steps to achieve this by raising the rates at which member banks can borrow at the Federal Reserve banks. It can also raise the reserve requirements, having still a little leeway here. The effectiveness of these two devices is offset somewhat by the fact that they spur the banks to increase loans in order to compensate for the higher costs forced upon them. Nevertheless, such action by the Federal Reserve indicates to the member banks that credit should be restricted in the public interest, and even if they are not amenable to this call to duty, they are induced to be more cautious by fear that the authorities may impose further restrictions.

The Federal Reserve Board may also sell bonds and other securities to the member banks and thus reduce the volume of the members' balances (reserves), thereby lessening their ability to extend loans and create new money. If the member banks in turn sold bonds to their depositors, this would directly reduce the volume of check-book money. The board should, obviously, follow this policy as the need arises.

THE effort of the Federal Reserve Board to check inflationary pressure by increasing interest rates is rendered difficult by the policy of supporting the price of government securities at par. For as the rates of interest rise, the prices of securities fall. Perhaps we need to abandon the par-support policy and permit some five points' variation up or down. The extra burden laid on the Treasury by an increase in the rates paid on new issues given in exchange for those that mature may be very small as compared with the extra cost of government purchases caused by a rise in prices—not to mention the cost to the general public. Wise policy, it seems, calls for a freer application of the anti-inflationary device of stiffer rates of interest.

The curtailment of consumer buying by tightening the terms of payment for houses and durable goods bought on credit has been, and will continue to be, anti-inflationary. The total outstanding short-term consumer debt, including purchases on instalment and on open charge accounts and loans for consumer purchases, increased from $18.6 billion in April to $21.45 billion in September. If we add to this $4 billion to cover the new mortgages on houses, we find that the low-income groups spent a total of some $7 billion on goods which they could not pay for in cash during this five-month period. The curtailment of consumer buying on credit will help us to transfer our economic effort from civilian to military uses. It is unfortunate that this throws an appreciable burden on the poorer groups by depriving them of goods they might otherwise enjoy, but since the poor suffer more than others from sharply rising prices, they may find it less onerous to forgo some extras than to have the prices of necessities mount. Whether restriction on credit purchases should be further increased or relaxed will depend on events.

Despite the use of these various devices we shall still face the problem of bottlenecks. Certain strategic materials have been in such short supply relative to our military and consumer needs that their prices have risen inordinately. Such materials must be subject to allocation by government direction; the steps already taken in respect to a few items are commendable. Price controls on such materials may also have to be applied. In the case of farm products we should stand ready to sell supplies in the hands of the government as soon as prices rise above the support prices, or abandon the price-support plan while the inflationary trend continues.

A SERIOUS impediment to the program I have outlined, with its heavy taxation and restrictions, is that the organs of opinion—the newspapers, magazines, radio, and television—are largely owned and directed by persons who have opposed the national administration for almost twenty years. During all this time the principal opposition theme has been that the "tax spenders" in Washington are greedy and inefficient bureaucrats who constantly seek to extend their power by applying more controls. Although these critics have not been very successful in winning elections, they have undoubtedly influenced large groups of our leading citizens. The effect of their efforts has been to lessen the respect for our national government and to make it more difficult to carry through such a program as is now needed.

If we can overcome this handicap and follow rigorously a program of keeping the budget in balance and using supplementary devices like those already instituted, we should be able to prevent run-away prices without direct price controls—except for certain strategic materials. We should thereby maintain the elasticity of our price system and escape the distress, irritation, and expenditure of labor that accompany rationing and price control. Such good fortune would mean also that we should not need to control wages, otherwise than by general public disapproval of demands for increases beyond productivity gains. If we must impose direct controls on all commodity prices, there appears to be no escape from similar controls over wages.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Snyder's Costly Victory

SECRETARY of the Treasury John W. Snyder has claimed a knock-out victory in his battle with the Federal Reserve Board, about which I wrote on October 21 last. In a speech at a luncheon meeting of the New York Board of Trade on January 19 he hit hard at the Reserve Board's efforts to check credit expansion by stiffening short-term interest rates, saying: "The Treasury is convinced that there is no tangible evidence that a policy of credit rationing by means of small increases in the interest rates on government-borrowed funds has had a real or genuine effect in cutting down the volume of private borrowing and in retarding inflationary pressures. The delusion that fractional changes in interest rates can be effective in fighting inflation must be dispelled from our minds."

Earlier in his speech, rejecting suggestions for a new long-term 3 per cent government bond, Mr. Snyder declared that the present 2½ per cent rate was "fair and equitable" and that any attempt to increase it would seriously upset security markets. "The Treasury Department has concluded," he went on, "after a joint conference with President Truman and Chairman McCabe of the Federal Reserve Board, that the refunding and new money issues will be financed within the pattern of that rate."

It would appear, then, that thanks to the backing of his old Missouri friend, Harry S. Truman, Mr. Snyder has forced the Federal Reserve Board to capitulate. Henceforth, compelled to give priority to the maintenance of cheap money, the board will have to fight credit inflation with one arm tied.

In the light of this development the increase in member banks' required reserves, announced by the board on December 29, appears to be a rather futile gesture. Almost immediately after taking this step, the Open Market Committee of the Federal Reserve System, no doubt under pressure from the Treasury, "pegged" government-security prices, that is to say, placed unlimited buying orders at just below the market. This provided the banks with an easy method of increasing their legal reserves without intrenching on their loanable funds. All they had to do was to sell some of their government securities, knowing that if insufficient private buyers appeared, the Federal Reserve would accept all offers at a fixed price. As the January *Letter* of the National City Bank of New York puts it, "By and large, the whole of the operation—increasing cash reserve requirements with one hand and supplying cash with the other—is self-defeating. There is no escape from the principle stated by Governor Eccles a year ago: 'In making a cheap money market for the Treasury, we cannot avoid making it cheap for everybody. All monetary and credit restraints are gone under such conditions; the Federal Reserve becomes simply an engine of inflation.' "

The increase in legal reserves becomes fully effective on February 1, by which date the 6,900 member banks of the Reserve System must find roughly two billion dollas to place on deposit with the Federal Reserve banks. We shall not know for some time full details of the arrangements they are making to meet this obligation. However, condition statements of member banks in ninety-four leading cities for the three weeks ending January 17 illustrate the point made in the National City Bank's *Letter*. They show bank sales in this period of $1,038,000,000 in government issues offset to the extent of $461,000,000 by increases in reserve banks' holdings of such securities. Moreover, while total lending by this major group of banks has declined, chiefly because of repayments of brokers' loans, borrowing by industrial, commercial, and agricultural undertakings has continued to climb.

We are told that the Treasury is hoping to "demonetize" the national debt—that is to say, to shift a large part of it from the banks to other investors. "Pegging" the market helps to forward this end by providing guaranties against loss of principal. But what is the worth of assurances that his government securities will not be allowed to fall below par to an investor who is worrying about the purchasing power of his capital?

The fact is that unless the forward march of prices is halted, Mr. Snyder is going to find it increasingly difficult to persuade either institutional or private investors, except those whose portfolios are restricted by law, to buy government securities, and willy-nilly he will be forced to depend on borrowing from the banks. But since such borrowing adds to the total money supply it must give a fresh fillip to inflation.

Ceilings or no ceilings, it is going to prove impossible to keep prices down as long as business men have as easy access to credit as at present. It will be necessary, therefore, now that the Treasury has spiked the Federal Reserve Board's plans to curtail the volume of loanable funds by normal methods, to fall back on direct credit controls. Unfortunately, the board has few legal bolts left in its locker, and the legislative forging of new ones takes time. However, Congress should give early consideration to Mr. Eccles's proposal that all commercial banks, whether members of the Reserve system or not, should be required to hold an "adequate percentage" of their deposits in a special reserve composed of either government securities or cash. That idea will horrify bankers, but unless some such step is taken, it is hard to see how the Federal Reserve can meet its legal responsibility for the regulation of credit.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Tito's Rebellion

TITO AND GOLIATH. By Hamilton Fish Armstrong. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

MR. ARMSTRONG, the editor of *Foreign Affairs*, who literally knew Yugoslavia before it was born, has now turned his attention to the most significant development in the Communist world since Stalin came to power in the U. S. S. R.—Tito's rebellion. Tito has recently been accessible to Western journalists and has been the subject of many articles and books. But *this* book is not just another pot-boiler on the Balkans; the author has not contented himself with the mere reporting of interviews with Tito, although he did have a most enlightening one as recently as spring, 1950. Mr. Armstrong has analyzed the documents which reveal the origin of the break, and has read and understood the polemic which has followed it. Back in 1936 Bukharin told Mr. Armstrong that conflict between Communist states was by definition impossible. Now that the impossible has occurred, it has found in Mr. Armstrong the ideal chronicler and analyst, qualified by years of study, by a judicial temperament, and by modest common sense.

The first portion of the book deals with Yugoslavia proper, briefly describing Tito's career as a guerrilla leader during the war, his successive triumphs over Mihailovich and King Peter, and his transformation of the partisan movement into a national government. Mr. Armstrong then moves on to examine the origin and course of the quarrel with Stalin. It is clear that the Cominform expelled Tito not because he had lagged behind in "socializing" the Yugoslav state—indeed he was and is far "ahead" of the other East European satellites in this respect—and not because he was a Menshevik or a Trotskyite or a Bakuninist or any other kind of deviationist, although he was accused of being all these things at once, but because he was determined to resist Soviet penetration of the Yugoslav secret police and military intelligence service, and to thwart Soviet plans to exploit Yugoslavia for purely Russian military, economic, and political purposes. Though a devoted Stalinist and a trusted and successful party leader, Tito was unwilling to accept Stalin's dictation and give up his own plans for industrialization and his control over the machinery of the party and the state. He was able to secede from the Soviet empire partly because of Yugoslavia's geographic position, partly because there were no Soviet troops in the country—Yugoslavia having been an ally during World War II—and partly because he had himself built the Yugoslav Communist Party, which was by and large loyal to him first. Even after he decided to resist Soviet pressure, Tito pursued the plans for the formation of a Balkan federation which Stalin had once appeared to bless.

The second portion of the book deals, country by country, with Titoism (Communist discontent wtih Soviet policies) as it has manifested itself in the other East European satellites. Here the Russians have until now succeeded in repressing it, as was demonstrated by the trial and execution of Rajk in Hungary, of Kostov in Bulgaria, and of Xoxe in Albania, and by the disgrace of Gomulka in Poland, of Clementis in Czechoslovakia, and of Patrascanu in Rumania. The presence of Soviet troops in these countries and the penetration of Soviet influences into the national armies have so far proved decisive. Perhaps Mr. Armstrong overrates the importance of the Titoite heresy in Eastern Europe, where it may well have run its course. Except perhaps for Albania, least important of all the countries, which might conceivably be detached from the Soviet bloc, we probably cannot expect rebellious sentiment to manifest itself in Eastern Europe until the Russians are defeated somewhere in the world. If such a defeat should occur, and if the populations of the satellites should have an opportunity to make their voices heard, the probability seems high that they would reject all forms of communism, Titoism included, in favor of some purely indigenous regime.

In the Far East, in the West European Communist parties, and among fellow-travelers Tito's action has also had its effects, but this is not as yet fully determined. By embroiling the Chinese Communists with the West, Stalin has apparently succeeded in making them dependent on Moscow for the present, although Mao will almost inevitably be tempted to assert himself sometime in the future. While some notable figures in the Western parties and among fellow-travelers have become outspoken admirers of Tito—Mr. Armstrong calls them "Zilliaci," a beautiful Latin plural for a singular Finn—no major party split appears to have taken place on the issue. Surely Mr. Armstrong is justified, however, in affirming that the international Communist movement has suffered serious injury.

Finally, Mr. Armstrong supports our present policies with regard to Tito and gives the State Department great credit, which in my opinion it deserves, for perceiving the value of the quarrel to the West and for realizing that it is not advisable to press Tito with regard to his domestic policies. The decentralization of Yugoslav industry, dictated as much by economic crisis as by political considerations, the removal of a few special privileges from members of the party hierarchy, and certain other tendencies at work in the regime may conceivably be signs of a liberalizing trend. At any rate, as Armstrong says, "here is a Communist country with doors open to visitors."

Despite its great merits this book arouses one major doubt. The entire subject is so complex and requires so much background, which the author has but which many of his readers will presumably lack, that one wonders whether the general public will follow the tortuous thread. There is nothing here on Yugoslav history before the Second World War, nothing on the background of national rivalries and of territorial and other issues in the Balkans, no map to show national boundaries, much less

the location of the provinces of Kosovo, northern Bukovina, southern Dobrudja, and the like, all freely referred to as if everyone knew where they are. Though written in an easy popular style, Mr. Armstrong's book may be primarily one for the specialist.

Some minor points remain: it seems to me that Mr. Armstrong is too gentle (pp. 22 ff.) with Mihailovich, although he rightly maintains that we may well have contributed to the General's failings. However much the Western Allies may share the blame, is it not true that Mihailovich passively and his subordinate commanders actively collaborated with the enemy? Mr. Armstrong does not mention post-war German testimony to the fact that the Germans used Mihailovich. He also seems not to know the Hungarian government publication on the Rajk trial ("Laszlo Rajk and his Accomplices Before the People's Court," Budapest, 1949), the full text of which is a tissue of the clumsiest fabrications, full of internal contradictions. Probably Sreten Zhuyovich, one of the two presumed Soviet agents in the former Yugoslav Politburo, was released after Mr. Armstrong's book had gone to press. At any rate Zhuyovich is now out of jail and professes to be a convert to Tito's position. On page 134 Hugh Seton-Watson's book on Eastern Europe is attributed to his father, R. W. Seton-Watson. And on page 22 Siberia appears where Serbia should be, surely not a wishful thought. But these are not important criticisms. This is an excellent book.

ROBERT LEE WOLFF

Hitler as Strategist

HITLER DIRECTS HIS WAR. The Secret Records of His Daily Military Conferences. Selected and Annotated by Felix Gilbert. Oxford University Press. $3.25.

NEARLY six years have passed since Hitler's suicide and the end of the European phase of the Second World War. Eyewitnesses and participants have poured out their stories in interviews and memoirs, and literally tons of documents have been dredged up from the wreckage of the defeat. Yet the phenomenon of Nazism remains incrusted with problems. Just as fascism in its broadest aspects awaits a complete and balanced philosophical treatment, so Hitler himself is still without an adequate biography. Even on the narrower question of Hitler's military talents, the authorities are at variance. Most of the testimony—particularly that of the surviving German generals—reduces the Führer to the role of a gifted amateur, whose "intuitive" decisions, adhered to with a stubbornness approaching mania, brought the Axis to military ruin. Less numerous but perhaps more impartial observers have found surprising confirmation for the propagandists' claim that Hitler was a military "genius." To this question Professor Gilbert's book provides a very nearly conclusive answer. And on the broader problems of the Führer's own personality and the character of fascist leadership in general, it opens up new and rewarding perspectives.

"Hitler Directs His War" represents a selection from the stenographic record of Hitler's daily conferences with his military advisers. Recovered only in charred fragments, the record was pieced together and reconstructed by a team of counter-intelligence men led by George Allen, who explains the procedure in the foreword to the present book. The result totaled about 800 typed pages—out of a document originally running to more than 200,000. From this, Professor Gilbert selected the passages which form the core of his book, concentrating on those which combined historical interest with sufficient clarity and continuity to be intelligible to the average reader.

The responsibility of the editor was hence far greater than in the average job of documentary publication. And Professor Gilbert has admirably carried out this assignment. Besides providing a lucid and illuminating introduction, he has filled out the fragmentary record at his disposal by drawing on a wide variety of war histories and memoirs. With such devices as a brief dramatis personae at the beginning of the book, an explanatory paragraph or two setting the stage for each conference, and a series of running comments in the footnotes, he has made it easy for the reader to follow the thread of the discussion. The result combines rigorous scholarship with a high dramatic value. From these tense, frequently disjointed conferences there emerges an overpowering impression of actuality. The personalities—particularly Hitler's own—stand out sharply. Fortunately the surviving parts of the record give us the Führer's private reaction to three of his worst misfortunes—the surrender at Stalingrad, the collapse of Italy, and the bomb explosion of July 20, 1944.

We learn many things about the war of which we were not sure before: that the collapse of Italy, by necessitating a reshuffling of SS-Panzer divisions, ac-

FREE EXAMINATION OFFER
on the famous Manchester Guardian



"The *Guardian* is far more important than its circulation indicates . . . It is known and read throughout the world." (*N. Y. Times.*) "Unquestionably, one of the world's half-dozen great newspapers." (*Time Magazine.*)

YOU ARE INVITED to read the next four issues of the *Manchester Guardian*, weekly air edition, at our risk. This famous publication brings you a fresh viewpoint on British and international affairs—especially on the confusing questions of Korea, East vs. West, and the internal situation in England today. The *Guardian* is fearless, honest, liberal. It will stimulate your thinking as it does for the great opinion makers throughout the world who read it regularly. Accept this Free Examination Offer by mailing the coupon with your payment today. Money back if not delighted. *Manchester Guardian*, 53 East 51st Street, New York 22.

MAIL COUPON FOR SPECIAL FREE OFFER

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN N 4
53 East 51st Street, New York 22, N. Y.

Please enter my subscription to the *Manchester Guardian*, Weekly Air Edition, as checked below. If not satisfied after seeing the first four issues, I may cancel and get a full refund. My payment is enclosed.

New, Low Rates

☐ 1 year, $6.50 ☐ 20 weeks, $3

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

tually reduced to some extent the pressure on the Russian front; that Hitler believed the Anglo-American landing in Normandy would come in February or March rather than in June; that he distrusted the Japanese and respected the British; and that his conviction that Germany would emerge intact from its defeats remained unshaken up to six weeks before the final surrender—when the record abruptly breaks off. This conviction was based on the presumed inevitability of a rupture between the Soviet Union and the Western Allies. In Hitler's phrase, "All of the coalitions have disintegrated in history sooner or later." Today, after six years of a slow but inexorable reversal of alliances, such a theory does not sound quite so fantastic as in the last phases of the battle for Germany.

The picture that gradually forms itself of Hitler as a strategist represents a compromise between the two conflicting evaluations of his talent. In this record there are no tantrums and comparatively few monologues. Most of the time Hitler appears to reach his decisions after considerable discussion and on the basis of rational considerations. He is good on very large or on very small questions: his weakness lies in the professional, "operational" area in between. Thus, as the editor points out, perhaps his greatest strength is his appreciation of the psychological element in warfare—as regards both the civilian population and the ordinary soldier. It may be amusing to hear him lecture his generals on his experiences as a corporal in the First World War—but, in psychological terms, he is usually right. The same is true of his insistence that any effort to minimize air-raid damage will only infuriate the inhabitants of bombed-out areas. Nevertheless, as the war draws toward its close, Hitler begins to bog down in details. He haggles over every gun sent out as a replacement, and he argues at length with Goering as to whether desk officers drafted into the *Volkssturm* should be reduced in rank. At the very end the Führer's military vision appears to be badly out of focus.

Similarly, as we read on, the picture of Hitler the man begins to predominate over that of Hitler the strategist. His personal aberrations emerge with glaring clarity. A simple lack of education betrays itself in his primitive notions about the United States: his economic and social evaluation sounds like a parody on the views of a right-wing Republican, and his knowledge of agrarian conditions appears to derive practically entirely from the film "The Grapes of Wrath." Other passages could serve as textbook examples for a study of abnormal psychology. He dwells at length on the "unpleasant feeling" of confronting a flame-thrower. Infuriated by the decision of Field Marshal Paulus, the commander at Stalingrad, to surrender rather than commit suicide, he brings up three different times the story of an unidentified woman—"such a beautiful woman . . . first class"—who had the courage "to shoot herself right away just because she heard a few insulting remarks." The translation—which is admirably colloquial—may not convey completely what Professor Gilbert calls "a penetrating and pervading . . . impression of vulgarity," but it conveys enough. All this forms a most valuable addition to our understanding of the baffling and all-important problem of leadership in the fascist state.

H. STUART HUGHES

A Universal Fable

THE PENCIL OF GOD. By Pierre Marcelin and Philippe Thoby-Marcelin. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.50.

ALTHOUGH "The Pencil of God" fairly dazzles the reader with local color and is, clearly, a work of documentary importance, the brothers Marcelin, instead of exploiting their treasure for extra-literary purposes, have used it to create fiction. Their book is so very good because it is at once a universal fable and a skilful realization of the fictional possibilities of astonishing particulars. Leaders in the revolt of Haitian writers against the intellectual hegemony of France and the United States in the island, they have gone straight to native life—that is, to the life of the 90 per cent of the population which has not been Europeanized—for their material. This is the engrossing tale of the undoing of Diogène Cyprien, a mulatto Everyman, whose sexual appetite brings him—through no very great fault of his own—to domestic cataclysm, Voodoo, and ruin.

His story is told as a folk tale, a form which as practiced nowadays is likely to lead to whimsy and coyness and to leave the reader with a sense of the author's superiority to his material. These pitfalls the Marcelins have avoided. Nor do they propound any kind of neo-primitivism. Quite unpretentiously they stick to their facts; at least they make them sound like the facts, which is all that matters. What happens to Diogène is not tragedy, because, since he is Everyman, tragedy cannot befall him. Some of it is even very funny. His is only an imperfectly illuminated soul, but in portraying its eclipse his creators are neither sentimental nor patronizing.

Throughout the novel we are always in two worlds: in one, which is ours as well as Diogène's, human beings suffer and ordinary human folly is likely to reap the whirlwind; in the other, supernatural and capricious powers may be invoked by the initiate for the destruction of his enemies, guilty and guiltless. In this second world, so skilfully evoked that the goings-on in it seem perfectly natural, events unfold according to an irrevocable logic: "But look, Diogène," his sensible uncle admonishes the hero during one of the numerous crises which beset him, ". . . you're already linked up with this spirit from the dead and there's no way for you to wiggle out of your agreement with it. Whether it all happened in a dream or not is beside the point." Or, as a Voodoo initiate reasons, ". . . one never knows what a magician is apt to do next." Yet the worlds overlap; this is a logic which we also discern in events, although, eschewing magic, we define it with clichés: "the way things happen," "the irony of fate," "poetic justice."

As Edmund Wilson points out in his excellent introduction—a shortened version of it was printed in *The Nation* of October 14, 1950—Voodoo involves a set of practices and beliefs "quite primitive and at the same time fantastically elaborate," which, until recently, Haitian writers scorned as unworthy their attention. (The Marcelins' interest in it was apparently first aroused, not by their observation of the life around them, but by reading William Seabrook's "The Magic Island.") In "The Pencil of

God" it is observed with ironic detachment. The misfortunes and vicissitudes of Diogène Cyprien are likely to happen to any man who incurs the displeasure of his neighbors and, subsequently, of the spirits. But they are also likely to happen to Everyman similarly situated in a dissimilar culture. Diogène's notion of man's life as something at the disposal of capricious powers whose final purposes are a mystery is hardly alien to us:

He [Diogène] was loath to goad Fate into a sudden decision, one which conceivably could go contrary to his wishes, and which, most assuredly, would be beyond all appeal, for, as he was fond of repeating, "The pencil of God has no eraser."

The ironic detachment which distinguishes the writing can be briefly illuminated by reference to an early minor episode. To the curé, an importation from France, it is clear that Diogène's seduction of the Negress, Lourdes, the madness of his wife, and the subsequent round of quarrels in which these events embroil him are the result of bewitchment by one of the Voodoo deities, a Baron Samedi, whose grave, "surmounted by a large black cross" and sheltered by a fig tree, is directly in front of Lourdes's cottage:

That very afternoon, after vespers, having assembled the fanatical brigade of Saint Michael, he proceeded to the crossroads in his surplice, where he went through the ritual of exorcism and had the grave and the cross destroyed. He would have leveled the fig tree as well if the mayor hadn't protested, claiming that Toussaint L'Ouverture had once rested in its shade.

The Marcelins have created excellent fiction out of material which at first glance seems so bizarre, so specialized, that any imaginative use of it might easily involve diluting the facts or, worse, sacrificing the fiction to them. The facts do not seem to have been diluted; on one level "The Pencil of God" reads like a sober and reliable account of possession. Yet anthropological speculation never intrudes on the fiction. And this perfectly realized world, in which life goes on, richly and profusely, yet marked always with an almost Hardyesque sense of the fatality which governs even the slightest events, is as relevant to us as to Diogène, just as his folly, his anxiety, and his guilt are ours.

ERNEST JONES

Books in Brief

THE GREAT ILLUSION. An informal History of Prohibition. By Herbert Asbury. Doubleday. $4. Mr. Asbury has written an entertaining account of American drinking habits and temperance movements from the late eighteenth century to the present. Most space is given to the prohibition era, and the details of that nightmare are sharply revived. Even those of us who lived through it can hardly believe that events which we then took with a shrug of the shoulders can really have happened. Probably nothing else—not even our most destructive wars—ever came quite so close to destroying American civilization. Mr. Asbury obviously realizes that fact, but unlike some chroniclers he resists the temptation to paint a flattering picture of the liquor trade, either before or since. That trade, he thinks, learned nothing and may even inspire another noble experiment.

AMERICAN PAINTING. By Virgil Barker. Macmillan. $12.50. From the nine-page table of contents and the exhaustive bibliographies one gets the initial impression that this two-pound book will be as unreadable as it looks indispensable. Barker's trail through the history of our painting from the time of the earliest settlers to Homer and Eakins leads exclusively from individual to individual. The text is necessarily, therefore, chopped up into a large number of brief essays. But they are very readable indeed. The book may best be described as a new Samuel Isham, History of American Painting, brought up to date with respect to recent scholarship. In the section on post-war still lifes, for example, Alfred Frankenstein's brilliant detective work in rediscovering John Frederick Peto's identity under forged signatures of William Harnett is adequately summarized, though Peto's art is underrated.

Drama Note

MAURICE EVANS'S performance of Richard in "King Richard II" (New York City Center until February 4) is as fine as it was in 1937, and fortunately the cast he has mustered for this revival is sufficiently accomplished to support his lead. Kent Smith is a compelling Bolingbroke—and this is particularly important, since the tension of the play, for modern spectators, springs primarily from the contrast between these two temperaments, each having a claim on our sympathy and each providing a commentary on the other. What is also important, the play is read as poetry throughout, as it should be, and from this base of music Richard's outbursts rise, as they should, like arias—with wonderful effect. Settings and costumes are molded on those of 1937, and Margaret Webster is again the director. See it if you can.

Films

MANNY FARBER

THE current Hollywood releases are mostly virtuoso pieces tailored to show off the florid craftsmanship of some expensive actors. The recent turn to slow, close-up presentation has brought about a measured, theatrical type of acting in which daring, often anomalous touches supply the interest that once came from large-scale action, environmental situation. The total effect

JUST RECEIVED — VOL. 1, 2nd Ed.
GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA
Deluxe printing and binding. Profusely illustrated with color plates and maps. In Russian—640 pp.
This greatly enlarged edition will consist of 50 volumes to be completed in six years. The Collegium of Editors and contributors includes leading personalities in Soviet Arts, Literature and Science.
Regular Price — $9.50 per Volume
OUR SUBSCRIPTION OFFER—$8 per Vol.
Subscribers will be billed for each volume as delivered. We urge immediate subscription as the supply will be limited.
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
Importers from the USSR
55 W. 56 St., N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

THE PROGRAM
that could have prevented the present world crisis—
THE PROGRAM
that most liberals, four years ago, self-righteously condemned—
THE PROGRAM
That may still serve as the pattern for a libertarian underground, if fascism comes—
"STANDARDS AND DISCIPLINE FOR LIBERALS"
Price 25¢ Order from
MAX CARASSO
P. O. Box 904, G. P. O., New York 1, N. Y.

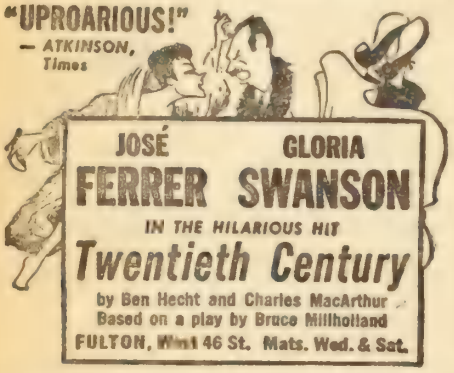
of the films mentioned below makes me yearn for the tough, plain, understated acting that appeared in "The Set-up" a few years back, and before that in films like "The Ox-Bow Incident" and "The Clock." With the exception of a few underrated players (Ann Sheridan, Robert Ryan, Grable), actors today give the impression of social workers improving movie characters with a liberal-minded, educated attitude and an elegant, flamboyant acting technique.

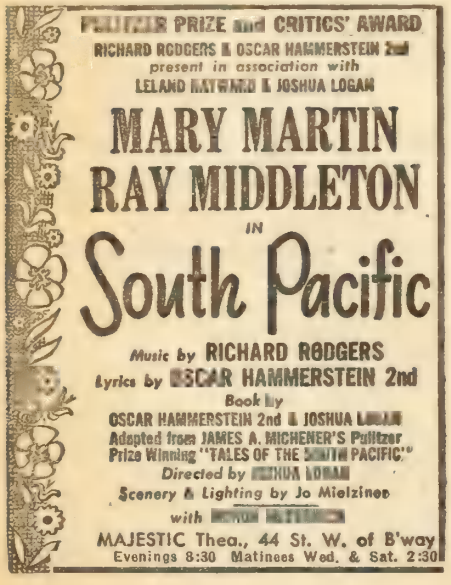
For instance, Judy Holliday in "Born Yesterday." Satirizing a ritzy graduate of the Bronx who moves into Washington circles on the arm of an unprincipled roughneck (Crawford), the begirdled blonde provides a noisy, overlong farce with all its speed and fun. But her performance is always too trained and intellectualized for a delicatessen type with the toughness, vulgarity, and garrulousness one encounters on the New York subway. Her Mae West walk is the mechanical maneuver of a university-educated mimic; her statuesque bearing in tight, gaudy gowns produces a ludicrous effect but also a feeling that the actress has never really liked tasteless clothes. Holliday's rescue from illiteracy and sin by a gallant bookworm (Holden) in shiny spectacles is a predictable event in a film that squeaks with a do-good spirit and brainy, democratic-looking actors. The success of the picture is due to direction (Cukor) that makes one hyperconscious of visual gags and wastes little time authenticating the brassy Kanin play.

The story of the Supreme Court's Holmes (Louis Calhern) starts in his sixty-first year and so caricatures old age that I advise sensitive old folks to forgo "The Magnificent Yankee." The theatrical Calhern mauls the process of growing old into a picturesque joke of rheumatism, fatigue, diminishing powers. The script periodically cues Calhern to pluck a flower from a small fenced garden, and each time Calhern loads the screen with creaking motion and strained humor. Endless scenes show a silly fascination with rickety physique: Holmes's feebly bent posture before the Lincoln Memorial, his bouncy-kneed strolls with Brandeis in Rock Creek Park, the laborious attempt to straighten his spine for a meeting with Roosevelt. For crafty virtuosity Calhern is a bag of admirable tricks—he greets each of thirty birthday well-wishers with a different grimace of affection—but because he loves to flaunt urbanity and skill, he turns "the great dissenter" into a gay old dog.

"Branded" is a wordy but tightly edited western; among Hollywood cowboys Glenn Ford is the trickiest horseman, Randy Scott has a lonely, weather-worn façade, Cooper is the handiest with six-shooters, but the star of this film, Alan Ladd, is an anachronism, from his crisp, pavement glide to his well-bred sneer. Ladd, seldom forfeiting a character for comic showboating and fancy style, is sold out by direction (Mate) that pins his deceptive, slight build under tablecloth shirts, loses his impenetrable face in the shade of ten-gallon hats, and takes little advantage of his quick, efficient movements. When he isn't flexing or bending over backward to see his biceps, he is wandering up and down the Rio Grande—"like a ferry-boat"—verbally unfolding the complicated plot.

The antidote to all this baroque acting is offered in "Operation Disaster," a submarine documentary anchored by a theatrical script but made seaworthy by its underplaying cast. The sailors were obviously recruited from Rank, Inc.: a grimy face always bears the tell-tale smudge on the cheekbone; the forthright, confident eyes are those of battle-hardened actors; Captain Armstrong's (Mills) tapping of signals to a diver is the cool, crisp action of an officer who knows his listener has read the script. But these British players live inside their characters as though they owed a debt to real life; their fiddling with pen-knife, dice, or soiled cards amounts to more than just a move against a static script. Few moments are squandered on clichés like the sight of seagulls ascending heavenward as the submarine Trojan submerges. The movie sticks to its business of educating the audience on the week-long business of salvaging sub and crew, despite the tiny message at the beginning which announces that the British use a different salvaging technique from the one disclosed in the film.





Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE excerpts from Purcell's "The Fairy Queen" on Allegro records (AL-60) include not only some of the most beautiful music of Purcell that I have ever heard but some of the most powerfully expressive—the soprano's *O let me weep forever!* and the bass's *Next winter comes slowly.* The records reproduce well (with the pre-emphasized treble cut down) the excellent performance conducted by Daniel Pinkham at Harvard University last May, with Phyllis Curtin, soprano, Eleanor Davis, mezzo-soprano, Paul Tibbetts, bass, and the Cambridge Festival Chorus and Orchestra. If they give us all that was performed then Mr. Pinkham is open to criticism for not performing the entire work; otherwise he is open to criticism for allowing the abridgement to be recorded.

Cetra-Soria is open to similar criticism for giving us only excerpts from Rossini's "Cenerentola" (1208)—excerpts which turn out to be some of the finest examples of Rossini's writing in his lyric, comic, and florid bravura styles. They are beautifully and brilliantly sung by Giulietta Simionato, mezzo-soprano,

Cesar Valletti, tenor, Saturno Meletti, baritone, and Cristiano Dalamangas, bass, with the orchestra and chorus of Radio Italiana under the direction of Mario Rossi; but the performance is reproduced with some distortion of the solo voices, and the overall sound, which lacks sufficient bass, loses volume and brightness and acquires a hash of high-frequency distortion as the stylus approaches the end of the record-side.

I don't think this is the fault of my reproducing equipment, since the Cetra-Soria records of Verdi's "Ernani" (1210) reproduce this work excellently. After other early works of Verdi, "Ernani," which I now have heard for the first time, is a disappointment—mostly a workmanlike job with only a few passages rising to the level of exciting expressive force or beauty that his powers achieve in those other works. The performance is a good one, with an excellent tenor, Gino Penno, soprano, Caternia Mancini, and bass, Giacomo Vaghi; a baritone, Giuseppe Taddei, who forces his voice to the point of distorting vibrato; and the orchestra of Radio Italiana under the direction of Fernando Previtali.

Adriana Guerrini's singing is reason enough to skip Columbia's latest LP recording of "La Traviata"—additional reasons being Luigi Infantino's singing after Act 1, and the occasional motor-rumbles and other noises of the original 78 rpm records.

Columbia's record of Verdi arias—from "Ernani," "La Traviata," "Don Carlo," "La Forza del Destino," and "Otello"—sung by Eleanor Steber with the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra under Fausto Cleva is another matter. In the arias from "La Traviata" the voice is clouded with tremolo, and elsewhere there is an occasional shrill high note; but for the most part Steber sings with lustrous beauty of voice as well as her fine musical taste and impressive style. One notes, however, that because of its faster pace (which may be Cleva's) her performance of the aria from "Don Carlo" doesn't have the spaciousness and grandeur of Ellabelle Davis's on the London record. No texts are given.

Another Columbia record offers *Porgi amor* and *Deh vieni, non tardar* from "The Marriage of Figaro," beautifully sung by Bidu Sayao with stodgy orchestral accompaniments conducted by Paul Breisach that are reproduced with veiled sound. Her singing of *Vedrai, carino* from "Don Giovanni" is also good, but reproduced with occasional harshness and edge; that of *Batti, batti* is excessively arch with much swelling and contracting of tone; and the orchestral accompaniments conducted by Leinsdorf are coarsely reproduced. Unsuitably coupled with the Mozart arias are songs and arias by Hahn, Duparc, Massenet, and Debussy. No texts.

A Cetra-Soria record (50.019) offers LP dubbings of Italo Tajo's performances of several Mozart arias—the Catalogue Aria from "Don Giovanni," the brilliant buffo aria *Rivolgete a lui* originally intended for Così Fan Tutte," and a few other arias for concerts or other composers' operas, including the grand-style *Alcandro, lo confesso* and *Mentre ti lascio*. Tajo's performance of *Mentre,* faster in pace than Pinza's, is also less dramatically imposing; and the one of the Catalogue Aria is even more hammed up than Pinza's; but the others are quite good. Treble must be stepped up—which also steps up the surface noise of the original 78 rpm records.

On another Cetra-Soria record (50.035) are dubbings of Cesare Siepi's performances of arias from "I Vespri Siciliani," "Nabucco," "Ernani," "Don Carlo," "Don Giovanni," "La Sonnambula," "Il Barbiere di Siviglia," "L'Italiana in Algeri," and "Mefistofele." They are well sung—the great *Ella giammai m'amò* from "Don Carlo" and fine *Vi ravviso* from "La Sonnambula" especially so; but the "Don Carlo" music loses the effectiveness it would have with first-rate playing of the orchestral part.

On still another Cetra-Soria record (50.031) Ebe Stignani exhibits sumptuous beauty of voice and superb phrasing in arias from "Orfeo," "Alceste," and "Samson et Delila," but not in arias from "Il Barbiere di Siviglia" and "Sermiramide." No texts.

An RCA Victor 78 offers *Una furtiva lagrima* from "L'Elisir d'Amore" sung by Bjoerling with his beautiful voice and musical taste—Grevilius conducting the orchestra. An aria from Cilea's "L'Arlesiana" is on the reverse side.

On a Columbia LP the three excerpts from Berg's "Wozzek"—effective soundtrack for the action—are well performed by Gertrude Ribla and the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy. Unsuitably coupled with them is the Song of the Wood Dove from Schönberg's "Gurrelieder," sung by Martha Lipton with the New York Philharmonic under Stokowski.

CONTRIBUTORS

ROBERT LEE WOLFF, associate professor of history at Harvard University, is in charge of the regional studies program on the Soviet Union and a member of the executive committee of the Russian Research Center.

H. STUART HUGHES, assistant professor of history and assistant director of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University, is the author of "An Essay for Our Times."

ERNEST JONES, who regularly reviews fiction for *The Nation*, is a member of the English Department at Queens College.

GOOD NEWS for Music Lovers

Pocket-Sized, Low-Priced Editions

BACH: The Well-Temp. Clavier, 2 vols., each.. $ .98
BEETHOVEN: All Violin Sonatas, 2 vols., each .98
CHOPIN: 25 Preludes; 2 Piano Sont.; Fantasy .98
BRAHMS: All Violin Sonatas ..... .98
& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG

Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From

LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138 New York 32, N. Y.

25% Less than List on LP Records

Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:

DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB

DEPT. N-14

Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.
Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges (50¢ minimum). SAME-DAY SHIPMENT.

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

ALL LANGUAGES BY RECORDS

LEARN easily, inexpensively at home. ALL MAKES. Sold, bought, rented. ALIN, 475 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C. MU 3-1093.

IT'S EASY TO LEARN A LANGUAGE BY LINGUAPHONE

At home, in leisure time, quickly, easily, correctly master Russian, French, German, an Oriental language—any one of 29 languages through LINGUAPHONE World's Standard Conversational Method. Send for FREE book. State if veteran.

LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE
8102 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, $5.00.

TYPING SERVICE

MANUSCRIPT TYPING, theses, medical articles. Speed, intelligence, economy. AMBASSADOR OFFICE SERVICE, 17 East 48th Street. PLaza 5-1127.

PERSONALS

WIM OF THE MONTH CLUB. Handsome, useful items of the Western, Indian, or Mexican Cultures sent monthly with letter about Southwest. Ideal gifts, prizes, conversational pieces. Pleasure must be yours before $1.50 ours. West-Ind-Mex, 1219 W. New York, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

GRADUATE STUDENT of Economics at the New School desires part time employment during morning hours, preferably as aide to a professional person. Can type, knowledge of research technique. HY 4-6810 or Box 210, c/o The Nation.

COLUMBIA, M.A. Will accept free-lance assignments. Writing, Editing, Research, Proof-Reading, Publicity. Experienced. Phone: OR 3-6126.

WANTED couple or single person, liberal, reliable, with small income and car, may have beautiful country home, rent free, seventy miles New York City, owner home weekends. Please write Box 211, c/o The Nation.

INSTRUCTORS!

Take advantage of
The Nation's
Special Class-Room Rate

40¢ Monthly per Student

■

for order of 10 or more copies to be sent to one address—desk copy supplied free

■

Address your order to

The NATION
TWENTY VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Custom Dictates

Dear Sirs: It has always been diplomatic custom to recognize any "de facto" government which can show that it controls and governs the major part of a state which it has seized by conquest or revolution. This principle has held good whether or not the character or ideology of such a government met with the approval of other nations. The United States, for example, had diplomatic relations with czarist Russia for years, and somewhat belatedly recognized Soviet Russia. It recognizes the governments of dictators like Perón, Trujillo, and Franco.

It is difficult, therefore, to understand why we have not recognized the present Chinese government, which controls the whole of China except Formosa, or permitted it membership in the U. N. The Chinese have refused to discuss an armistice in Korea with the U. N. because as non-members they do not feel bound by any rules the U. N. may lay down. Yielding to their wishes might mean "loss of face" under the present military circumstances, but I feel, although I heartily disapprove of any Communist or totalitarian government, that diplomatic usage as well as common sense dictates such action.

WALTER W. JUDELL

Milwaukee, Wis., January 24

Right of Persuasion

Dear Sirs: I must say that I was surprised by Carey McWilliams's attitude toward certain British lecturers in this country and their sponsors, as expressed in his article, Knights in Shining Buicks, in your January 6 issue.

If one is socialistically or communistically inclined, one has or should have the privilege of extolling the accomplishments of the Labor government in England. But if ex-Senator Hawkes, Senator Kem, Congressman Gwin, J. Howard Pew, Lammot du Pont, Merwin K. Hart, President Benson of Harding College, and Dr. Fifield think differently, they have a patriotic duty to make reasonable efforts to show the failure and fallacies of the Labor government. If in their opinion they can best do this by bringing such men as Dr. Daniels and Mr. Palmer to this country to make public addresses, they should not be criticized. Mr. McWilliams is of course free to refute any false or misleading statements made by Daniels or Palmer or others.

T. W. PHILLIPS

Butler, Pa., January 18

Tragic Children

Dear Sirs: I have just read Charles R. Joy's moving article (in *The Nation*, January 27) on the Spanish refugees in southern France. The statement, "The Spanish refugees are slowly starving to death," staggers the mind. That after fourteen years of misery there should still be 250,000 Spanish refugees in France who are unable to return home, who cannot be integrated into the French economy, and who have now been abandoned through the liquidation of the relief activities of the International Refugee Organization is a serious reflection upon the world's capacity for compassion. It has been established that only a small percentage of these exiles have had any Communist connection. Nine-tenths belong to other parties. But the question is not one of politics, in any case, but of humanity, and the heart is wrung by the mass suffering—particularly that of the children.

Is there no way of rescuing these innocents from the oubliette into which they've been cast? Those under fourteen have known nothing but hardship all their lives; they have seen their fathers killed, their mothers die of disease, their brothers and sisters disappear. They are intimately acquainted with prison, banishment, the dark, obscenely crowded, foul-smelling lodgings of internment camps. They live with cold and hunger. How can our hearts refuse to help them?

Shall we acquit our responsibility with shocked and futile sentimentality, saying "How dreadful!" and then forgetting? Is it not possible to face this problem realistically, and usefully? I think so, which is why I ask that every *Nation* reader send a CARE package to one of these tragic children. I understand an all-lard package can be sent for $4, a budget parcel for $6.95, and a standard food package for $10.

These small creatures cannot plead their own cases. Let me plead for them, for I know that the heart of America is still vulnerable and tender.

FAITH BALDWIN

New Canaan, Conn., January 27

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • FEBRUARY 10, 1951 NUMBER 6

The Shape of Things

PRESIDENT TRUMAN SPOKE BY THE BOOK when he told Congress in the course of his tax message that we could raise enough new revenue to cover the full cost of the rearmament program without crippling our economy. Certainly, the alternative method of diverting resources from civilian to defense production—inflation—would be far more crippling as well as far more inequitable. That fact is widely recognized but acceptance of the principle of pay-as-we-go does not, unfortunately, insure its translation into a revenue bill. Since taxation is always hard to swallow, Mr. Truman was probably wise in suggesting that Congress take two bites at the $16½ billion deficit. He wants $10 billion of additional revenue provided as quickly as possible by increases in personal and corporation income taxes and by "selective" excise levies. Very properly he emphasizes speed for, from the point of view of checking inflation, $10 billion now may well prove more efficacious than twice that sum next fall. Since actual spending by the government lags behind appropriations, an early increase in revenue would maintain the Treasury on a cash basis and even, perhaps, produce a temporary surplus to serve as a counter-inflationary force. Moreover, if Congress intends to impose either new excises or a general sales tax, it should act with all possible dispatch. For obviously, prolonged discussion of new or increased levies on consumer goods will induce everyone with ready cash to try to build a private stockpile. However, reports from Capitol Hill indicate very little sense of urgency about this or other fiscal problems; which may explain why dispatches from booming Wall Street tell us that stock traders are betting on continued inflation.

✶

SKEPTICISM ABOUT THE ABILITY OF THE Administration to flatten out the rising price-curve is, in fact, widespread despite the recent general freezing order. That, perhaps, is not surprising but we deplore the tendency in sections of the press to damn the Office of Price Stabilization and the Wage Stabilization Board before they have had a chance to test the effectiveness of their measures. The fact that the general freeze has been broken by sectional thaws is not proof of failure. It was clearly necessary to authorize wage increases already negotiated, like those in the soft- and hard-coal industries, provided that they conformed to the post-Korea pattern; and some provision must be made for setting maximum allowable increases for workers who have not received any advance in the past six months. Such corrections of inequities should not necessitate price revisions extensive enough to cause serious increases in the cost-of-living index and so give a new twist to the inflationary screw. Much more dangerous is the unfettered action of farm prices which the Defense Production Act placed beyond control so long as they stayed below "parity." But proposals to amend the law in order to close this gaping loophole are assured of strenuous opposition from the farm bloc. Its spokesmen assert that any attempt to control farm prices will cut production heavily and claim that responsibility for increases in food prices really rests on processors and distributors who take every opportunity to increase their profit margins. The truth seems to be that both farmers and food industries are exploiting the situation with each group trying to cover up its own short-comings by reference to the other's misdeeds. If the cost of food is to be kept down, Congress will have to give the O.P.S. authority to control prices at *all* stages.

✶

IF HIGH COMMISSIONER JOHN J. McCLOY continues to grant wholesale clemency to Nazi war criminals it will not be long before mass murder ranks with overtime parking as a minor misdemeanor. To the already long list of pardons and commutations described in *The Nation* (January 27, 1951, page 69), Commissioner McCloy has now added the names of the men sentenced to death for their participation in the Malmédy massacre, and thus earned the accolade of that great humanitarian Senator Joseph McCarthy. All told, twenty-one prisoners were reprieved from the gallows and will now serve prison terms ranging from nine years to life; only seven facing death possessed records too vile to receive the High Commissioner's benison. In addition, thirty-three prison sentences were reduced last week to the time already served, thirty-five were reduced to a lesser extent, and but five were confirmed in their original lengths. Prominent among those released was Major General Wilhelm Speidel, serving twenty years for "criminal disregard of the civilized rules of warfare in treatment of hostages and civilians"—that is, he ordered thousands of them shot. Fortunately for the General, his brother, Major General Hans Speidel, is now

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 117
Britain's Sacrifice 119
After the U. N. Vote *by Freda Kirchwey* 120

ARTICLES

Challenge to the Left *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 122
Acheson Flounders *by Willard Shelton* 123
The Man-Power Balance Sheet *by Keith Hutchison* 124
Arms for Germany? I. Unrepentant Nationalism *by Basil Davidson* 126
New Land of Cotton *by Carey McWilliams* 129
Enemy Number 1-a *by Alexander Werth* 130
Pressures and Pictures: II *by Gilbert Seldes* 132

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

MacArthur and Japan *by Harold Strauss* 135
The Men of Bad Will *by Paolo Milano* 136
A World of Unrealities *by Vera Micheles Dean* 137
Verse Chronicle *by Rolfe Humphries* 138
Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 139
Frank Lloyd Wright in Philadelphia *by Talbot Hamlin* 140
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 142

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 143

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 399 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 144

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Contributing Editor: Robert Bendiner
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

negotiating with the Allies concerning German remilitarization. Another newly freed convict is Alfred Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, head of the munitions cartel that armed Hitler's Wehrmacht. Incidentally, all the jailed industrialists, who, like Krupp, had been found guilty of brutally mistreating slave laborers, received their freedom. To make up for the indignity he had suffered, Herr Krupp had his factories restored to him on the ground that their confiscation was "repugnant to American concepts of justice." The harm that these actions will do to our cause in Europe, and the gain that the Communists will reap thereby, is incalculable.

*

GERMANY IS AGAIN THE MAJOR SUBJECT OF international speculation. Although no official word has yet come from Moscow indicating the Kremlin's reaction to the latest Western notes on the four-power talks, several recent developments justify a moderate, tentative optimism. The most significant signs of a more conciliatory mood in Moscow were the terms for German unity contained in the new offer sent by Otto Grotewohl, the East German Premier, to Chancellor Adenauer at Bonn. The proposals include a clause providing for "free and unfettered" elections throughout Germany as a step toward unity. It will be remembered that this was exactly the expression used in the West German press when the question of all-German elections was previously discussed. Another concession was Herr Grotewohl's offer of joint supervision of the strength, armament, and distribution of police throughout Germany. But the most interesting aspect of this trial balloon launched by the East German regime is the prominence given to it in both *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, and the benevolence with which the Soviet censorship has treated several recent dispatches by foreign correspondents underlining Russia's readiness to make concessions to the West in order to prevent the rearmament of Germany. All this no doubt played its part in the recent conversations between President Truman and Premier Pleven of France, and in General Eisenhower's announcement that he saw no need to hurry with the rearming of Germany. The present need, quite obviously, is to dispel Western fears that American policy is driving toward war without regard for possibilities of agreement.

*

AT HIS LAST MEETING WITH HIS GENERALS Francisco Franco scheduled the beginning of World War III for the middle of this summer. This prediction remains to be proved by events, but we are glad to note that the Generalissimo's other prediction, that General Eisenhower would stop off in Madrid on his return from Portugal, did not materialize. This must have been a blow to the Franco propaganda office, which for days had

been feeding the press with releases about the impending visit. On the other hand, it solved a problem for the generals, who knew only too well that the million soldiers Franco had so generously offered to Washington lacked shoes in which to appear on parade. We have seen a recent picture of Spain's new recruits in the act of taking the oath to the colors. In defiance of all tradition the ceremony took place behind closed doors in the barracks instead of at a public performance. The soldiers appeared wearing espadrilles instead of shoes. This fact is a revealing one, since last year's military budget allocated enormous sums for the re-outfitting of the troops. Obviously that money went the way of other public funds —into graft, the black market, and the pockets of the Franco clique. Nevertheless, Franco remains as arrogant as ever, blandly ignoring advice from Washington that he had better put the country's finances in order if he expects the announced loan to be released. Instead of being removed from his post, Señor Suances, the Minister of Industry whose dismissal had been diplomatically suggested by the Americans, has just delivered one of his typical speeches abounding in self-confident praise for Spain's economy. From the point of view of the hard-pressed American taxpayer it would seem advisable for Congress at least to get the real facts about Spain's financial situation before throwing new millions into Franco's totalitarian hopper.

*

THE INTERVENTION OF SECRETARY OF THE Air Thomas K. Finletter into the case of Captain Charles A. Hill, Jr., has brought a happy ending to an act of stupidity of the kind that has made the words "top brass" synonymous with obtuseness, arrogance, and intransigence. Captain Hill, thrice decorated for service as a fighter pilot in World War II, was given his choice by the Continental Air Command of resigning his reserve commission or facing a court martial on charges of "disloyalty." The bill of particulars, which was eloquently rebutted by the young officer, included allegations that he had been seen reading the *Daily Worker*, that he had assisted his father, who as a candidate for the Detroit City Council, had been indorsed by the C. I. O.-P. A. C. and had also been backed by Communists, and that his sister had shown an active interest in Communist principles and policies. Aside from the distortion of the principles of American justice involved in this theory of guilt by relationship, the case, according to the N. A. A. C. P., was "another phase of a concerted effort to discredit Negro servicemen." Secretary Finletter deserves praise for his prompt review of the facts, dismissal of the charges, and expression of regret. But future innocent victims of military myopia and loyalty hysteria should remember that it was Captain Hill's refusal to be cowed that led to the nation-wide publicity and his ultimate exoneration.

Britain's Sacrifice

IN HIS address to Congress on February 1, General Eisenhower spoke of the difficulty, indeed the impossibility of making fair comparisons between the defense efforts of different countries in terms either of the size of armed forces or of the proportion of national income devoted to military purposes. A 10 per cent cut in America's standard of living resulting from the transfer of productive facilities from the civilian to the military sector would be unpleasant and would mean little real hardship. But a much lesser cut in, say, Italy's consumption would drive millions below the subsistence level.

This unreality of crude comparison must be kept in mind in assessing Britain's rearmament program, which, in broad outline, was revealed last week by Prime Minister Attlee. Accusations that Britain is "dragging its feet," that it is reluctant to make sacrifices for the common defense, are constantly being made by sections of the American press. Yet the fact is that up to the end of 1950, at least, Britain had a larger proportion of its manpower under arms and was spending a higher percentage of its national income on defense than the United States. In the course of this year, if Congress indorses the military man-power and expenditure goals of the Administration, this position will be reversed. But Britain is also raising its sights, and if one takes into account its inferior resources, its effort will be quite equal to our own.

During the next three years, Mr. Attlee told the House of Commons, the government plans to spend $13,160,000,000 on defense, or at the rate of 14 per cent of the national income. If this seems modest in relation to the 18 per cent of national income which the United States will devote to similar purposes in 1951-52, let us remember that eleven years of austerity have left little superfluous flesh on the British economy. Greater production will cut so deeply into its capacity to export that its newly restored balance of payments is likely to be upset, and it may find itself unable to finance essential imports.

About half a million British workers are already engaged on defense production, and this number will be doubled when the new program is in full swing. Since Britain has no reserve of unemployed, this labor force will have to be raised by diverting skilled and semi-skilled workers from the metal industries which have lately been responsible for 60 per cent of the nation's exports. Plans are already being made to offset this decline by increasing exports of non-durable consumer goods, but foreign markets for such articles are already limited and may become still more restricted as the United States and other nations face increased defense bills.

Consequently, Britain may very well find its total export earnings falling below last year's record. At the

same time its import bill is likely to grow larger, for the defense program will call for very large amounts of raw materials, at very much enhanced prices, and the government wishes to build emergency stockpiles of strategic commodities, including food. Hence it will be necessary to economize on imports either by tightening direct controls or by measures to reduce domestic buying power.

It is absolutely certain that in order to release production facilities for defense Britain will have to cut its living standard. Mr. Attlee has hinted that the next budget, due in early April, will bring higher taxes, although British taxes are now the highest in the world, and some economies at the expense of the social services also appear inevitable. In addition, it is probable that the high level of domestic investment that has been maintained for the past five years will be lowered. However, large capital programs for the coal, steel, and electric-power industries will have to be continued if defense production is not to be hampered.

It is not surprising to learn that the British people are unhappy about the outlook for their economy, but we have no doubt they will accept the sacrifices in prospect once they are convinced of their necessity. They will agree with General Eisenhower that the United States cannot carry the whole burden of defense and that "we must have cooperation if we are going to work with other nations." But cooperation implies joint decisions as well as joint actions, and the British may complain of our efforts to impose policies of doubtful wisdom on our partners. As long as this remains true, the North Atlantic Pact will lack the cement of confidence, and the sacrifices it demands will be shouldered grudgingly, if at all.

After the U.N. Vote

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

WHEN the returns were in, a mood of pleased satisfaction was manifest in American "ruling circles." After all it *was* aggression, and we had not been afraid to give words their plain meaning, to call things by their right names. Our moral courage had given courage to those who lacked it, as the ample voting margin proved. So said the big press, with a very few discordant exceptions. Even Congress was gratified. Ambassador Austin, widely smiling, shook hands with the representative of Syngman Rhee, the representative of Chiang Kai-shek; why not, since these were our wards, the direct beneficiaries of our victory? There were others, too, with whom he could share his satisfaction: the Philippines and Thailand and Turkey, our little Asian bloc. But most of the others who had voted our way were either relatively disinterested, like the Latin Americans, or profoundly uneasy; the Europeans formed a solid company of skeptics who had voted, as the *Wall Street Journal* gently put it, "under the lash." These ghosts at the feast went off unsmiling, hoping without hope that the Chinese would discuss terms—although Mao had told the Indians that they would not—with the Good Offices Committee provided for in the resolution and that the Americans would stick to their promise and delay talk about sanctions until, in the words of Sir Gladwyn Jebb, "all possible means of peaceful negotiation had been tested."

To these delegates, as well as to the Asian-Arab group whose resolution proposing talks with the Chinese had been defeated, the American victory was not the victory for plain speech and moral principle it was so generally described as being. Aggression, they knew—and knew the Americans knew—was no longer a simple description of an act. It was a concept around which clustered satellite concepts relating to sanctions and other obligations. In the first place, the Charter had recognized the futility of attempting to pin the label "aggressor" on one of the great powers, since sanctions applied against a great power would inevitably mean war. It was this knowledge that led Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin, as the *New Statesman and Nation* last week recalled, to decide to give the veto power to the permanent members of the Security Council. The absence of the Peking government from the Security Council, and the presence there of the delegate of the Formosa regime, created the situation that made the American resolution possible; it does not make the resolution enforceable without a major war.

But even in cases affecting lesser nations, aggression has not been automatically charged when armies invaded other people's territory. Until Korea the "moral" necessity of such condemnation had never been assumed; on the contrary, surrounding circumstances and probable consequences had controlled such decisions. As Sir Benegal Rau reminded his colleagues, Pakistan had invaded Kashmir, but no finding of aggression was made. As Sir Benegal did not remind his colleagues, five Arab states had invaded Palestine, not only committing an act of aggression but doing so in order to prevent a decision of the United Nations—the partition plan—from being carried into effect. This attempt was crushed, not by a U. N. army as in Korea, but by the forces of the newborn state of Israel. The intervention of the United Nations was limited to cease-fire orders, the arrangement of truces, and efforts at mediation. No Arab state was named an aggressor.

So much for the inexorable "moral" principle involved in the recent struggle at Lake Success.

What justified the action of the Security Council against North Korea last June was, first, the simple, practical fact that if sanctions had not been applied fast, a North Korean victory would have made any measures academic; and, second, the American contention, accepted by the Security Council—Russia being absent—

that the North Korean aggression was either ordered or sanctioned by Moscow and that its success would establish Russian domination over the whole peninsula, directly threatening both the security of Japan and the Western position throughout Asia. It was grand strategy, not morals, that dictated the swift decision of the Council.

By the same token, practical considerations provided the "clear meaning" which the American resolution gave to the word aggression. The United States believed that the revolutionary drive whose dynamo is in Moscow could be checked only if China was labeled an aggressor and dealt with as such. Other considerations, equally practical, led the European and free Asian states to follow counsels of caution—to shrink from using language which plainly implied punitive acts which, in turn, threatened an unlimited war. They were not convinced, either by Mr. Austin's moral fervor or by Mr. Truman's virtual promise not to initiate sanctions without prior agreement, that the American resolution would not set off this train of events. On the day of the vote Walter Sullivan wrote in the New York *Times*: "Some delegates, such as Lester B. Pearson, Canadian Minister for External Affairs, made it plain that they were still unhappy that the United States proposal was being pressed at this time. It was evident that their votes were being cast for the sake of Western unity and in the belief that there was no other course."

Nor were our nominal supporters convinced by the American thesis that no hope remained of a settlement with the Chinese. Sir Gladwyn Jebb asked on January 25, "Are we positive that the Peking government has really said the last word?" insisting that Britain had not lost hope of a negotiated settlement. Three days later Sir Benegal Rau reported that Peking had agreed to negotiate in terms of the Asian-Arab proposal. But the United States stubbornly rejected any further delay or effort to get official verification of the Indian report; and the backbone of Jebb and the other Europeans was not stiff enough to resist our pressure. The *Wall Street Journal*, outstanding dissenter among newspapers, commented after the vote: "None [of the European nations] could afford to alienate the United States in a showdown but few hid their opposition."

Far beneath the surface another anxiety has haunted the thoughts of both Asians and Europeans. Is the United States really anxious to avoid a showdown with China? It has been frank about its desire for sanctions; qualifications and promises on that point were patently agreed to only to ease the fears of those whose votes were needed. Mr. Acheson's belief that a "limited," punitive war might be waged against the Peking regime has had no support in Europe or Asia, where it is assumed the Chinese would counter-attack wherever possible, overrunning British and French possessions and forcing ever stronger and more extended operations.

BUT aside from this danger, which chills the British and French, the question of Formosa has created a special set of fears. From the start friendly countries on the Continent and in Asia were dismayed by Mr. Truman's decision to dispatch the Seventh Fleet to Formosa. No matter how much the Administration might insist that its only desire was to keep the island neutral while the Korean war went on or how energetically it might repudiate General McArthur's promises to Chiang Kai-shek, the fact remained that an act of intervention, at the very least, had been committed unilaterally and without consultation by the United States. Under the Cairo agreement, never denounced by this country, Formosa was to be returned to China. It *was* returned, and only a year ago the United States explicitly disclaimed any intention to question this action, no matter how the fortunes of civil war might affect the island. But lately, since China's invasion of Korea, Washington has again begun to send military aid to Chiang Kai-shek, and the demand that Chiang's Nationalist troops be used in the Korean fighting grows louder day by day. This is inevitable. Indeed, one must wonder, now that Peking has been declared an aggressor, what logical excuse remains for rejecting Chiang's offered help.

We may assume that Russia's complaint of American aggression against Communist China in Formosa, now before the Political Committee, will be rejected. The Soviet indictment has managed to submerge, in a mass of unprovable and untrue accusations, Peking's justifiable grievance—namely, that Chinese territory has been forcibly taken under American naval control, while Chiang's forces there are being rearmed with American equipment. This is the real, and serious, charge that can be made against the United States. Nor is it offset by the fact that our government voluntarily submitted the Formosa issue to the United Nations for a decision. In the first place, we have no right under our agreements to submit the issue to anybody; it was settled at Cairo, at Potsdam, and, after the war, by our own acknowledgment of China's sovereignty over the island. In the second place, we have already announced that the United States will not accept a decision that collides with its own security interests—a statement indicating a contempt for United Nations authority equaled only by that of the Russians themselves.

Now that Communist China has refused to have anything to do with the Good Offices Committee set up under the United States resolution and both Mr. Pearson and Sir Benegal have declined to serve on it, the hope of negotiations must be regarded as dim. Washington presumably will take the Chinese attitude as a signal for demanding early action on sanctions. This will test even more sharply than the vote on the resolution itself the convictions of those who believe that war with China must be avoided at almost any cost.

Challenge to the Left

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

I WROTE once that nothing in the world would make a French worker fight against the Russians, or anybody else, if he had at his right a German soldier, probably a Nazi, and at his left a Spanish Falangist. Premier René Pleven knows this very well, and the joint communiqué issued in Washington at the end of his conversations with President Truman, which made it appear that all the obstacles to placing Europe on a war footing had been surmounted, was only a repetition of the tactics used in recent days at Lake Success. These tactics consist in voting against one's conscience, in delivering impressive speeches which logically and honestly lead up to a "no" vote and then voting "yes," in risking everything except the displeasure of Washington.

Perhaps a man of M. Pleven's background may disregard a French worker's feelings, though politically this would be most risky, but he can hardly be indifferent to the opinions of people of his own class. And it is precisely in conservative circles that the greatest caution is being advocated toward a policy which might suddenly pitch Europe into war. Powerful figures in business and finance questioned a course which risked much and promised little even in the early stages of the Korean conflict. As soon as war with China became a possibility, the protests of this group, inspired by the instinct of self-preservation, rose to heaven. To invite a general war was called pure madness, especially before the rearming of Europe had even begun.

This opposition from many sources which cannot be called leftist has injected a constructive note into the foreign-policy debate. Here in the United States the position of Walter Lippmann contrasts favorably with that of many writers and commentators who a few years ago considered themselves extremely progressive and looked upon the *Herald Tribune's* brilliant columnist as a reactionary. On the same day that the New York press, including his own newspaper, acclaimed editorially the passage of the American resolution branding Communist China an aggressor, Mr. Lippmann exposed the absurdity of trying to solve an Asian problem without taking into account the views of the leading Asian countries represented on the Political Committee. "The victory," he wrote, "for which Mr. Austin thanked God is a self-inflicted American defeat." Where, outside of this journal and a few others, have spokesmen for the left shown as much penetration and courage as the esteemed Mr. Lippmann, who has never pretended to wear the laurels of radicalism? Another striking example is to be found in the *Wall Street Journal*. Humorists at Lake Success suggest that its intelligent advocacy of a negotiated peace in Korea disproves the Moscow theory that Wall Street is responsible for Washington's nefarious foreign policy.

The "progressives" in various European governments, rather than cause a ministerial crisis, have resigned themselves to tolerating a course which must end in war, but conservatives have issued repeated warnings to take care before it is too late. In Italy, Defense Minister Pacciardi, who commanded the glorious Garibaldi battalion in Spain—I addressed his troops just before they went into battle against Mussolini's black shirts at Guadalajara—is now reported ready to fight on the side of Franco if fascist Spain is finally included in the Atlantic Pact. On the other hand, a faction in De Gasperi's own party, the party of the Vatican, in opposition to the Prime Minister, is unwilling to entrust Italy's destiny to those who are the real masters in the Atlantic coalition.

In the debate on foreign policy in the Italian Parliament a few weeks ago several independent senators voted with the Communists and the Nenni Socialists against the government. Among them were Orlando, the only surviving member of the Big Four who guided the conference of Versailles, at ninety still astonishingly alert and aggressive; the able and astute Nitti, a former Prime Minister; Bergamini and De la Toretta. Even the president of the Chamber of Deputies, Gronchi, one of the most influential men in the Christian Democratic Party, opposes De Gasperi's foreign policy. In an article that attracted a great deal of attention Gronchi charged the government with supporting a policy of "provocation to war" and opened the columns of his paper, *La Libertà*, to all opponents of communism who wish to protest.

At the celebrated meeting for peace with China in London's Kingsway Hall on January 8, a Conservative M. P., Norman Bower, made a powerful speech against the "absolutely disastrous" policy of the United States in Asia, demanding the admission of Communist China to the United Nations and a general settlement of Asian questions. These are but a few examples of conservatives whose position is a challenge to the left.

As the danger of war increases, however, the left in France and elsewhere is beginning to realign its forces; the action of the General Assembly last Thursday is generally felt to have destroyed the hope of a peaceful settlement of the Chinese question. In France new groupings have come into being—"Independent Socialist Left," "Coordinated Movement for Socialist and Democratic Action"—uniting people like Charles d'Aragon, one of the deputies who left the M. R. P. because of its position on foreign policy; Jean Rous, who was formerly on the executive of the Socialist Party; the Abbé Pierre, another dissident member of the M. R. P. Other militant Socialists, trade-unionists, and men without party ties who were prominent in the Resistance are joining left groups. The trend has only started, but it indicates that the threat of war has at least begun to bring about the consolidation of the independent left.

Acheson Flounders

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, February 2

BECAUSE of the slanders unleashed against the Department of State last year by Senator McCarthy, liberal critics were inclined to keep silent about their own apprehensions, which had a quite different basis. Now the fact must be faced that Secretary Acheson, preoccupied with his defensive battle against McCarthy, is failing to develop the affirmative policy for Asia which events in the United Nations have shown to be desperately needed.

One proof of this lack is found in the hesitant, apologetic way in which the department asked Congress to authorize the shipment of 2,000,000 tons of wheat to famine-threatened India. Knowing that most Congressmen are angry at Prime Minister Nehru, the department seemed to expect, as one spokesman put it, "to have the hide taken off us in little strips" when it belatedly argued that Nehru's political differences with the United States were no excuse for letting India's people starve. The timing of the request may have been unfortunate, but Mr. Acheson has only himself to blame for that. More courage and less self-pity are needed.

More than a year and a half ago India's representatives here informally submitted estimates of future food deficiencies and the probable need for American aid. Senator Humphrey of Minnesota has made a continuous fight to get the department to take the initiative in working out long-range plans for help. He talked to the India experts, to Assistant Secretary McGhee, to Under Secretary Webb, to Secretary Acheson, to President Truman. He sent half a dozen Americans recently returned from India to see the proper department officials. He personally took the head of Protestant missions in India to talk to Webb and Mr. Truman. This week he sponsored a letter to the President, signed by twelve Senators and eight Representatives, urging him to have the State Department start action.

Since Mr. Acheson and his subordinates have waited until the worst possible moment to move, it is quite conceivable that irresponsible Congressmen may make speeches damaging the effect of what should be a warmhearted expression of American concern for a people suffering misfortune. But the department is to blame for the seven months of futile and tentative negotiations before Madame Pandit, the Indian ambassador, last December 16 formally renewed a request for assistance. It has dragged its feet, thrown cold water on Congressmen trying to help Acheson as well as contribute to a sounder American policy, and been driven to action only by the imminence of crisis.

The department's lack of an affirmative policy is also evidenced by its appalling delay in working out a long-range Point Four program for improving the productivity, health, and living standards of Asia's newly sovereign peoples. In the more than two years since Mr. Truman proclaimed his "bold new program," the British Commonwealth countries, through the Colombo Plan, have done much more than we to implement the concept.

Members of Congress are far ahead of the State Department policy-makers. A bi-partisan group in the House of Representatives headed by Representatives Javits of New York and Ribicoff of Connecticut has introduced resolutions calling for a new Pacific pact for collective self-defense. Javits and Ribicoff are also urging American participation in an extension of the Colombo Plan. They envision American grants of two-to-four billion dollars to Asian countries over the next six years to increase food production, construct power plants, expand transportation systems, and support public-health and education services. Javits points out that after investment of its entire grant, India would be producing 20 kilowatt hours of electricity per capita as against 2,296 kilowatt hours per capita in the United States.

The State Department's approach is more gingerly. It has accepted an invitation to participate in the discussions of the consultative committee created under the Colombo Plan but only with vast reservations about making any commitments. Yet what the people of Asia need above all is a glimmer of hope—hope that they will be helped to a better way of life. Mr. Acheson understood that a year ago when he outlined his Asian policy in a remarkable speech to the National Press Club, but since then we have had a policy only toward Korea and Formosa, and this is fully supported by none of the major Asian countries.

Time is running out, and if we can't get an Asian policy under Acheson, we should get it under someone else.

EISENHOWER began a full week when he flew down from West Point on January 31 to report to practically everyone who had either direct or representative concern with the defense of America through the defense of Europe—the President, the Cabinet, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, an informal joint session of Congress, the Foreign Affairs and Armed Services committees of the House and Senate, and finally the nation itself. Ike was kept out of Washington while Premier Pleven was here so that he would not compete with Pleven for news coverage; when the French Premier left, both President Truman and Secretary Acheson canceled their own scheduled press conferences in order not to lessen the impact of the General's performance.

It was an extraordinary thing to see Eisenhower before Congress yesterday. The session was "informal"

in the sense that members met in the Library of Congress rather than in the chamber of the House of Representatives; the General spoke extemporaneously, from notes. As a result he made some blunders. The British noticed he omitted their country in reporting the improvement in morale and rearmament in West European nations. There was some confusion about whether he meant to recommend that the number of American divisions in Europe be limited to a fixed ratio to the divisions created by the other North Atlantic nations. In his speech he seemed to suggest this idea, which would play into the hands of Taft and Wherry; a formal statement issued after his secret session with the Senate committees indicated that he opposed such a limitation.

Eisenhower made it clear to Congress that he considered his function to be merely to file a report on what he had learned in Europe, not to urge policy on the elected representatives of the people. But his speech was actually part of the great debate on foreign affairs and will strengthen the groups which believe, with Truman and Acheson, that the United States must take the lead in creating an Atlantic community able to defend Western Europe from conquest by Russia. In uniform and wearing the five stars of his rank, flanked by other generals as well as the Republican and Democratic leaders of both houses, Ike became the first professional military man in our history to be projected into a political debate of such significance.

The Man-Power Balance Sheet

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

> In the end everything we do is related to man-power. It is the universal strategic material for which no synthetic exists.—*Fortune*, January, 1943.

THAT statement is just as true today as it was eight years ago, when the growth of the great armies we were raising to fight the Axis powers was pacing the expansion of war production. And now that once more we are planning to stretch our economic capacity to its limits, we again face the problem of enlarging our labor force and utilizing it as efficiently as possible. At the moment, perhaps, attention is concentrated on other bottlenecks—shortages of some basic raw materials, the prospect of inadequate power supplies. These are bottlenecks that can be broken: new sources of materials can be opened up or substitutes developed; we can in time build new power stations. But the performance of such tasks calls for man-power, and because our man-power resources, while large, are necessarily limited they finally determine the extent of our productive effort.

In World War II the United States raised its armed forces from about 300,000 to over 12,000,000, manned vast new war industries which poured out an immense quantity of material, and still found enough labor to keep civilian consumers supplied with all essentials and even a good many luxuries. It was an amazing achievement, but even so few will claim that we succeeded in using our labor force with maximum efficiency. One reason, perhaps, was that we never managed to concentrate the organization of man-power in the hands of one authority, as the British did in 1940 when they set up the Minister of Labor *and* National Service to supervise recruitment for both the services and industry. Here responsibility remained divided—the defense departments, Selective Service, the War Man Power Commission, and the Department of Labor and Agriculture all having fingers in the pie. Little effort was made, particularly in the early days when the pattern of defense industry was determined, to bring the jobs to the workers. The consequence was an immense churning up of the labor force, with millions of people migrating through the length and breadth of the country, and a tremendous amount of wasted motion. Labor turnover in many war factories was huge, partly because the plants mushroomed in communities which could not handle the crowds of workers they attracted. Personnel managers were driven frantic when they found that countless new employees who were just beginning to learn their jobs resigned because they could find nowhere to live.

The problems of mobilizing man-power in a democracy that eschews direct controls over labor are of course immensely complicated, and their solution calls for intricate economic calculus. If, for instance, 100 mechanical cotton-pickers will do the work of 3,000 laborers who might be induced to move from the California cotton fields to the shipyards, is it wise to use 100 skilled workers to make the cotton-pickers rather than divert them to the building of tanks? Or, what net saving in man-hours can be achieved if the employment of x workers to build houses near an aircraft plant reduces labor turnover in that plant by y per cent? In a free-enterprise system such conundrums, involving alternative uses of scarce means, are solved, in theory

at least, by means of the mathematics of profit and loss. But we cannot depend on that method to give us the right answers in terms of national security.

WE NEED, therefore, to plan, to budget our man-power; but before that can be done we must estimate our requirements and our means of meeting them. The Defense Department, we know, aims at reaching a total strength for the armed forces of 3,500,000 by the end of this year. As yet there is no similar man-power target for armaments manufacture and the innumerable industries and services that support it. The Budget for 1951-52 provides nearly $50 billion for defense, including aid to allies, and a total outlay for these purposes of some $140 billion during the next twenty-four to thirty months has been forecast by the President. But the Defense Department has still to draw up a detailed production program, and until it does so the calculation of demand schedules for man-power will remain pretty much a matter of guesswork. However, Maurice J. Tobin, Secretary of Labor, in a statement before the Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee on January 16, ventured the opinion that some four million additional workers will be required for the production of munitions and other supplies for the armed forces and for related activities.

Accepting this figure tentatively, let us consider our total man-power resources. By comparison with 1940 we are launching our defense program with a "tight" labor market. Then we had a reserve of some 8,000,000 unemployed, while today only 2,200,000 are seeking jobs. Again, although total population has grown by nearly 20,000,000 in the past decade, its composition has changed considerably, and the proportion of people of working age is smaller. During the depression years there was a sharp fall in the birth rate, which from 1933 to 1940 inclusive averaged 17.16 per thousand of population compared with 21.5 from 1921 to 1930. As a result, the ten-to-nineteen age group at present numbers about 2,000,000 less than in 1940, and for most of the next decade fewer men and women will reach the age of nineteen than reached this age between 1940 and 1945. Only in 1958, when the World War II baby crop begins to come of age, will there be a sizable increase in the annual supply of men for the labor market and the draft.

Compared with 1940, the twenty-to-fifty-four age group, from which the main body of the labor force must be drawn, has increased by 6,300,000 (as of July 1, 1949) but forms only 48.5 per cent of the whole population instead of 50.7 per cent. On the other hand, thanks to greater longevity, we have today 5.1 per cent more people of fifty-five and over, which brings this age group up to 16.6 per cent of the population, against 15 per cent in 1940. At the lower end of the age scale, the fecund forties have produced a still greater increase. Children under ten are about 40 per cent more numerous than in 1940 and now form 19.6 per cent of the whole population, compared to 16 per cent.

These shifts in the make-up of the population, and particularly the enormous increase in the number of children, have an important bearing on man-power problems. All members of the youngest age group and many of the oldest must be "carried" by the working population, which means that a larger proportion of the labor force is required to provide for basic civilian needs than was the case when we were fighting the Axis. We need more workers than we did then to make baby carriages, diapers, children's clothes, and a host of other things, and also many more teachers. And we cannot expect to attract into industry as many women under thirty-five as we did in World War II, for a much higher proportion of this group are now mothers of young children.

WHAT is the present size of our labor force—the aggregate of persons at work, plus members of the armed forces and those seeking work—and what are the prospects of enlarging it so that we can fulfil the defense program without cutting too severely into living standards? In the statement already mentioned Mr. Tobin said that in December, 1950, the labor force totaled 64,700,000, of which 2,200,000 were in the armed services and 2,200,000 unemployed: the comparable figure in June, 1940, was 57,000,000. The increase is only in part due to the increase in population; it reflects also the fact that the proportion both of women and of elderly persons who work is greater than it was ten years ago. That means that the potentiality of these two groups as labor-force reserves has diminished.

Reduced elasticity in quantity may, however, be offset by greater elasticity in quality. The reserve of unemployed in 1940 included young men who had never worked steadily and many older men who had become what Mr. Tobin calls "job-rusty." Today a much larger proportion of the whole labor force is skilled or semi-skilled and accustomed to factory techniques. That fact, together with the very heavy investment in machinery and plant that has been made in the past ten years, has brought about a notable improvement in productivity.

Although expansion of the employed labor force will not prove as easy as in World War II, the Office of Defense Man-Power of the Department of Labor believes that the total can be raised by several million. Reduction of unemployment to the minimum "frictional" level, where it is mainly due to movement between jobs, would bring in from 1,250,000 to 1,500,000 more workers. In addition, there are about 500,000 veterans completing their education who presumably will enter the labor market within the next three years. At the war-time peak 37.3 per cent of all women over sixteen

were in the labor force, and a return to the same ratio would give us another 2,500,000 workers. However, as we have already noted, so many of the younger women are fully occupied with motherhood that we cannot look for a gain of this size even if extensive day-nursery programs are undertaken.

On the other hand, we should be able to count on the services of an increased number of older workers in spite of the growth of public and private pension systems. Surveys by the Social Security Administration and the Railroad Retirement Board indicate that a great many people wish to continue in employment after reaching pensionable age, and more could be recruited if employers relaxed their hiring standards. We have also an important potential reserve in the ranks of the disabled and handicapped, many of whom can with proper training become fully productive members of society. The program of the recently reorganized Office of Vocational Rehabilitation in the Federal Security Agency should, given cooperation by employers, make a significant contribution to the solution of man-power problems.

In addition to increasing the size of our labor force we have available various means of stretching its output. For instance, the average work week in manufacturing industries in December, 1950, was forty-one and one-half hours, more than an hour higher than six months earlier but four less than at the peak of the World War II effort. A return of an average of forty-five and one-half hours—probably anything much beyond this would yield diminishing returns—would be the equivalent of an addition of 1,500,000 trained workers to the labor force.

But the lengthening of the work week is by no means the only way of making the best of our man-power supply. It is much more important to adopt measures which will insure that every worker is employed at his maximum capacity. Improved personnel methods, including wide use of aptitude tests, on-the-job training, and upgrading, can do much to prevent the placing of square pegs in round holes and the waste of potential skills. Above all, every effort must be made to insure that members of minority groups are not thwarted in making their fullest possible contribution by prejudice on the part of management or their fellow-workers. By maintaining discriminatory practices this country imposes on itself not only a moral but a physical handicap; so that the President's demand for reinstitution of the Fair Employment Practices Committee makes economic as well as democratic sense. Engaged as we are in a struggle in which production is our most potent weapon, we must use our precious man-power as productively as we possibly can.

[In a second article, to appear next week, Keith Hutchison will consider some other man-power problems, including that of labor mobility.]

Arms for Germany?

BY BASIL DAVIDSON

I. Unrepentant Nationalism

Bonn, January 26

MR. McCLOY said recently that the Atlantic coalition would push ahead with German rearmament "without any regard to a four-power conference between the Western Allies and the Soviet Union." On paper, at least, the preparations are well advanced. The outlines of the master-plan are already coming clear.

Early in December the High Commissioner and his advisers explained to Chancellor Adenauer and the West German government that their failure to "make a German contribution to Western defense" could only convince the American taxpayer that West Germany was scarcely worth another dollar. The pressure was only tactically necessary, for Adenauer, whose whole thought is colored by the traditions of conservative nationalism, has always believed in the "common front against the East." But Adenauer knows Germany well enough to realize that remilitarization will meet unprecedented difficulties. It cannot be accomplished quickly. German opinion, for one reason or another, is largely opposed to rearming. Adenauer also knows that his standing with the people depends upon his making a show of independence. He has therefore allowed his own conditions for rearmament to become known. In laying down these conditions he is supported in principle by the leaders of the Social Democratic Party, by "non-Nazi" generals like von Heusinger and Speidel—his present military advisers—and by most politically conscious conservatives in the country.

BASIL DAVIDSON is a staff correspondent of the New Statesman and Nation *(London) and author of "Germany; What Now?" He recently went to Spain for* The Nation *and reported on the military situation and social and economic conditions in a series of three articles. A second article on German rearmament will appear next week.*

Adenauer's conditions, essentially, are two. The first is that rearmament shall be preceded by the grant of a large measure of sovereignty to the West German state —not by means of a separate peace treaty but by a "contractual arrangement," which will amount, however, to much the same thing. The second is that rearmament shall be accompanied by the dispatch of strong American and British reinforcements to West Germany.

THE Western powers have accepted both these conditions, although they have not committed themselves to the second with any exactness. Negotiations for the "contractual arrangement"—in effect, a separate peace treaty with West Germany—may be expected to begin in the near future and to be concluded at least by the autumn. While these negotiations are in progress, the West German government will undertake, using every available agency of press and propaganda, a campaign of "psychological preparation" designed to undermine the almost universal apathy and pacifism. Simultaneously with this "spiritual remilitarization" a new kind of *Truppenamt*—apparently to be much like General von Seeckt's army bureau in the twenties, but initially without intelligence or operations staffs—will undertake the selection and enrolment, housing, training, and military equipment of the cadres for a new army. These cadres will fall numerically within the limits of the "twenty-two boosted brigades" which the Western powers decided upon at Brussels. The greater part of this new "100,000-man army" will consist of officers and non-commissioned officers.

Sometime later, almost certainly not before the beginning of 1952, the now "sovereign" Federal Republic will promulgate a conscription law and will begin putting flesh on this skeleton army. By the end of 1952, other things being equal, the Federal Republic may expect to have acquired the means of maintaining, training, and equipping two complete classes. The army, by 1953, could number at least half a million young men with one year's full training; in any case a majority of its officers and N. C. O.'s will be men who have seen active service. The new *Truppenamt*, or whatever it may be called, will expect by then to have developed an effective intelligence and operational command, although steps will probably be taken to conceal these from the public eye.

Current notions about supply are somewhat fluid. It is taken for granted that in the beginning the weapons, transport, and wireless equipment needed to train the cadres of a modern army will come from the United States. The Ruhr is now producing steel at the rate of 12,000,000 tons a year; if the French could be induced to forgo some of their German coal supplies and if new steel-milling equipment were installed at one or two key points, annual output could be fairly rapidly advanced to 14,000,000 or 15,000,000 tons. Knowing this, the German rearmament advocates are suggesting that the Ruhr should, at least initially, furnish armor plating, transport, and parts of weapons for assembly elsewhere. But the Ruhr industrialists, it seems, have the not unintelligent idea that they should continue to make the machine tools while some of the Western countries—notably their competitor, Great Britain—should make the arms. The British do not favor this division of labor, having a careful eye to the foreign markets they have seized from the Germans since the war. So with one thing and another, it seems likely that the Ruhr will be allowed to produce finished weapons in the not distant future. In the end, of course, the West German conservatives and nationalists will demand the right to make their own arms.



Chancellor Adenauer

In promoting rearmament on this scale the nationalists, who now dominate the administration of West Germany, are quite certain about the use to which a new German army is to be put. They are convinced that the Americans and the British do not believe that a peaceful settlement with Russia is possible or desirable; they themselves, determined to win back the "lands beyond the Oder-Neisse"—now part of Poland—and deeply impregnated with an anti-communism which includes opposition to all progressive social change are quite unable to conceive of any peaceful settlement. If the West wished to reunite Germany peacefully, they argue, it would attempt to do so now; to attempt reunification after rearmament—and West German rearmament will presumably carry with it East German, not to speak of redoubled Polish and Czech, rearmament—would entail the use of force or the threat of force.

The pro-militarization Germans can only conclude, therefore, that the role of the new West German army will be to strike eastward across the Elbe and, if possible, the Vistula, in the company of the large American and British armies which they are determined to get into Germany. It is to this strike eastward that such oddly assorted people as the Social Democratic Schumacher and the ex-general of tanks Heinz Guderian refer when they talk about the "offensive-defensive" strategy required to "defend" Western Germany. That West German rearmament will be taken by the Russians as a most dangerous provocation is accepted by its proponents.

They argue, however, that "there is still time" to embark upon this provocation without leading the Russians to take decisive counter-measures. This argument is founded on the belief that the Russians will not initiate a war in Germany.

Conscious of American and British approval—and very warm approval too—for plans of this nature, the West German nationalists already begin to speak a new language of authority and confidence. Only seven months have passed since I was in Bonn before, but the change of atmosphere is noticeable. It is perhaps best illustrated by the tremendous orchestration of support for those who are demanding that the lives of the S. S. murderers now locked up in Landsberg jail be spared. These "red jackets" as they are called—the condemned men wear such articles of clothing—were sentenced for killing American prisoners near Malmédy. The reason why they have stayed alive is that American justice magnanimously gave them the same right of appeal as American citizens enjoy. Accordingly, month by month since their conviction, the German lawyers have discovered new "evidence" upon which to base repeated appeals for clemency or retrial, or simply for outright reversal of the sentences. From time to time the American authorities have agreed to reduce the list of the condemned. [On January 13 the death sentences of all those involved in the Malmédy massacre were commuted to life imprisonment.] The net effect of this generous procedure has been to promote the belief in Germany that the whole trial was a case of utterly unjustified American vengeance, if not outright brutality, and to devalue still further, if that is possible, the processes of Allied justice in Germany. Most German newspapers nowadays print the word *Kriegsverbrecher*—war criminal—in italics, or use it in a derisive sense.

Little by little, and quite noticeably now, the official tone of West Germany is becoming frankly and outrageously that of unrepentant nationalism. Ex-Nazis are found everywhere in places of influence—in the administration, in the press, in the law courts, in the schools and universities, and in Parliament. The Allied demand for rearmament strengthens the unrepentant nationalists, which is a development not displeasing to the Western powers, for only among nationalists and ex-Nazis can they find partners for a third world war.



MAO POKER-FACE

London *Daily Herald*

New Land of Cotton

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles

ON OCTOBER 4, 1950, Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan announced that marketing quotas and acreage allotments for the 1951 cotton crop would be removed, and it now seems likely that as a further incentive for increased production a support price of 100 per cent of parity will be established. Yet a year ago Mr. Brannan felt compelled to order a 20 per cent cutback in production. What is responsible for this drastic change in the outlook for cotton?

For one thing, the 1950 crop was the smallest in years —only about 9,869,000 bales, 38 per cent less than the 1949 crop of 16,128,000 bales. The failure to achieve the goal of 11,733,750 bales, which Mr. Brannan had set for 1950, was due largely to heavy rains and the boll weevil in the Mississippi Delta—closely related hazards —and to severe drought in western Texas. Another factor was the refusal of many Southern cotton growers to plant as much as they were allowed to. They accepted their allotments based on "prior histories," for future use with no intention of using them in 1950. About 18 per cent of the allotted acreage was not planted.

The primary cause of the cotton boom, however, is the war in Korea. The demand for cotton cloth and for the cotton linters and cotton pulp used in the manufacture of explosives increased sharply last June and again when the President announced that we intended to form an army of 3,000,000. An army of this size will alone create a demand for 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 bales. At the same time the export demand was lively throughout the year, in part owing to the stimulation of European cotton manufacture through Marshall Plan funds but more particularly owing to heavy mid-summer exports to Japan. The removal of limitations on the production of cotton mills in Japan and on the installation of new equipment promptly stepped up Japanese importation of California cotton.

Secretary Brannan's lifting of all quota restrictions on the 1951 crop is certain to accelerate the shift in cotton production from the South to the West. Southern producers who have profited from the change to diversified farming and livestock production will be extremely cautious about plunging into the great 1951 cotton gamble, especially since they know how severely handicapped they are in competition with the irrigated West. On the other hand, Western growers, particularly those in California, will seize the opportunity to built up inflated "acreage histories" as a protection against future production limitations. "Now is the time," one of these growers said recently, "to get yourself a cotton history." Cotton acreage in California may well jump from 650,000 to 1,000,000 acres this year.

The disintegration of the South's cotton economy will merely be speeded up. Not only is the yield per acre of irrigated fields almost double that of non-irrigated, but the quality of Western cotton is steadily improving, while that of Southern cotton is declining. Last year, to the amazement of the trade, California cotton brought premium prices over similar grades of Mississippi Delta cotton at mills in the heart of the Deep South's cotton belt. Even Atlantic seaboard mills, traditionally partial to the South's unirrigated upland cotton, bought California cotton for their fine-quality goods. Now as many as thirty of these mills have announced that they intend to use it in the future. Mills in Japan, Great Britain, Germany, and Italy are using California cotton for their best materials.

Fortunes will be made in cotton in California in 1951, but the long-range consequences will be harmful. Lands converted from cotton to first plantings of alfalfa on the assumption that the 1949 cutback of 20 per cent would be retained are already being reconverted to cotton. Curtailment of grain production and encroachment on permanent pasturage will cause higher feed costs, which will be reflected in higher prices for meat and dairy products. Dairy herds may be reduced in size. The sheep industry will suffer. Anticipating an increase in alfalfa, sheep growers brought 50,000 lambs into the San Joaquin Valley last year in an effort to raise California to second place again among the sheep-producing states. The cotton craze may block these plans. The most serious consequence of the 1951 runaway production of cotton, however, will be the demands on a limited water supply and the certain soil erosion.

Increased cotton acreage in California will mean the diversion of more nitrogen to fertilizer and of other chemicals to insecticides, the use of more freight cars for cotton shipments, an increased demand for ginning, handling, and warehouse facilities and for supplies of bagging and ties. Moreover, before long California will undoubtedly have an important cotton-textile industry; a large cotton mill is already scheduled for construction in Contra Costa County. There is a big local market for

---

CAREY McWILLIAMS, author of the recently published "Witch Hunt: The Revival of Heresy," has also written a number of books on the agricultural and labor problems of the West. He is a staff contributor.

textiles on the West Coast and a larger market in the Pacific. Each of these developments will build up vested interests in California's cotton production. At the same time, the state's windfall of seven new Congressmen next year will make it more difficult for the South to manipulate cotton quotas to its advantage.

California production is based on the most highly developed technology to be found anywhere that cotton is grown. The use of a standard seed throughout the state is merely one illustration. This year important experimental work is being done with "coated" seed—that is, seed coated with material containing fertilizer and hormones as well as rodent and insect repellents. A new "di-nitro" spray stops the germination of weed seeds for about four weeks, with little bad effect, apparently, on the cotton plant. The number of mechanical cotton-pickers has increased from 965 in 1949 to 1,435 this year, and the entire California crop will probably be mechanized in from three to five years. Recent studies indicate that the use of mechanical pickers saves from $13.50 to $22 a bale.

Few developments in American agriculture in the last fifty years compare in importance with the shift in cotton-growing from the South to the West. "De land ob cotton" is now California, but Ol' Massa doesn't sit on the veranda sipping a mint julep. Ol' Massa in these parts is a precision farmer and agricultural or farm-commodity politician, a plunger, a soil-robber, and, above all, a smart operator. He combines a Western toughness and taste for gambling with a remarkable willingness to experiment with technological innovation, and he finds, in California, the funds for huge capital investments. His energies and his discoveries are shaking the South's cotton empire to its foundations.

Enemy Number 1-a

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, January 22

THE latest discovery made by the French government is that if communism is Enemy Number 1, neutralism is Enemy Number 1-a—in other words, a sort of sub-communism, an accomplice of the agents of Moscow.

The Taft speech, it seems, coming just as General Eisenhower arrived in Paris, threw the French government into something like a panic. What, no American troops for France? No more prodding of Western Europe to pull up its socks? America's frontier on the Channel? Where in heaven's name, it was asked, had the Americans got the idea that France was not keen on the Atlantic Pact? Of course there were the Communists, but what United States Senator would listen to them? No, there was something more insidious—there were the French "neutralists," who ever since the Atlantic Pact was signed had been beefing and belly-aching and raising a thousand doubts in the minds of the Americans about whether France was worthy of all the generous military aid Mr. Truman was willing to send.

Who are the neutralists? In the National Assembly there are 180 Communists and near-Communists; but there is no Neutralist Party. This makes it all the worse. For "neutralism" is a state of mind, and its spokesmen are skeptics of various nuances, ranging from Claude Bourdet of *L'Observateur* and the late Emmanuel Mounier of *Esprit* to Hubert Beuve-Méry himself, editor of the only French paper of real international standing, *Le Monde*. The neutralists claim to express the most widespread and deep-seated feelings of the French people, but in fact anyone who is not quite conformist in France today can be conveniently classed as a neutralist—especially if the Communist label won't stick.

Neutralists of all brands are severe critics of the Atlantic Pact. Beuve-Méry is doubtful of its military value and sure that it is provocative. Bourdet went so far as to welcome the "European" part of Taft's speech. By all means let France, he said in effect, look after its own security. By not having an Atlantic army here, it will not provoke Russia. If the Russians, nevertheless, invade France, the French people will have the best possible psychological basis for offering unanimous opposition by means of a nation-wide *maquis* organized in advance.

Maybe this is "unrealistic." Nobody in the Assembly expressed such ideas. Some four hundred deputies—practically all except the Communists—voted for the rearmament program "in order to give America confidence in France" and encourage it to send more arms and money. But the mental reservations with which many of them voted may be easily guessed. Even the *bien pensant* François Mauriac wrote in *Figaro* that he hoped that the utmost effort would be made to come to an agreement with the Russians, much as he loathed them. This is not quite the line of the State Department.

And then M. Moch thought he would contribute to the discussion. He went to the lunch of the Anglo-

ALEXANDER WERTH, for many years The Nation's *Moscow correspondent, is now a staff contributor living in Paris.*

American Press Association and read a speech that had been prepared in advance. It was a most illuminating performance. France was not neutralist, he insisted; if there were neutralists, they were traitors—yes, *traitors!*—no better than the Communists. France believed in collective security, France believed in Eisenhower, "the liberator of Europe"; and he, Jules Moch, a French Socialist, "had given body and soul to the task of reconstituting a mighty French army." This army, together with its allies—Germany was not mentioned—would "compel aggression to retreat." He believed in the future because (1) although a notable fraction of the French working class voted Communist, the orders of the party were no longer carried out; (2) people were reading the Communist press and attending party meetings much less than before; (3) the government was being very tough with the Communists (cheers from most of the audience) and throwing them out of responsible jobs.



Premier Pleven

Finally, there was France, which had always been capable of the most wonderful *élans* and *redressements*. Recall, Moch exclaimed, the Convention, which introduced the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the metric system (*sic*) and built up revolutionary armies that were the terror of all the crowned tyrants of the day! Think of the Paris Commune! ("What was that he said?" one bewildered young American beside me whispered.) Or the great Popular Front movement, Moch went on, and the Resistance! ("Popular Front, Resistance—didn't the Reds have something to do with that?" said my young American friend, more puzzled than ever.) Afterward there were questions. "I can't say anything," Moch replied to one, "except that our talks with General Eisenhower were most satisfactory." "Military service—yes. Much bigger effort made by France than by Britain. No exemptions here at all." The Americans could put that in their pipes and smoke it, and the British, too.

From a far corner a lady's voice piped: "M. Moch, are there any Communists in the French army?" "Of course, of course," said Moch, "in a conscript army we are bound to have *some* Communists, but no one, no one, above the rank of lieutenant colonel. Three Communist lieutenant colonels for the whole French army, I assure you. I haven't fired them yet, but three isn't very many, is it? And they're being carefully watched." Another female voice then asked, "What proportion of the French population adopted the Communist attitude to Eisenhower's visit?" "I'm a mathematician," Moch declared, "and I can tell you exactly: less, much less, than the circulation of the entire Communist press—and that's small, very small."

Everybody was most impressed and reassured.

Paris, February 1

IS THE Pleven government trying to become, in the eyes of Washington, the Good Boy of Europe? Much has been made in the pro-government press of the profound Anglo-American differences on China, and in some quarters there is a scarcely concealed desire that France should "cash in," and become America's "Ally No. 1." It is no secret that M. Chauvel, the French delegate at the U. N., was in favor of supporting America's condemnation of China to the hilt; in advocating this policy, he said it would be "a useful gesture of France's independence in relation to Britain."

Before M. Pleven left for Washington, France was given the kind of "advance publicity" that should please large sections of American opinion. A typical manifestation of this was the official drive against the neutralists. Then came the order from the Ministry of the Interior that the head offices of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Women's Federation, and the Democratic Youth Federation—all branded "Cominform agencies"—should be closed, even though the first-named had been given "consultative status" (Category A) by the U. N. Finally, there was the repression of the Communist demonstration against Eisenhower. All the non-Communist papers announced the demonstration had been a fiasco and had come to an "early ignominious end." In reality, the whole neighborhood of the Etoile was black with thousands of police armed to the teeth, and the Communists who got anywhere near where Eisenhower was staying were chased into police cars and, more often than not, beaten up. Over 3,000 arrests were made. What may have given Eisenhower a little food for thought was the fact that *nobody except the police* tried to beat up the Communists for carrying "No Wehrmacht!" banners.

Not that this solves the problem of Germany. While in Germany, Eisenhower had made it pretty clear that the "Pleven plan" with its "European army" was, as far as he was concerned, down the drain. "Perfect equality" for Germany has been consistently opposed by the French, and the Communists' "No Wehrmacht!" is exactly what both M. Pleven and M. Schuman have said over and over again. Will the French government now accept the American view on Germany in return for "substantial aid" for Indo-China? This aid would presumably only take the form of heavy war equipment. Or are the 30,000 Chinese Nationalist soldiers still interned

at Haiphóng to be used against Vietminh? As a precedent, nothing would please General MacArthur better. The French government is doubtless aware of the dangers of such a step, but what pressures will Washington exercise? Indo-China cannot be "reconquered" with less than half a million troops, and France is badly handicapped in Europe by having to keep ten of its best divisions in the Far East. Has Indo-China, it is asked, now become part of Washington's "world strategy"?

The gulf between the pro-government press and public sentiment is rapidly widening here, and the fear that America is already on the war path is far greater than the fear that Russia may spontaneously invade Western Europe. Anxiety is increased by a rapid rise in the price of a large range of commodities, and the lack of any sign that price controls will be imposed, still less that wages will be raised. The recent Mendès-France prophesies of "economic disequilibrium" are already coming true, and M. Petsche, the Minister of Finance, is said to be in a very gloomy mood. Apart from the gravity of the economic situation, he is reported to have been sharply criticized by Mr. Harriman, and to have become *persona non grata* with Washington for being "too independent."

Pressures and Pictures: II

BY GILBERT SELDES

IN EVERY protest against the pressure groups which are trying to ban "The Miracle" from public showing, the right to persuade was accepted as fundamental, the right to prevent was challenged. A group of distinguished Protestants, laymen and clergy, wired the New York Board of Regents: "The Roman Catholic church has every right to forbid any film . . . to its own communicants. It has no legal or moral right to attempt to force its views on [the] state as a whole." The argument was, in a sense, anticipated by Cardinal Spellman, who primarily called on Catholics to boycott the picture and protest its showing, but added: "Moreover, if the present law is so weak and inadequate to cope with this desperate situation, then all right-thinking citizens should unite to change and strengthen the federal and state statutes so as to make it impossible for anyone to profit financially by blasphemy, immorality, and sacrilege."

The "desperate situation" is the showing to non-Catholics of a picture Catholics are instructed not to see. To put the question broadly, what is any group to do if picketing and protest fail to remove from public attention anything offensive to its moral sense? The traditional American answer is that they should do nothing, either out of love for the principle of freedom or out of self-interest, because they cannot expect freedom unless they are willing to grant it. We have to face the fact that this attitude is now purely historical; everyone knows it, and no one—outside of a few scattered liberals—holds to it. And no other formula has been found. As an adherent of the American Civil Liberties Union, as a citizen, and as an individual, I feel that even to consider a substitute formula is an admission of defeat; we have been fighting rearguard actions in defense of freedom and of the fundamental law of the country that gives us freedom, but at least we have been fighting, and we are lost if we compromise.

As a political unit I know the reality: I know large, powerful organized groups are demanding changes in the law in order to limit freedom of expression and, as in the case of "The Miracle," to make pressure on public bodies more effective. We are confronted with two separate, even contradictory efforts; one can be called McCarthy-McCarranism—the effort to destroy active minorities by depriving them of liberty and livelihood unless they conform to loosely defined majority opinion; the other is the effort of organized minorities to impose their will on that same majority, which is, in theory, their enemy. The reason their mutual hostility has not been discovered is that, at the moment, both are wearing the colors of anti-liberalism. The protection of law-respecting minorities was a prime concern of Jeffersonian democrats, who are now aware of the unsuspected danger: that given sufficient organization, minorities can paralyze the general will of the people.

This is the atmosphere in which attacks on the motion picture have been going on in the past few years. The movies are an excellent test case and illustration of the general principle because, with all their concentration on a vast minority audience, they remain the one great popular art which people pay to see and about which, consequently, they would protest if their feelings were sufficiently outraged. Movies are, moreover, observed by a number of intelligent groups—reviewers, educators, parents—who would complain of any abuse of taste even if the more general public did not. Except for objections to certain films that treated the Negro decently, about

GILBERT SELDES is the author of "The Seven Lively Arts," "Proclaim Liberty!" and other books. The first part of this article appeared last week.

which I am not at all sure, I know of no genuinely public outcry. I have seen pictures so debased in concept, so degrading to the dignity of man, that they should have been picketed on the ground that they were unfair to the human intelligence, but I have seen none, even in the old pre-"code" days, that was an offense to public morality, in the accepted sense. Since the code went into operation, virtually all pictures are estranged from the actual morals of the people, and when they came to grips with reality, particularly if they touch on any manifestation of sex, they are cruelly immoral, because they are false and their falsity cannot be penetrated by the people who see them.

The Legion of Decency has, in spite of its overriding influence with the Johnston office, denounced in whole or in part many pictures passed under the Production Code. Foreign pictures have to be made without knowing in advance whether they will receive the seal of the Johnston office, and, as in the case of "The Bicycle Thief," a picture which the industry's own academy honors can be financially ruined because the seal is withheld. This is concealed pressure; in the case of "The Miracle" the pressure is in the open.

Those who think the pressure is excessive must try to separate the religious from the social elements in the problem. Disregarding the suggestion that a movie about a woman described as an idiot might, by some wild exercise of prejudice, be called "an insult to Italian womanhood" and also the suggestion, made by 167 American Legion posts, that the picture "ridicules the American principles for which we fought in both world wars," we can, I think, state the cardinal issue without prejudice: the picture is taken to be a gross parody of the story of the birth of Christ. If that story were at the core of the Catholic religion alone, no one outside the faith could testify that it is inoffensive; since the story is central in the Protestant religions as well, since Protestants may be taken to be as zealous as Catholics in its defense, their testimony is relevant, and so far it has been favorable to the showing of the film.

The Catholic position seems to be that something more than the usual protest is required because the offense is ranker than usual, and they have in a way tried to move their action into a wider sphere of influence by asking non-Catholics to join them. The enthusiasts for liberty must wonder whether they would have the picture shown if it were actually a travesty of a basic and sacred event; since this would be sacrilege, within the definition, the law of the state would prevent exhibition of the film. But the law may be changed, and does anyone want it to permit the showing of sacrilege, in the name of freedom? We have no guiding rule here, nothing even as broad as the principle of "clear and present danger"; we speak of "the general sense of the community." What we really want is for people to be willing to be outraged in order that liberty shall not be destroyed in the land; unfortunately most people want this a little more for others than for themselves.

Failing this ideal, we have to establish a code of fair play, which will include a decent respect for the opinion of that portion of mankind that wants the screen to be free and which will describe the limits of pressure. The danger now is that we do not see how the forms of pressure are changing.

THE old-line pressure groups had their signal success when the Eighteenth Amendment was accepted, but the Prohibition movement is the prototype of our contemporary pressures only in one respect—organization. We may feel that a minority had its way and that bribes, blackmail, and general chicanery are not the most exalted elements in the democratic political process; but there was a vote; the minority set out to persuade the majority, to convert the orthodox to heresy. By the principle now in action the minority creates its dogma and does not try to convert, but to suppress. Until now its triumphs have been outside the law.

The greatest of these was the imposition of the Production Code on the major studios. No matter how sweetly the managers of the movie business prattle about their enthusiasm for the code—which does, in fact, save them grief with local boards of censors—the fact is that the alternative to the code was an incalculable deal of hostile publicity and, in reserve, a boycott that might easily cut off one-fifth of the movie revenue. I have no doubt that the stalled ox rejoices in his 20 per cent higher ration of oats.

He does, however, break out occasionally, and I am afraid I have never given the movie industry sufficient credit for those pictures which the Legion of Decency condemns. Most of them are unimportant; the manufacturer of a two-million-dollar picture takes special care to be on the safe side. But the occasional picture that offends any group provides the material for study of the next step in pressure—the boycott as a permanent threat. In the past five years the boycott has become a new weapon, it is self-perpetuating. The owner of a theater is informed that if he shows a certain picture his house will be boycotted forever after, no matter what pictures he shows, and the studio making such a picture receives an "intimation" that *all* pictures made by that studio will also be boycotted. Minor harassments, some of them taken from the armory of goons, occur; the Paris Theater, where "The Miracle" is shown, was picketed by more objectors with more offensive placards than are usually tolerated; a totally false report that a bomb had been planted in the theater disrupted one performance; and two years after it was built, the house itself was inspected and found in doubtful condition, by inspectors conveniently sent to look for fire violations.

The most spectacular demonstration of the new tactics

is the one I mentioned last week—the threat to the Radio City Music Hall that it might be boycotted, with no time limit set, if it permitted the New York Film Critics to give one of their awards to the trilogy of which "The Miracle" is one part. The sharp resistance of the critics, compared with the lethargy of the Music Hall, is a symptom of strength in the press, but we are forced to wonder how far this intimidation is from an attack on the critics themselves and how close it is to nullifying the Bill of Rights.

I AM using the case of "The Miracle" because it is fresh in the public mind and because its "field" is so much broader than any other I know; but it would be stupid and unfair to imply that the principles involved and the tactics employed are peculiar to the Catholic groups leading the movement for suppression. In the attack on "Oliver Twist" the primary boycott was against other pictures made by J. Arthur Rank—since the object was to prevent any showing of "Oliver Twist"—and the secondary one was against all products of the British Empire! The preventive boycott is in itself a new phenomenon, although it is no new thing for producers to be warned not to make certain pictures. It should be noticed also that the restrained statements of the usual strike pickets are abandoned in these socio-moralistic cases and that scurrilous lies often take their place. It remains part of our tradition—one of the few fragments respected by the enemies of free expression—that no matter how false and foolish his words may be, a man may say them so long as he stays within the law. The debasing effect on our intellectual currency and the inevitable debasement of our minds that must follow are shocking; but that is part of the risk we have to take.

But the risk is justifiable only if the opportunity to answer is unchecked. When Martin J. Quigley, the most influential publisher of movie trade journals, instigator and co-author of the Production Code, learned that his intimation of "disfavor" had closed the doors of the Music Hall to the film critics, he said frankly that he acted because he did not want "The Miracle" to be "popularized and publicized"; the effort backfired, and *Variety* noted that "The Miracle" was "going steady with Page One." It was, none the less, an attempted gag, and the critics, in their official statement, emphasized their "abhorrence of . . . attempts to . . . control artistic judgment . . . by deliberate pressure and threats." In the present state of public indifference to basic rights, the spirit of our laws may be so corrupted by private action that it will not even be necessary to remove the Bill of Rights from the Constitution to destroy its guaranties.

Action to change the law is, as I have noted, exactly what Cardinal Spellman calls for if the present laws are found insufficient. The insufficiency lies in this: the board empowered to license pictures has heretofore been immune to public pressure outside of the usual channels: if the board was unresponsive to public feeling, the public could vote out of office the officials who appointed the board. The change asked for would not only give the public a more immediate way of making its feelings known; it would open the board to endless minority pressures and establish a precedent affecting other administrative units—there is no reason why the FCC should not be made as vulnerable as a single state board—and the entire control of radio and television would be taken from the public. I can foresee an enterprising aspirant to a television channel hiring some publicity goons to organize protests against the holder of a franchise, and in due time the planning of pressure campaigns will become as well established as the business of raising funds now is for endowments and charities.

THE particular danger for the movies is that for thirty-five years the Supreme Court has refused to revise its decision that the movies are "spectacles" not to be considered "as part of the press or as organs of public opinion" and are consequently not entitled to protection under the First Amendment. A few years ago the court indicated a change of heart, in an *obiter dictum* delivered in an anti-trust case; this year, when the issue was directly brought up, the court sidestepped, refusing to review a case in which a lower court held to the 1916 decision. The truth is that the movies are not an organ for the direct *expression* of public opinion, but they have been for two generations a powerful force in the creation of that climate of feeling in which opinion germinates. They *influence* if they do not express the attitudes of the public, and to refuse them guaranties of freedom given to the printed and spoken word—and since radio is protected, to television also—is both insulting and dangerous.

Several months ago I tried to interest some motion-picture executives in a proposal to remove the belittling phrases from the law of the land, believing that a simple joint resolution in Congress could accomplish what the court refused to do. Nothing came of it then; perhaps now that they are in danger they will be willing to accept the responsibilities which protection under the First Amendment implies. If they do not, perhaps the Americans who still care for liberty will do it for them. If it is not done, and if the case of "The Miracle" or something like it goes to the Supreme Court, only the greatest stroke of fortune can save us. As it stands today, the federal law is of no help, and the law of each individual state will be constantly attacked and weakened because the groups that wish to destroy freedom are highly organized, fanatical, and ruthless, while those organizations which want to protect it are, by something fine and delicate in their own nature, unwilling or unable to use the weapons of their enemies.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

MacArthur and Japan

THE RIDDLE OF MACARTHUR: JAPAN, KOREA, AND THE FAR EAST. By John Gunther. Harper and Brothers. $2.75.

JOHN GUNTHER'S heart is in the right place, but he hasn't got his story straight—and often hasn't got it at all. His point of view is creditable, but his errors so gross that his book will embarrass those who agree with him.

Gunther was in Japan last summer—for how long he does not say. His book was announced as "Caesar of the Pacific," and then, when in November MacArthur blundered in the mountains of North Korea, the title was hastily changed. It is easy to see that whole sections of the book were rewritten in a mad hurry as the book went to press in mid-December. But the worst errors do not flow from the quixotic attempt to keep up with the headlines; they occur in Gunther's estimate of MacArthur's stewardship in Japan, which occupies exactly one-third of the book.

The first and by far the best third is a very shrewd appraisal of MacArthur, the man and the legend. Gunther recalls many half-forgotten mistakes, although his estimate of MacArthur's military genius remains high. He also considers him a good soldier who obeys orders—usually; a faithful and efficient administrator; a brilliant and wide-ranging mind; and a sincere, dedicated, reform-inclined conservative. But he also knows him to be aloof, arrogant, egotistical, imperious, theatrical, sometimes messianic, and disliked by all except his inner circle. He sums him up with the paradox that the man imposes democracy like a dictator.

This general estimate is sound. But I believe Gunther is wrong in saying that "when the great [and liberal] directive of August 29, 1945, was drawn up in Washington, MacArthur was intimately consulted." If there was intimacy, it was on one side only. MacArthur refused to take occupation problems seriously until the Japanese surrendered. And what sort of reporter can write on page 26 that "apparently he never forgets *any*thing" (italics Gunther's) and on page 27 that "sometimes he is so bewitched by his own eloquence that he forgets what he has just said"?

There are three basic tests of good reporting on Japan: Have official handouts and statements been checked? Has the reporter, in a nation of peasants, got out of the cities? And has he, preferably by learning a little Japanese, won the confidence of any but "official Japanese," the ones who say what SCAP wants them to say? Gunther passes none of these tests as far as his identification of sources shows. Unlike most good reporters, he seldom bothers with attributions. In their absence one is free to speculate that he put himself in the hands of, and trusted implicitly, the brilliantly staffed and oil-smooth Visitors' Bureau which SCAP has set up to take care of VIP's, and which has developed an incredibly perfect technique of combining junkets through one of the most beautiful countries on earth with the indoctrination, all unbeknown to them, of the junketeers, including Congressmen. Those who have had the thirty-day or the sixty-day or the de luxe ninety-day treatment never are the same again.

Here is the kind of reporting that results:

Gunther: "Houses in Japan are not numbered." Fact: they are, but in order of construction instead of position.

Gunther: "The Japanese are a profoundly impenetrable people." Best opinion: they are very excitable and conceal their emotions poorly.

Gunther: ". . . seven million union members now." Fact: because of feudalism in the unions, this is not the achievement Gunther tries to suggest.

Gunther: "The land reform was well planned and well administered." Fact: many Japanese do not think the planning was good, and the present Minister of Agriculture has sabotaged the transfer of land titles.

Gunther: "A strong movement for *Romaji* [the Roman alphabet] exists." Fact: this is SCAPtrap. As of a year ago no general publication in *Romaji* could be bought.

Gunther: "The *zaibatsu* . . . may rise again." Best opinion: this is right, but Gunther misses the real point that intangible feudal loyalties within business circles may nullify the legal dissolution of cartels.

Gunther: "One first-class scandal . . . caused the downfall of the Ashida (socialist) Cabinet." Fact: Ashida himself was the head of the conservative Democratic Party, and his coalition National Democratic government contained only a minority of eight Socialist members.

Gunther: "The Korean war proved that as of today the overwhelming majority of Japanese are loyal to the occupation." Best opinion: the majority of Japanese are earnestly anti-Communist, but also neutralist and as earnestly opposed to what seems to them American truculence. Many say that the fight for freedom is just as hollow an ideological pretense as the fight for the Emperor. The prevalence of this attitude is circumstantially confirmed by the unwillingness of the Japanese to rearm, and Gunther does incalculable harm by suggesting otherwise.

Gunther: "I asked many Japanese . . . what ended the war. One and all they replied . . . 'The atom bomb on Hiroshima.'" Opinion: Gunther must have fished for this reply. Fact: many Japanese have expressed other views, both privately and publicly. See, for instance, "The Lost War" by Masuo Kato, a top reporter.

Gunther: "As long ago as 1946 [SCAP] abandoned formal directives [to the Japanese]." Fact: this is true, but a good reporter should not have missed the choice story behind this. SCAP abandoned directives because they had to be debated, if not approved, by the Allied Council for Japan, on which sat not only an annoying Russian but also the gifted British Empire representative, W. McMahon Ball, the prickly liberal conscience of the occupation. His resignation was forced, and even the memory of his name erased. Gunther does not mention him once, so well do MacArthur's flunkeys "guide" visitors.

Gunther: "The very word 'com-

munity' did not exist in Japanese until recently. . . . The concept . . . was foreign." Fact: the Japanese, collectivist by instinct, have a more highly developed sense of community than we, and many words to express it.

Gunther: ". . . The Yoshida liberals." Fact: the Yoshida Liberals, a different matter, are conservatives.

Gunther, page 26: "How much of the SCAP reformation *will* endure no man can know"; page 229: "It is unlikely that any Japanese government will ever dare to take away from at least three groups the reforms that have been given them—women, labor, and the peasants," Best opinion: Gunther's own first and more humble one.

The third section of "The Riddle of MacArthur" deals with the Korean war, with MacArthur's relations with Truman, and with general problems and policies in Asia. Once again I can subscribe to most of Gunther's generalizations, but hardly because I have learned to trust him. Oddly enough, at the very end of the book Gunther has added a question-and-answer "Catechism" on the achievements of the occupation, and here again I can agree with the generalized answers, with the minor reservation that present successes are slightly exaggerated, and with the major reservation that Gunther never asks the ultimate question: Can democracy ever be imposed?

In spite of Gunther's liberal outlook, the reader who wants a sober, accurate, measured, hard-headed appraisal of material accomplishments had better turn to conservative Robert A. Fearey's "Occupation of Japan." And for those who want a fine insight into the highly unresolved subjective and cultural problems facing us in Japan and the rest of Asia, there is Santha Rama Rau's splendid book, "East of Home."

HAROLD STRAUSS

The Men of Bad Will

TROUBLED SLEEP. By Jean-Paul Sartre. Translated from the French by Gerard Hopkins. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

IN LITERARY conversation the two extreme opinions on the present state of the novel are apt to run as follows: (1) The novel is dead. Journalism has killed it in its realistic form, while the non-realistic novel was doomed from the beginning by constitutional anemia and progressive abstraction. (2) The novel has never been more vital. Poetry has been reduced to a private language and plays to commodities, but the novel has matured into a uniquely comprehensive genre—epic and lyric, meditative and dramatic—an ideal *summa*, which can encompass the universe *and* revolve infinitely around a cookie in a cup of tea.

Both opinions are frivolously far from the presumable truth of the matter. Yet the reader of Jean-Paul Sartre's latest novel, "Troubled Sleep," is almost forced to admit either that the contemporary novel is actually in its agony or that Sartre, no matter how talented as a thinker and playwright, was not born to be a novelist. But what is really the case?

I am convinced that Sartre's failure to be a major novelist has but little to do with his native talents and very much with his deliberate intention—in other words, that it rests on the *bad will* he displays toward his battered medium. A novelist, after all, is a writer who succumbs to the pleasure of telling—Goethe called it *die Lust zu fabulieren*; in this regard, but in this alone, Joyce and Kafka are no less "picaresque" than Quevedo or Defoe. A novelist wants events to unfold and human beings to live. But in what events and what characters lies the main difference—I was tempted to write the only one—between, let us say, "Don Quixote" and "Remembrance of Things Past."

Sartre is different. He resists. He is against telling, whatever the tale may be; he merely consents to be a novelist in fits or, as the French say, *à son corps défendant*. Metaphysical soliloquies, invertebrate talk, structural distortions—anything will do, since the writer's unavowed aim is to obstruct narration. The apostle of *la littérature engagée*, one who urges the artist to commit himself to ideas, action, and what-not, is a stubborn enemy of the writer's natural commitment—to art.

In the original French "Troubled Sleep" is entitled "La Mort dans l'Ame"—something like Despair in the Heart—a French idiom of which the title of the British edition, "Iron in the Soul," is a good Biblical equivalent. This is the third novel in the series entitled "Roads to Freedom," of which "The Age of Reason" and "The Reprieve" are the earlier sections. The main characters reappear in these pages under the stunning shadow of the fall of France: Mathieu, the French intellectual in search of an ethical ground; Gomez, the Spanish refugee-painter, who suffers *in absentia*, since he is in New York; Boris, the young man torn between fidelity to an aging mistress and a dangerous involvement in the cause of Free France; Daniel, the homosexual, the would-be Stavrogin, for whom the disintegration of society is a private victory; Brunet, the "over-committed" Communist organizer; and women, and children, and bands of French soldiers idling from defeat into captivity.

Each of these persons has his own *mort dans l'âme*: "he doesn't know what he wants, he's not even sure what he's done. . . . He's bogged down, he's fallen slap out of the world of men, out of history. . . . Even his tools for thinking straight are outdated. . . . He is suffering from the iron that has entered his soul."

The theme of the inner collapse of a defeated country is a natural one for the author of "La Nausée." In the France of the spring of 1940, "nausea," no longer the metaphysical adventure of an individual, had suddenly become collective, pertinent to everyone, and inevitable. But the motif, though awesomely justified, is felt and treated as a philosophical theorem. An ever-present taskmaster prevents each character from escaping his assigned role. We are led to hope that in the next and concluding novel of the series, the still unwritten "La Dernière Chance," some of these men will have earned their freedom, and that Sartre will then feel *free* to be a novelist. In the meantime, however—that is, in "Troubled Sleep"—everybody is still a transient, a prologue to himself, each a person in search of his own existential "decision."

Finally, I am happy to report Sartre's occasional dereliction of his duty as a thinker: it results in a few episodes of this novel which are nothing less than masterly. They chiefly deal with a group of "civilians in uniform" of the crushed army, who are rotting away after the Nazi onslaught. In these pages crudity and pity converge into art. We are far removed from Fabrice Del Dongo's

youthful attempt to cope with history on the battlefield of Waterloo. Here, on the highways and in the hamlets of *la doulce France*, not only history is in shambles; human identity itself is decadent. But whatever the difference may be, one feels that Sartre's achievement merits the comparison.

PAOLO MILANO

A World of Unrealities

THE SOVIET IMAGE OF THE UNITED STATES: A STUDY IN DISTORTION. By Frederick C. Barghoorn. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $4.

THIS carefully documented book by the American press attaché in Moscow from 1942 to 1947, who now teaches political science and international relations at Yale University, is notable on two counts. It is the first full-scale study of how the Soviet government pictures the United States to the Russian people and thus constitutes a valuable guide to what the Russian leaders and the Russian people think of this country: and it provides a candid, though unconscious, revelation of the problems we face in our efforts to appraise peoples of traditions different from our own.

No one but an American could have written this book. For no nation except the United States is so constantly preoccupied, to a degree bordering on obsession, with discovering what other peoples think of us. "Do the Russians (or the French, British, Indians, Chinese) love us? Why don't they love us?"—queries one often hears from Americans abroad—would never occur to nationals of other states. One of the keys to Britain s long success in maintaining tolerable relations all over the globe, even with former colonial subjects like the Americans and the Indians, is that the British never think of asking themselves whether or not the non-British love them. Americans, in contrast, look upon international relations as a sort of love affair, successful or unsuccessful. A psychiatrist might find food for thought in the passionate urge of Americans since World War II to be "loved," admired, and emulated by other nations, and their feeling that failure to inspire such emotions in other lands represents some kind of defeat.

Significant, too, is the tendency to assume that to win love or admiration the United States must concentrate on explaining itself, not on understanding the nation whose love or admiration it seeks. After a minute examination of the distortions of American realities fostered by the Kremlin, Mr. Barghoorn concludes that "one of the necessities of our policy toward Soviet Russia is to do everything possible to convince the peoples of the Soviet Union that the view of American institutions, life, and policy presented to them by their rulers does not correspond to reality." It does not seem to occur to him, and it seldom occurs to those who plan American propaganda directed to other countries, that more might be accomplished if the United States displayed some appreciation of the achievements—material or cultural—of the Russian nation (or of the French, British, Indian, or Chinese nation) than by ceaseless insistence on the achievements, virtues, wealth, high living standards, and unmatched strength of the United States.

Mr. Barghoorn has performed a valuable service in marshaling information culled from a wide variety of sources—newspapers, radio broadcasts, public lectures, books, personal conversations, reports from other observers—to demonstrate that the Soviet government gives the Russian people an image of the United States designed to besmirch this country's motives and belittle its accomplishments. This distorted image, the subject of what we have come to call the "Big Lie," is familiar to the American public in its general outlines, but Mr. Barghoorn's analysis is nevertheless useful in helping to fill in these outlines.

The value of his book would have been greatly enhanced had he attempted throughout to relate Moscow's propaganda for home consumption to the policy it has followed abroad, as he does in a very rewarding way in his chapter on The Kremlin and the Atom. For in this chapter Mr. Barghoorn leaves the impression that ideas and proposals which to us seem sheer propaganda devices may be genuinely believed by the Soviet leaders, and that instead of being brushed aside in Washington they should be seriously weighed as factors in the formulation of Moscow's decisions on world affairs. He

Selected for "Nation" Readers

A NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL POLICY

For All the People of the United States

by **Leonard Hastings Schoff,** Columbia University

Is the Brannan plan the right answer for our domestic agricultural policy? Or do we need provisions which will serve the interests of a public wider than the directly affected groups? Here is a bold, concrete program aimed at once to eliminate unprofitable farms and relieve the American taxpayer of the burden of heavy subsidizing of farm prosperity. $2.50

THE HUMAN COMMUNITY

Its Philosophy and Practice for a Time of Crisis

by **Baker Brownell,** Professor of Philosophy, Northwestern University

John Dewey says: *"The Human Community* (is) *the* book of the present age . . . I wish I knew what I could do to aid in obtaining for (its) unity of science and poetry the attention it needs as well as deserves." $4.00

PERSPECTIVES ON A TROUBLED DECADE

Science, Philosophy and Religion 1939-1949

Edited by **Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein** and **R. M. MacIver**

An intellectual and spiritual history of the past decade, as written by ninety-five of the distinguished men and women who made it—John LaFarge, Margaret Mead, Gardner Murphy, Harry A. Overstreet, and others. $5.50

At your bookstore or from

HARPER & BROTHERS

49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N. Y.

also indicates in this chapter that, unreasonable as the Russians often are or appear to be in international councils, they may have some reason—even when judged by our standards—for the fears, doubts, or suspicions they express about the West in general and the United States in particular. At another point Mr. Barghoorn states that while the Kremlin's anti-American campaign "has been in many ways crude and at times ludicrous, it has also been shrewdly calculated to appeal to the deeply rooted and partially justified feeling which has existed among the Russian people ever since they came in contact with Western peoples—that the latter were contemptuous and scornful of the Russians and did not appreciate their merits and capacities." Nor does he fall into the error, so common to most Americans who write about Russia, of believing that the views of the West propagated by the Soviet leaders represent a completely new development in Russia's history. "This campaign against Western culture," he says, "is similar to but far more extreme than the measures taken often in the past by Russian rulers against foreign influence."

Disquieting as is Mr. Barghoorn's conclusion that official Soviet propaganda is deliberately seeking to make the Russian people, against their will, learn to hate the United States, it is also disquieting to find that he himself apparently believes that most of the criticisms of American ideas and practices he noted in the U. S. S. R. are exclusively due to the machinations of the Kremlin. In actuality, unpleasant as it is to face it, many of these criticisms are also made by anti-Communists in countries which are not shut off from the United States by an iron curtain, whose governments have no reason to doubt the good-will of this country, and where the public has freedom of access to information about American life and has had many contacts with Americans.

A glance at the daily press of other nations will suffice to show this. To give but one example, the highly respected Manchester *Guardian*, in its issue of December 28, carried letters critical of the United States which listed among their targets American brashness and "superlativity," American morality as interpreted by Hollywood, the contrast between American avowals of individual liberty and racial discrimination, a preoccupation with anything new or novel, mass hysteria, an unrealistic and misguided approach to world problems and an inept handling of delicate situations, an incurable and colossal exaggeration and failure to acknowledge foreign sources of information, as in the case of penicillin and nuclear fission. Is it realistic, then, to assume, as Mr. Barghoorn and others who have written about Soviet "distortions" assume, that the Kremlin alone has a jaundiced view of the United States? Or shall we wake up some day to experience the great shock, already felt here with respect to China, of discovering that others may view us in an unfavorable, if to us unfair, light?

To this Mr. Barghoorn could rightly answer, as he does in one chapter, that unfair or actually falsified views of the United States are propagated in Russia by an all-powerful totalitarian government, not as in democratic countries by private individuals or publications. This is true. But private expressions of opinion can be as powerful in shaping policy as government pronouncements, and in fact more powerful, since the public—even in Russia, according to Mr. Barghoorn—is apt to be allergic to persistent official propaganda. And surely it would be a distortion of our own to pretend that the American people are at present receiving a fair and complete picture of Russia—or of Communist China. Graham Peck, who served with the United States Office of War Information in China during the war, presents a less scholarly but far more vivid and even-handed picture of the problems involved in propaganda warfare in his recently published "Two Kinds of Time." Writing about the American "image" of China created by some Republicans, he says: "Their pre-election maneuvers in the spring of 1950 suggest that consciously or unconsciously some of them are beginning to experiment with an American version of the 'Big Lie,' in order to continue with military intervention in Asia. Since China is the scene of the biggest failure of that policy, they present a picture of recent events in China which is so completely opposite to the facts that it tends to paralyze the American public's sense of judgment."

Mr. Barghoorn gives a frightening account of the extent to which the Kremlin distorts the image of the United States. But frightening accounts can also be written at the present time of the way many American commentators and politicians distort the images of Russia and China. If, as Mr. Barghoorn contends, the Soviet leaders, by believing their own distortions, are deliberately misleading themselves into a war—a contention which their shrewdly calculated moves on the world scene appear to belie—is there not a danger that we may be similarly misleading ourselves? And if this is so, may it not prove that propaganda warfare, by fostering a world of unrealities on both sides, creates more dangers than it averts?

VERA MICHELES DEAN

Verse Chronicle

THE publication of James Merrill's "First Poems" (Knopf, $3) is a solid satisfaction, yet not an exciting one. Mr. Merrill is a young poet who writes very proficiently indeed; he has a wealth of vocabulary and allusion, yet does not verbalize, does not gush, is not sentimental; he is, as the jacket says, a craftsman both adventurous and meticulous, though the paradox, I suspect, was inadvertent, and the writer really meant to say scrupulous. Mr. Merrill goes to no extremes, whether of fear or boldness; in both form and subject there is variety, and there is control. "But where's the bloody horse?" There seems to be something lacking in this cold, or anyway cool, verse for all its excellence, a dearth of ardor in the temperament it may be, so that one is tempted to quote against the poet his own lines from The Flint Eye—"luminous in these schools/ Language is glittering of flint rituals/ and a race of sober children learns long smiles."

Turn, for contrast in this matter of ardor, to another young poet, some two thousand years Mr. Merrill's senior. Caius Valerius Catullus, whose 120 poems and fragments are here, in 154 versions by various hands, "assembled, arranged, and edited by William A. Aiken" (Dutton, $3), is, of course, untranslatable, though not so much so as this aggregation would make it appear. Those who aspire to translate Catullus need to beat into their heads two facts

above all: first, that within the strict meters by which he was bound he was a master at using *sounds* for effects—the double chop of the ax in the *lux, nox,* followed by the barely perceptible rise and fall of the breath in the everlasting sleep, the slide of the elision, the long words, the vowel emphasis, in the subsequent *perpetua una dormienda* in the *Vivamus, mea Lesbia* poem; the mutes choking utterance in the fourth verse of the lament for his brother, counterpointing the long *a* and *u* vowels, and the dominance of the *m* consonants; the tortured strangling in the first verse of the two-verse poem that begins *Odi et amo.* Second, that except in the experimental neoteric poems—and there, too, in the best effects—Catullus wrote, above all things, directly: he called a spayed a spayed, especially when he was talking about bitches, which was often. *Fellat* does *not* mean "cajoles," and *paedicabo vos et irrumabo* does *not* mean "I'll turn and roast you on a spit."

There is neither accuracy, justice, nor sense in draping the nakedness of Catullus in pretty pink panties. Of Professor Aiken's considerable troop of translators, one who offends least in this regard appears to be a clergyman, the Reverend John Nott, 1751-1825. The editor himself conveys a good deal of information about Catullus and his circle, much of it sensible, some of it silly, in a prose that is lavish, even now and then gushing, in enthusiasm, and also, less happily, teeming with clichés. The reviewer's copy contains many errata, notably in the translation of the Acme-Septimius poem and in the index; for this the publishers have sent out, to their credit, a profuse letter of apology and correction, with the implied promise that the general public shall have a book less likely to be a freak collector's item.

From the firm of Alan Swallow in Denver come so many books all at once that they will get scant justice in this space. Admirers—there should be many—of the fine work of Janet Lewis will be interested to know that "Poems, 1924-1944" contains, with some slight rearrangement, all the items that were presented in the Wells College Press limited edition of "The Earth-Bound" (1946) and half a dozen more. The price is $2.50. I do not know why "Distichs for a Dancer" by Carol Ely Harper is so called, unless the author wants to give better than good measure for the money (50 cents); the stanzas are as apt to run to three lines as the conventional strophic group of two. This is nice clean work, and a good value.

When some time back I praised a little book by J. V. Cunningham, issued by the Cummington Press, and expressed the wish that there had been more of this author, I was gently reminded by Mr. Swallow that his firm had published such work, and that it was still available. I probably won't get this straight, even now, but it seems that the Swallow firm has ninety-two copies of "The Helmsman," poems by Mr. Cunningham, in the Colt Press edition; these are offered, bound and autographed, with a copy of "The Quest of the Opal," a prose commentary by the author on his work, for $7.50. The pamphlet edition of "The Quest of the Opal," with mimeographed copies of the poems from "The Helmsman" to which the author refers, is available separately for $1. Mr. Cunningham is an odd kind of poet, for he seems to feel that his work should properly have cost him, in its preparation, a great deal of experience, not excluding thinking. His *Gnothe seauton* involves him in difficult intellectual effort, and takes him considerably deeper than the narcissistic levels of glib self-admiration, or self-pity; his product, to which the term "precise" applies as accurately as to Mr. Merrill's and the term "meticulous" a good deal more so, has the intensity and, finally, the illumination which cannot be achieved without, somewhere along the line, resistance.

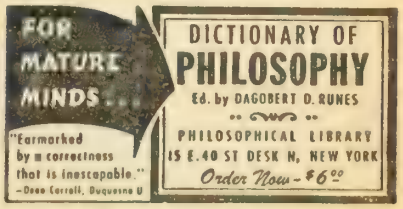
Finally we have, also from the firm of Swallow, a bargain package called "Key Poets," boxed in light cardboard, paper pamphlets, ten of them, nicely printed (in Great Britain), priced at $2.50 the set or 30 cents separately. The authors are (1) Edith Sitwell; (2) George Barker; (3) Randall Swingler; (4) Jonathan Denwood; (5) Stanley Snaith; (6) Dorian Cooke; (7) Jack Lindsay; (8) Maurice Carpenter; (9) Jack Beeching; (10) Norman Cameron. A dull lot, I am sorry to say, I find them all except Cameron and, for curious reasons, Lindsay; Sitwell seems worse than dull, offensively *grande dame,* and Barker just vulgarly obnoxious. But for the price there is good value, and sufficient evidence, for anyone who cares to go in for a serious study of trends; there might also be some therapy for those who suffer from a congenital sense of colonialism. ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

TO READ a literal prose translation of Ibsen's "Peer Gynt" is to perceive and admire the poetic conception which is its framework—and to feel that one could experience and judge its full impact only if one could read, or hear, the poetry in which it was written.

Paul Green's adaptation of "Peer Gynt" which is now playing at the ANTA Theater is not only cast in prose



HOW WE CAN STOP THE RUSSIANS AND STILL STAY SOLVENT

POLICY FOR THE WEST

By **BARBARA WARD**

Author of **THE WEST AT BAY**

"Lucid, persuasive, and urgent.... A brilliant performance."—J. B. BREBNER, *The Nation.*

"Nothing could be more refreshing than this summation, supported by figures . . . demonstration that the job can be done."—A. A. BERLE, JR., *N. Y. Times Book Review.*

"The best advice yet received from anyone on what to do about thunder on the left...shrewd and bold counsel."—GEORGE SOULE, *N. Y. Post.*

2nd Printing

***At all bookstores* • $3.75**

W. W. NORTON & COMPANY, N. Y. 3

but in prose which seems designed to turn a poetic drama into a topical, realistic play. The result is a mélange of the fantasy and the problem play which is convincing as neither, since it lacks the poetry of the one and the actuality of the other.

It is a little, indeed, as if Mr. Green had tried to bring "Peer Gynt" into line with Ibsen's later social dramas. "Peer Gynt," to be sure, was supposed to be a commentary on the Norwegian character, but this "social content," if it can be called that, was only the point of departure. What emerged, as I read it, was the legend of a man with a passion for power and an incapacity for love or responsibility whose fate is to be consigned, not to hell—his sins are not worthy of hell—but merely to the "Buttonmolder" to be ignominiously recast.

The present production could be called lavish, and ANTA has assembled a large cast, including John Garfield (Peer), Karl Malden (the Buttonmolder), Mildred Dunnock (Peer's mother), and Sono Osato (Anitra). The turntable setting is suitable, though a bit lumbering, and the direction is in the spirit of the—adaptation. As a curious result, such scenes of fantasy as Peer's visit to the Troll Kingdom and the desert scene in which he is enticed and then despoiled by the dancing girl Anitra are so realistically rendered as to be merely vulgar; while the actual wedding scene has a far more legendary air. Peer's encounter with the Great Boyg—here called the ogre—which is admittedly difficult to manage, is not successful. The madhouse in Cairo, on the other hand, seemed to me particularly good, with Joseph Anthony doing an excellent bit of acting—and pronunciation—as Dr. Begriffenfeldt, its director. I have seen Mildred Dunnock only in two parts, as Peer's mother and as the elderly woman in "Pride's Crossing." Her acting here and her intonation are exactly the same as they were in the other part—which hardly makes for illusion.

John Garfield as Peer is personable, speaks well, is resilient and light on his feet. He also, in the earlier sequences, gives the impression of a gifted amateur rather than a seasoned actor. And his performance is a succession of portrayals; there is no piling up, either of tension or of the invisible burden that Peer carries. I can't but feel that this has something to do with the difference between the requirements of the films and of the stage. A film is made in bits; a play can't be. And from what I have seen of film actors on the stage, they find it difficult to manage the continuity which is essential to a stage performance. This is a serious defect here, since it is Peer's "progress" which holds the piece together. It accounts in part for the fact that the play varies greatly in intensity from scene to scene and at times seems almost to stand still—though the principal reason is that "Peer Gynt," when its poetic mood and expression are played down as they are here, loses both height and velocity.

Frank Lloyd Wright in Philadelphia

GIMBEL'S has brought together in its Philadelphia store a remarkably effective exhibition of the life work of America's greatest architect. The show (on view through February 24) was designed by Oskar Stonorov and is itself a superb experience; it was a beautiful idea to have it climaxed, at its farther end, with a full-size portion of a Wright house—living-room, bedroom, and kitchen—so that the visitor can get the actual feeling of what such a house is like. Some time ago Gimbel's put on the magnificent Better Philadelphia exhibition; this Wright show is a logical and worthy carrying out of the same idea. Wright's work is perhaps well known to the few; it is the idea of Gimbel's, as they say, "to bring Wright to the people." Let us hope that these two examples will be followed by similar establishments the country over.

To the visitor the show offers the most complete—as well as the best-presented—record of the work of an American architect that has ever been prepared. And since the architect so signally honored is one of the world's greatest living creators, the show is deeply significant and worthy of the most careful study. Here, almost for the first time, we can see what are perhaps the basic drives that have made Wright what he is.

A great consistency permeates the exhibition. It is at once evident that it is the expression of a single personality large enough to absorb all the currents of half a century, strong enough to direct them and not be swept away by them, imaginative enough to embody them in forms that express not only their power and importance but also, and this is even more valuable, the qualities of the human spirit—its dreams, its emotional needs. Like a great well-rooted tree, Wright has been nourished by the storms of life and not destroyed; he has turned wind and rain—even gales and floods—into new beauty for our enlargement and delight. To be an artist, the work shows, one must be first of all a man.

Thus Wright at all times and in all his work is "of his times," modern of the moderns, yet never dominated by the times, never their slave. This is the es-

SEVENTEEN (17) BOOKS BY BERTRAND RUSSELL

Bertrand Russell, the distinguished philosopher, mathematician, logician and Freethinker, recently said that he enjoyed writing booklets for E. Haldeman-Julius because he is given the fullest freedom of expression. In the books listed below Russell offers a feast of reason, information, logic, wit and rollicking humor. We present:

IDEAS THAT HAVE HARMED MANKIND.... 25¢
IDEAS THAT HELPED MANKIND.... 25¢
IS MATERIALISM BANKRUPT? Mind and matter in modern science.... 25¢
FAITH OF A RATIONALIST. No supernatural reasons needed to make men kind.... 25¢
VALUE OF FREETHOUGHT. How to be a truth-seeker and break chains of mental slavery.... 25¢
OUTLINE OF INTELLECTUAL RUBBISH. Hilarious catalogue of stupidity.... 25¢
HOW TO READ AND UNDERSTAND HISTORY. The past as the key to the future 25¢
HOW TO BECOME A PHILOSOPHER, A LOGICIAN, AND A MATHEMATICIAN.... 35¢
VALUE OF SKEPTICISM.... 25¢
CAN MEN BE RATIONAL?.... 25¢
IS SCIENCE SUPERSTITIOUS?.... 25¢
STOICISM AND MENTAL HEALTH.... 25¢
WHAT IS THE SOUL?.... 25¢
WHAT CAN A FREEMAN WORSHIP?.... 10¢
WHY I AM NOT A CHRISTIAN.... 10¢
HAS RELIGION MADE USEFUL CONTRIBUTIONS TO CIVILIZATION?.... 10¢
A LIBERAL VIEW OF DIVORCE.... 10¢

If you want all 17 books listed above remit only $2.75 and ask for COMPLETE LIST OF TITLES BY BERTRAND RUSSELL AS PUBLISHED BY US. If you order less than a complete set, remit as priced above after each title. All Russell books, whether ordered in complete sets or selections of titles, are shipped carriage charges prepaid. Mail your order and remittance to:

HALDEMAN-JULIUS PUBLICATIONS • Box R-1959 • GIRARD, KANSAS

sence of what he calls democracy; it is the quality of being individual—even what the world calls "eccentric," if need be—come what may.

Thus Wright is always seeking the enlargement and the enrichment of human life by means of an environment achieved by the daring use of many techniques, new and old.

Thus Wright is always working to increase the form-consciousness and the form-sensitiveness of the world—never seeking to restrict it.

And thus his entire life—he is now eighty-two—has been devoted to making economic forces and technological inventions and discoveries, by himself as well as by others, serve the human imagination rather than letting them, as they so frequently do, dictate to it.

It must be this consistent single-minded aim that accounts for the fact that the aesthetic content of his design, instead of becoming poorer and more conventional as he grows older, has gone on growing ever richer yet ever more consistent in its variety.

Another quality leaps from his work—the fact that in it are merged the truest and most forceful elements of the American architectural tradition. For ever since the Revolution, American architecture at its best has been dominated by two major trends often considered hostile to each other. One is the search for abstract beauty and perfection in form and harmonious detail—the quality often called "classic"—reflected in the best work of the classic revival and in all the eclectic work that is still significant. The other is the restless search for what is new, emotionally expressive, dynamic—the quality usually termed "romantic." Wright, through various accidents of his career, hates the term "classic"; yet the fact is that he, above all others, has achieved in his own work a magnificent unification of these two trends. What a controlling sense of *shape* is seen in his rectangles, his circles; what extraordinary harmony of shape controls each creation! And who else in the field of architecture has that sense of axes, of balanced views, of fastidious interior orchestration, or has a similar skill in evolving harmonious detail? Then, on the other side, almost every major job has breached the walls of architectural convention, has dared the unknown both structurally and aesthetically, has sought, in a word, all the "romantic" aims. Combining these classic and romantic drives into a new integration, Wright is dominantly and completely American, and his work falls today into the position of climax and of key block for the architectural tradition of this country up to the present time.

In an exhibition as large and as complete as this any particularization of individual works must be to a large extent an expression of the critic's own personal taste. Other visitors will undoubtedly make other choices; that is itself an evidence of the wide scope of Wright's achievement. As for me, I find myself continually interested in the simpler, even the more obvious, expressions of shape or structure. I think of the suave curves of the design for the San Francisco Bay Crossing, so eloquent of its material (concrete), so effortless in its strong grace. I think of the daring project for a resort building for Hollywood, with its bowl-like forms (terraces and restaurants) cantilevered from a raking pyramidal core. I remember the exquisite directness of the Schabert house (shown in model) and the plans so quiet yet full of rich variety in a series of houses projected for Kalamazoo. I think of the semicircle of the second Jacobs house or the stone cylinders of the Friedman house, and I cannot forget the Walter house, so beautifully poised over the river. And the smaller houses, too—the Pew house in Madison, so rich in effect and yet so economical in plan; the Willey house on its gentle slope; the Winkler-Goetsch house, where true grandeur without "swank" or exhibitionism is incorporated in a small space; and the earlier "La Miniatura," the Millard house in Pasadena, with its rich textile-block walls so exquisitely placed in a tiny glen. And of course I think of Taliesin and its quiet roofs and yellow stone walls, of Taliesin West in Phoenix, where the desert set the theme and a great composition was written upon it.

At the banquet that opened the show much was made of the fact that here was human genius at work in construction, not destruction; on human life, not on death. It is, I hope, prophetic and significant that this show is to go later to Italy, where it will be installed in the Strozzi Palace in Florence, and from there to various other European cities. It is good to know that in these days when hate is considered a virtue and destruction an admirable way of life, in these days of McCarran acts and McCarthyism and hysteria in the newspapers, America is at last to be represented abroad by such an eloquent voice to tell Europe that American exports are not limited to cannon. For the Wright show is the record of a life devoted to art and love, not to killing and hate.

TALBOT HAMLIN

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR

Just Arrived! KONSTANTIN FEDIN

EARLY JOYS Stalin Prize Novel

In English — 503 pp. — $1.50

Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts

1951 Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals

Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

THE PROGRAM
that could have prevented the present world crisis—

THE PROGRAM
that most liberals, four years ago, self-righteously condemned—

THE PROGRAM
That may still serve as the pattern for a libertarian underground, if fascism comes—

"STANDARDS AND DISCIPLINE FOR LIBERALS"

Price 25¢ Order from

MAX CARASSO

P. O. Box 994, G. P. O., New York 1, N. Y.

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular list price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the list price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

VERDI'S "Don Carlo" itself has passages which are among the greatest achievements of his powers—Philip's soliloquy *Ella giammai m'amò*, his scene with the Grand Inquisitor, Elizabeth's *Tu che le vanità*, her subsequent duet with Carlo—but also banalities like the climax of the first duet of Carlo and Rodrigo. Likewise the Metropolitan's production is an outstandingly fine one, but not a perfect one. It presents the work set and costumed with splendor and dramatic effect by Rolf Gerard, the action skilfully laid out on the stage by Margaret Webster, the music well prepared by Fritz Stiedry. Moreover, in the performance I attended Delia Rigal, the Elizabeth, projected a regal distinction of presence and, free of her earlier tremolo, sang *Tu che le vanità* with breath-taking grandeur of style; Hans Hotter contributed a vocally and dramatically powerful Grand Inquisitor; Cesare Siepi an impressive Philip. But although Jussi Bjoerling, the Carlo, and Robert Merrill, the Rodrigo, sang well, they were ineffective on the stage; Fedora Barbieri's excessive dramatic intensity hammed up her Princess Eboli and may have been responsible for the tremolo which clouded her beautiful contralto voice and for her sagging pitch in *O don fatale*; and Stiedry produced playing of the orchestral part which had none of the inner cohesive tension and continuity of impetus, the sharpness of outline and dynamic force it would have had if a De Sabata or a Cantelli had been conducting.

But this production of "Don Carlo" is important for more than its intrinsic quality. There have been outstandingly fine productions at the Metropolitan before—notably the "Figaro" of 1944, conducted with suavity and grace by Bruno Walter, with Pinza, Steber, Sayao, Novotna, and Brownlee on the stage in action laid out by Herbert Graf. But the excellence of that "Figaro" was the kind that results occasionally when a number of gifted artists happen to be associated in a production; and I don't undervalue Edward Johnson's contribution in having decided to give "Figaro" and to use the company's best artists in it when I say that this wasn't anything like the way Rudolf Bing was involved in and responsible for the production of "Don Carlo"—from the selection of the work itself to the assembling of the designer of scenery and costumes, the stage director, the singers, the conductor. The "Don Carlo" production is important, then, in that it tells us what kind of a general manager the Metropolitan has acquired and what kind of opera he wants to give. It tells us that with his knowledge, taste, intelligence, standards, and convictions—all in addition to his command of the mechanics of his profession—he is a kind of general manager the Metropolitan has never had before; and that even with the inadequacies he will occasionally have to put up with and the decisions that will occasionally turn out wrong, the kind of opera he wants to give is likely to be the kind we will want to have.

Ballet Theater, at its one New York performance in celebration of its return from Europe, presented the latest addition to its repertory, Agnes de Mille's charming "Rodeo," all freshened and sharpened up, with Kriza's performance in particular much sharper and brisker than Franklin's in the original Monte Carlo production and less effective for that fact at a couple of points—notably the series of sidewise leaps (I don't know their technical name) which Franklin used to do in the second scene with a relaxed casualness that brought the house down. In addition there were de Mille's "Fall River Legend," Balanchine's "Theme and Variations," and the "Black Swan" pas de deux. On "Fall River Legend's" plodding hour-long demonstration of how a girl was led to kill her step-mother I have nothing to report, since duty required me to sit through it a first time but not a second, (but why two ballets of de Mille and none of Robbins or Tudor?). In the other two pieces Yousketvitch exhibited the quiet precision and elegance which make his virtuoso dancing the most beautiful of its kind that there is to see nowadays. The pas de deux also provided an opportunity to see Alicia Alonso again—bulkier around the hips but dancing with all the relaxed assurance and elegance she had acquired before her departure from the company. And in the Balanchine piece there was Mary Ellen Moylan for the first time, with her extraordinary suppleness, and the even quieter assurance and sharper precision made exciting by the reserve power with which they are achieved.

GOOD NEWS for Music Lovers
Pocket-Sized, Low-Priced Editions
BACH: The Well-Temp. Clavier. 2 vols., each.. .98
BEETHOVEN: All Violin Sonatas, 2 vols., each .98
CHOPIN: 25 Preludes; 2 Piano Sont.; Fantasy .98
BRAHMS: All Violin Sonatas ..... .98
& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG
Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From
LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W. Box 138 New York 32, N. Y.

—25% Less than List on LP Records—
Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:
DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB
DEPT. N-15
Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.
Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges (50¢ minimum). SAME-DAY SHIPMENT.

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN
MARY MARTIN
RAY MIDDLETON
IN
South Pacific
Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with [illegible] McCORMICK
MAJESTIC Thea., 44 St. W. of B'way
Evenings 8:30 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

CONTRIBUTORS

HAROLD STRAUSS is editor-in-chief of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. He has spent a year in Japan and speaks Japanese.

PAOLO MILANO, who teaches romance languages and comparative literature at Queens College, is the editor of "The Portable Dante."

VERA MICHELES DEAN is research director of the Foreign Policy Association. Her latest book is "Europe and the United States."

ROLFE HUMPHRIES, *The Nation's* poetry critic, will publish shortly a verse translation of the "Aeneid" of Virgil.

TALBOT HAMLIN is professor of architecture at Columbia University. He is the author of "Architecture—an Art for All Men," "Architecture Through the Ages," and other books.

Letters to the Editors

Teachers Propose Oath

Dear Sirs: We, as teachers, have accepted the responsibility of teaching the young and developing their powers to reason and evaluate. And as teachers we refuse to sign so-called loyalty oaths about whose content we have had little, if anything, to say.

We reject them because these oaths do not create loyalty or test it. A person disloyal to our country would not hesitate to perjure himself to preserve his opportunity to oppose the government with violence. The act of signing has in itself no significance. The only proof of disloyalty lies in demonstrable action against the "good and welfare" of the nation.

We reject them because they violate the basic freedoms of expression and thought. Arbitrary restrictions build pressures that may destroy the good with the bad. We would choose to keep democracy strong by the exercise of its "rightness," not weaken it by over-protection.

We reject them because they beget fear and hysteria. The school and the individual teacher must recognize prejudice and suspicion as such and replace them with objectivity and confidence. To do this one does not retreat from the thresholds of our social and economic problems—as such oath-taking is wont to make us do.

We reject them because they set us apart from other citizens in the community. It is unthinkable that merely because teachers are subject to public controls in relation to their salaries and working conditions, they should be isolated members of the community, upon whom the full weight of fear and hysteria can rest.

It is high time that we act positively —that we frankly and fearlessly propose something to which we may voluntarily offer our allegiance, define our values, and thus, perhaps, prevent the special seeds of suspicion from being sown. To that end the members of the American Federation of Teachers have proposed the following oath:

I pledge myself to the unceasing search for truth, to the increasing of the general human welfare, and to the full emancipation of the individual child. I shall constantly seek to serve the basic tenets of democracy, knowing that democracy is a way of life, not a static credo, and that the democratic way of life is served best through the challenge of social and economic problems yet unmet or unconquered. The hysteria of fear and of prejudice shall not enter my classroom. In my day-to-day duties I shall strive to keep alive the optimism of youth, positively directed and tempered by the experiences of humankind as I have found them.

My classroom shall be the shrine of dignity and worth of each child, their confidence shall be inviolate, their growth and development the motive of my job. This to the end that voluntary disposition and interest may supersede external control and our individual and collective search for the good life.

JOHN M. EKLUND,
President, American Federation of Teachers

Denver, Colo., January 15

"Monopoly" of Education

Dear Sirs: Two items in the San Francisco *Chronicle* illuminate Paul Blanshard's series of articles, The Vatican versus the Public Schools (in *The Nation* January 20 and 27).

In the *Chronicle* of September 17 Archbishop Mitty is quoted as having said at the dedication of a Catholic school, "Totalitarianism strikes first at religion and then at the rights of individuals. It moves on to a complete monopoly of every aspect of human existence. We want no state monopoly of education, of labor, or of charity." And according to the *Chronicle* of December 4, the Reverend Thomas K. Gorman, Bishop of Reno, attacked the "Marxist doctrinaires and educational bureaucrats whose queerly twisted notion of democracy would create for the state a monopoly of education."

It seems to me that the only interpretation to place on these remarks is that their authors were labeling the failure to divert public money to religious schools as "totalitarianism" and "Marxist doctrine."

JOSEPH S. THOMPSON

San Francisco, Cal., January 22

Small Farmer Objects

Dear Sirs: Theodore W. Schultz's article, Redirecting Farm Policy (in *The Nation*, January 20), is extremely disquieting. While it reflects the sentiments of many of the leaders in the National Farm Bureau and of other vociferous spokesmen for big agriculture, it ignores the thinking, hopes, and aspirations of those small farmers its condemns as inefficient.

I am probably one of the farm operators who do not measure up to the mythical efficiency standards he lays down. I do, however, consume the machinery, fuels, and other industrial products of our economy. If our program is to be indefinitely directed toward war, my efforts may not seem very valuable, but in all fairness to us as small farmers and to the industrial workers who are our partners in the program, we must admit the possibility of peace. Several months before the outbreak of the Korean war industrial unemployment posed a serious problem. Now not even the war impetus has absorbed our whole labor force. Would not several million dispossessed farmers make the situation worse?

Of course, Mr. Schultz would not advocate legal force to remove us from our farms. He would simply discontinue the farm relief programs that have made it possible for many of us to stay on the farm. But that would not make the pill less bitter.

My impression is that Mr. Schultz and those who subscribe to his social and economic doctrines hold a large segment of the population in contempt. It

PEACE . . . OR WAR
THE GREAT DEBATE
A SYMPOSIUM—AT
Town Hall • 113 W. 43 St.
Sunday, FEBRUARY 11th • 7:45 P.M.

Moderator: PROF. JOHN J. DeBOER
U. of Ill. Nat. Chairman ASP

Speakers: PROF. E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER
Howard University; Author
DR. MARK A. DAWBER
Ex-Sec., Home Missions Council of N. Amer.
REV. JOHN PAUL JONES
Union Church of Bay Ridge
DR. PHILIP MORRISON
Cornell University; Physicist
HERBERT PELL
Ex-Congressman, ex-Minister Portugal & Hungary
DR. RANDOLPH C. SAILER
On leave Yenching University, China

Nat'l Council, Arts, Sciences, Professions
47 West 44th Street MUrray Hill 7-2161
TICKETS: $1.20 (tax inc.) 85¢ (tax inc.) for members

BOOKS

CONTOUR SERIES: editions of original movie librettos. First issue, "The Old Easterday House." Romance linking old Chicago with the new. Send one dollar to Hill Press, 1108 Madison, Maywood, Ill.

ALL LANGUAGES BY RECORDS

LEARN easily, inexpensively at home. ALL MAKES. Sold, bought, rented. ALIN, 475 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C. MU 3-1093.

IT'S EASY TO LEARN A LANGUAGE BY LINGUAPHONE
At home, in leisure time, quickly, easily, correctly master Russian, French, German, an Oriental language—any one of 29 languages through LINGUAPHONE World's Standard Conversational Method. Send for FREE book. State if veteran.
LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE
8102 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y.

TYPING SERVICE

MANUSCRIPT TYPING, theses, medical articles. Speed, intelligence, economy. AMBASSADOR OFFICE SERVICE, 17 East 48th Street. PLaza 5-1127.

PERSONALS

WIM OF THE MONTH CLUB. Handsome, useful items of the Western, Indian, or Mexican Cultures sent monthly with letter about Southwest. Ideal gifts, prizes, conversational pieces. Pleasure must be yours before $1.50 ours. West-Ind-Mex, 1219 W. New York, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Midwinter Book Number
To be published February 24
An issue of special interest to *Nation* readers and *Nation* advertisers.
Advertising forms close February 14
For information about space rates call or write Advertising Department
The NATION • 20 Vesey St., N. Y. 7 • BA 7-1064

may come as a shock to them to learn that farmers are aware of current machinations to put agriculture on a corporate basis and thus eliminate the last vestige of free economic opportunity. We have watched monopolies devour competitors in other industries and recognize the symptoms. The "redirection" of farm policy advocated by Mr. Schultz may be accomplished on the pretext of a national emergency, but it will be strenuously opposed by its victims. MERL H. SHIPMAN

St. Ignatius, Mont., January 25

To Win Allies

Dear Sirs: I feel that Canada and other members of the United Nations cannot place full confidence in American leadership because of the many diplomatic mistakes it has made during the prosecution of the Korean war. It was a grave error to refuse to admit China to the United Nations. China's suspicions have been aroused by a nation that fails to recognize the right of its people to win liberty for themselves and that seeks to restore Chiang to power.

I am well aware that America has taken the heavy blows in the Korean war thus far and that it appears that its allies have not fulfilled their original pledges. But I think enlightened people realize it was your preparedness contrasted with our unreadiness that has forced you to bear the initial burden. America also may remember that it was Britain and its European allies who suffered for many long, dreadful months in the first years of the last war before America offered its valiant assistance.

Ultimately, if the United States can show that its cause is just and that its leadership is worthy, I am sure that its allies will stand at its side and fight to the last ditch for the restoration of justice. Certainly we do not want to be under Russian domination, but can we not agree with Nehru that the Orient has the same right as Western countries to overthrow wrong and oppression?

ETHEL C. TIBBITS

Vancouver, B. C., January 22

Not Convinced

Dear Sirs: My reply to Clay Fulk's letter printed in your January 27 issue will be short and to the point. The fact that someone who was active in the American Socialist movement a generation ago has had an article in the *Monthly Review* does not change the character of the magazine. I am surprised at the association of an "old line Debs Socialist" with the *Monthly Review*, whose brand of "socialism" is not that of Debs but of Stalin. The editors in their original prospectus, "Where We Stand," said: "Socialism became a reality with the introduction of the first Five-Year Plan in Soviet Russia." Thank you, but I'll go along with Debs and all true Socialists in the belief that you can't have socialism without democracy.

The editors of *The Nation* deserve a vote of thanks for permitting the airing of this subject in their letters columns. ROY HELFGOTT

Brooklyn, N. Y., February 1

Material on Latrobe

Dear Sirs: I am preparing a biography of the architect and engineer Benjamin Latrobe (1764-1820). I am aware of the extensive material on his life and work in libraries and archives, but I am extremely anxious to have access to any letters, drawings, journals, or notes by or about him which may be in other hands. All correspondence will be gratefully acknowledged, and I will take the greatest care to return any material that is sent to me. My address is Avery Hall, Columbia University, New York 27. TALBOT HAMLIN

New York, January 19

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

The NATION

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine . . . . . $9.50 **You Save $2.50**

☐ *with* Consumer Reports . . . . . $10.75 **You Save $1.25**

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine and Consumer Reports . . $13.25 **You Save $3.75**

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION BY ITSELF:

☐ **One Year $7** ☐ **Two Years $12** ☐ **Three Years $17**

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years. ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

2-10-51

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • FEBRUARY 17, 1951 NUMBER 7

The Shape of Things

"THE U. S. ARMY," WROTE RAY CROMLEY IN the *Wall Street Journal* of February 9, "intends to fight straight across the Thirty-eighth Parallel and occupy much of Red North Korea." It would not attempt to reach the Yalu River again but would probably seek to establish a strong line across Korea's "waist" and from there continue attacks designed to "chew up" the Chinese armies. But two questions seem to be pertinent. Has the strategy of reinvading North Korea been submitted to and approved by the U. N. and the nations which are fighting with us, or has it been decided upon unilaterally? Has due consideration been given to the effects of war *à l'outrance* on the population of Korea? For it is not only the Reds who are being "chewed up." A report in the New York *Times* of February 9 tells of the retaking by an American armored column of a small village which a few days earlier had been hit by a napalm raid. "The inhabitants throughout the village and in the fields were caught and killed and kept the exact postures they had held when the napalm struck—a man about to get on his bicycle, fifty boys and girls playing in an orphanage, a housewife strangely unmarked holding in her hand a page torn from a Sears Roebuck catalogue. . . . There must be almost 200 dead in the tiny hamlet." It begins to look as if there will not be many Koreans left to enjoy the freedom we have promised them.

*

HOWEVER, THE PROBLEM OF WHETHER OR not to cross the line into North Korea has become for the time being an academic one. Again the optimistic predictions of generals and correspondents have been proved false by events, as new Chinese divisions have checked the U. N. advance and driven southward. At the same time the prospect for ending the war by negotiation is more somber than ever. Many United Nations delegates are pondering the words of Sir Benegal N. Rau's last appeal to explore all possibilities of settlement and build further efforts for peace on the constructive aspects of the various notes from Peking. "We hope still," said Prime Minister Nehru speaking in New Delhi last Monday, "that it may be possible that events [in Korea] will take a better turn in the future, but I must confess that at the moment hope has grown very dim." Certainly there is no possibility of a peaceful solution as long as the United States continues to refuse to negotiate during a retreat, out of considerations of prestige, and spurns negotiations when United Nations forces are advancing on the ground that it is ridiculous to throw away any military advantage. What hope remains rests with the new cease-fire committee and with those forces in the United Nations and elsewhere that still oppose any talk of sanctions against China.

*

THE EPIDEMIC OF "SICKNESS" WHICH KEPT so many railroad switchmen from their jobs was probably organized on a local rather than a national basis, and there is no proof that top officials of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, the union involved, were insincere when they appealed to their members to return to work. But whether the inspiration was local or national, the walkout was a disservice to the nation as well as a mistake in tactics. Wildcat strikes nearly always hurt labor's public relations without winning commensurate benefits. Yet we can understand the switchmen's exasperation and well believe that they were indeed "sick" of interminable delays in negotiations if not physically ill. The fact is that procedures under the Railroad Labor Act put a premium on passive resistance by the party to a dispute that wishes to maintain the status quo—in this case the companies. Moreover, that premium was enhanced last August when the government seized the railroads and obtained an injunction against strikes. Management then had nothing to lose and everything to gain by obstinacy. Much has been made of the fact that the presidents of the Brotherhoods signed a memorandum of agreement on December 21 providing for a wage increase much smaller than the trainmen had requested twenty-two months ago before prices turned upward and railroad profits began to expand rapidly. Because the union's committee of general chairmen failed to ratify this agreement, Mr. Truman accused the Brotherhood chiefs of "running out like a bunch of Russians," thereby once again displaying his tendency to let temper govern judgment. He followed this stupid charge by orders to the army to break the strike, which was in fact already petering out. As a result, the men have returned to work in a mood of bitterness that bodes ill for the future.

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 145

The Futility of Censorship 147

Prospects of Change *by Freda Kirchwey* 147

ARTICLES

Labor's Love Lost *by Willard Shelton* 149

Peace: Why It Was By-passed *by Lillie Shultz* 150

The Right People in the Right Place *by Keith Hutchison* 154

Arms for Germany? II. Germans Don't Want War *by Basil Davidson* 156

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Moments of Vision *by Ernest Jones* 158

Society and Politics *by Joseph Kraft* 159

Books in Brief 160

Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 161

Art *by Manny Farber* 162

Records *by B. H. Haggin* 163

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 400 *by Frank W. Lewis* 164

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS opposite 164

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Executive Editor: Harold C. Field

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo

Literary Editor Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Washington Editor: Willard Shelton

Contributing Editor: Robert Bendiner

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

ACTING ON A TIP, SAYS THE NEW YORK *Times*, Frank Schroeder, an investigator for the new Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Subversive Activities —Senator McCarran's little Gestapo—raided the farm of Edward C. Carter at Lee, Massachusetts, and seized "voluminous files" of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Senators on the committee promise sensational "revelations" when the files are examined. So the old, dismal, shameful peepshow opens again with some of the same characters and the worn and discredited charges. "Investigators and Senators on the subcommittee plan a detailed examination of the files next week behind closed doors." It all sounds pretty mysterious and pretty ominous until one discovers that the "raid" and the "seizure" and the "examination" and the "closed doors" are all part of the off-stage sound effects. These documents were gone over in 1950 by agents of the FBI who, *on the invitation of the Institute*, spent weeks in Mr. Carter's barn, where old files have been stored. Mr. Carter himself, formerly secretary general of the institute, helped the FBI investigators, even installing oil heaters to keep them warm while they worked. But never mind the facts; "revelations" are needed to excite the customers—you and me—and it is easy enough to stage them. Simply "act on a tip," dispatch a truck to the "hiding place," serve a subpoena on the neighbor who has Mr. Carter's key—not on any responsible officer of the institute—and make off with the correspondence of a reputable organization. Then tell the newspaper and radio men about the sensations that are to follow. That the whole thing is a fake and a mockery of justice will doubtless not disturb Senator McCarran's subcommittee, especially when it is in a hurry to establish its rights to the headlines before the President's new Security Commission gets under way.

*

THE CLOSING OF *LA PRENSA*, ARGENTINA'S leading newspaper and one of the most important independent journals in the Americas, has aroused widespread interest in this country. But the real story of why the Buenos Aires daily finally became the victim of official repression has not been told. At the root of the conflict is the fact that *La Prensa*, as was its professional duty, gave much space to the recent Argentine railway strike. That strike, marking the end of Perón's honeymoon with the workers, put the Argentine dictator into a state of frenzy. Perón realized that the railway workers' action had destroyed the legend of a social-welfare state, in which he played the popular hero in a struggle against Argentine landowners and American capital to improve the condition of the laboring class. Three thousand railroad workers have been imprisoned as a result of the strike; 160 union officials are under trial; a dozen Socialist leaders have been arrested and the police are hunting two of the most prominent—Américo Ghioldi and Juan

Antonio Solari. The strike led to a ministerial crisis and Perón's dismissal of Colonel Castro, his Minister of Transportation. All this *La Prensa* reported fully and without bias and as a reprisal Perón suspended the paper. Everybody knows that the dispute with the pro-government news-vendors was a transparent pretext. *La Nacion*, the other leading Buenos Aires daily, has just published a courageous editorial proclaiming its solidarity with *La Prensa* and its readiness to accept the same fate. The incident represents the first open defiance of the Perón regime since the 1946 elections.

*

THE WORLD BANK HAS DECIDED NOT TO ASK for competitive bids on its future bond issues but instead to place them through a sponsoring and managing group of thirty-two commercial and investment banks, with which terms will be negotiated. Among the members of this group we note both J. P. Morgan and Company and Halsey, Stuart and Company, the Montagues and Capulets of the financial world, who are, respectively, the champions of private and permanent links between banker and borrower, and the vociferous advocates of competitive bidding. The feat of persuading these two lions to lie down together should enhance Bank President Eugene Black's reputation in Wall Street. It is hardly likely to prove as popular with the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice, which is now seeking to enjoin seventeen leading investment houses, most of them in the World Bank's group, from restrictive practices which, it charges, have largely eliminated competition among them.

The Futility of Censorship

ALLEN TATE'S letter to the New York *Times* of February 1 dealing with the attempt to suppress "The Miracle" seems to us an admirable formulation of the Catholic point of view—as that point of view should be if Catholics really accept the principle of the separation of church and state. The central question, says Mr. Tate, is whether any institution in the United States, civil or religious, has the *legitimate* authority (italics ours) to suppress books and motion pictures, however disagreeable they may be to certain persons on theological grounds. His answer is no. He goes on to say that New York State has the legal authority to suppress "The Miracle," but he challenges the legitimacy of this authority. He points out that the Catholic church has full authority to condemn "The Miracle" publicly and forbid it to the faithful but that any attempt by the church to implement its religious authority with civil force is a usurpation of secular power. In this case, he believes, there has been no official action by the church: "what has happened is that Catholic individuals and groups have brought pressure to bear upon New York politicians to uphold by force what they believe to be Catholic standards"—and he asserts that this is "a violation not only of the relation of church and state but of the great Catholic moral and intellectual tradition, and points also to a latent heresy . . . that has been variously known as Puritanism and Jansenism."

In the two last issues of *The Nation*, Gilbert Seldes presented an admirable formulation of the non-Catholic point of view; and the interesting thing is that the two formulations perfectly complement each other. This seems to indicate that Catholic and Protestant would have no quarrel if each adhered conscieniously to the principle of the separation of church and state which is the law of the land—for Protestants are not exactly guiltless on this score. As for the immediate issue, censorship, we recommend to those who when they happen to be "offended" reach for the weapon of suppression Mr. Tate's brief but definitive paragraph on its futility:

> Bad books and plays, bad as literature and bad as morality, in the long run suppress themselves. No good book or play can ever be suppressed. When we remember that the works of Dante Alighieri were publicly burned by a fourteenth-century pope, the weapon of suppression begins to look ridiculous.

Prospects of Change

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE rearming of West Germany, for so long the central demand of the Pentagon planners, has run into new obstacles. Opposition continues in Germany itself, despite the pardon of Nazi war criminals and other American concessions to renascent nationalism. Adenauer has done his best to counter this feeling, but his efforts have been offset by the energetic campaign of the Socialists and by Grotewohl's conciliatory moves. Since unity would endanger the very existence of the governing coalition, as well as the plan to integrate West Germany with the Atlantic Alliance, Adenauer's stakes are immense, but even so he cannot openly oppose the reunion of the German states. He can only set conditions that he believes the Communists will have to reject, such as completely free all-German elections and a general political amnesty in the East. But while he temporizes, hoping for the worst, sentiment for unity mounts and with it hostility to the idea of contributing German troops to an American-led "European" army.

At the same time opposition to German rearmament has been increasing in Western Europe, especially in Britain and France, to a point where it threatens to delay the whole Western defense program. The revival of this feeling undoubtedly accounted for General Eisenhower's suggestion that the arming of Germans could wait. His statement caused widespread speculation, since it flew in the face of decisions already made in Brussels and Washington. But Eisenhower is a better political psychologist

than most of his colleagues in State and Defense; and he knows how little strength will be contributed by divisions constructed out of reluctant human material and foisted on a reluctant, even hostile, army. Whether his shrewd sense of timing can in the end overcome these obstacles, it is too soon to say. But one thing is clear: the original American purpose to arm and mobilize Germans without regard for popular resentment in Germany or the West, without even considering the possibility of reaching an agreement with the Russians on the whole German issue, has been superseded. For the time being the issue of German military revival has been set aside, and plans for a four-power conference have been permitted to develop.

Apparently Washington believes it can count on Soviet truculence and trickery to prove the uselessness of such negotiations and the need of maintaining West Germany as a separate entity under Western control. Russian tactics during the China debate at Lake Success must have encouraged that view. But it is not impossible that Moscow, wanting above everything to prevent the rearming of Bonn, will display an irritating and unnerving resonableness. In this case Washington may be forced to make concessions to the principle of unity, to which it is at least formally committed but which no longer serves its ends.

The only advantage Washington might gain from an agreement on Germany would be that the Atlantic Pact nations would no longer suspect this country of trying to prevent negotiations in order to push its military program. If this deadly suspicion were removed, political opposition might subside and the arms program actually move ahead faster and with less friction. But of course a contrary effect might be produced: the mere hint that the danger of war had been reduced by negotiation could bring about a relaxation of the armament effort. For the United States has geared its arms program in Europe to a psychology of fear, constantly renewed by warnings from Washington and the imminence of Russian armed power. A gamble on reduced tension is something the Washington chiefs have not cared to risk.

However, an easing of tension offers the only possibility of achieving the sort of rearmament through which Europe can hope to find equilibrium. As Eisenhower realizes, a defense program, if it is to be really that, must have the confident support of the people. It must not depend for its momentum on whipping up fear and ferocity; it must not press too heavily on a standard of living already below the point of political safety; it must not encourage domestic reaction or arouse popular indignation by alliances which make a mockery of our "defend-freedom" slogans.

Nobody except the Communists would argue that the Western powers should be stripped of troops and arms while their neighbors to the East remain partly mobilized and fully prepared. As long as no agreements have been reached for full or partial disarmament, the West must build up a defense apparatus that will right the balance. But if war is to be avoided rather than precipitated, this job should be done in a sober fashion, without threats, without promises to "liberate" every satellite, and without for a moment ceasing to try for agreement on large issues and small—on trade, on arms reduction, on Germany and Austria, on Japan.

THE role the United States has played recently has damaged our good name in many lands, not least among our allies. The idea has spread abroad that we plan the destruction of Communist power rather than the defeat of aggression and are ready to risk all-out war if necessary to achieve our end. This belief is rearing obstacles in our path in London and Paris, as well as among the neutrals. Prime Minister Attlee's public demand that we consult our allies before sending the U. N. forces across the Thirty-eighth Parallel in Korea was a necessary act of political appeasement. Objections to American control are getting more and more vocal in the ranks of the Labor Party and even in the government. It will take all the skill of an Eisenhower, together with a sharp change in policy, to convince our Western allies of the accuracy of the general's assurance that "what we are trying to do cannot honestly be considered by any other nation as a threat to its existence, as a threat to any peaceful purpose it may have." The best proof that we mean what Eisenhower said would be an honest attempt to bring about a four-power meeting and make it a success.

Instead of leaving the initiative to the Russians, the Western powers could offer to drop all plans for German rearmament in return for certain concessions and explicit guaranties on the part of Moscow. They could demand the complete withdrawal of military and political personnel, strict democratic safeguards to insure free, all-German elections, and the disbanding, prior to any vote, of armed police, people's courts, and concentration camps for political offenders. The West could, in short, set terms which, if rejected, would throw grave suspicions on Russia's purposes but which if accepted, would open the way to a neutral, unarmed, united Germany whose existence might be an element of stability in Europe rather than a permanent threat to the peace. With this as a beginning, other more controversial issues could be negotiated with some hopeful expectation.

Next Week in *The Nation*

The Nazi Industrialists Go Free

An examination of the commutation of the war crime sentences in Germany

by TELFORD TAYLOR

Chief Counsel at the Nürnberg Trials

Labor's Love Lost

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, February 8

THE bitter quarrel between organized labor and Mobilization Czar Charles E. Wilson has been described in the press as primarily a dispute over who should control civilian man-power—a question settled today by President Truman in Wilson's favor. Actually the quarrel was a manifestation of labor's distrust of Wilson's whole philosophy. The union leaders resent his contemptuous disregard for labor's advice and assistance and believe he is allowing the corporation and banking interests that President Roosevelt held in check during World War II to use the mobilization program for their own advantage. They are convinced that if he continues to have his way the defense emergency will be exploited to weaken labor's rights and that the ultimate result will be a change for the worse in the pattern of American democracy.

At one time, when Wilson was a ranking official in the War Production Board under Roosevelt and Donald Nelson, he talked like an intelligent conservative. In December, 1943, he suggested that our post-war objective should be to see that workers had a chance to earn more of the good things of American life. He spoke of higher wages without higher prices and warned his fellow business men against the radicalism of the extreme right. By early 1946, after his return to General Electric, he had changed his tune and grimly rejected wage increases before OPA approval of price rises. His attitude since last December, when he talked Mr. Truman into an extraordinary delegation of power as his price for taking the mobilization job, indicates how far he has departed from his earlier professions.

He has blandly ignored labor's urgent requests for a representative in the top rank of his advisers, on the same level as Sidney Weinberg, the Wall Street banker, and Lucius Clay, the retired general and chairman on leave of absence of Continental Can. He would be glad, he has said, to have "on his staff"—in an unspecified capacity—someone like Walter P. Reuther of the C. I. O. United Automobile Workers, Al Hayes of the A. F. of L. Machinists, or George Harrison of the A. F. of L. Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, but only if the union leader would "divest himself of private interests." This would mean that labor's representative would be cut off from the source of his strength and influence. Superficially the condition may seem no different from that imposed on the industrialists who have flocked to Wilson's standard, but the industrialists have private means and the absolute assurance of return to their jobs. Wilson was willing to hire Herbert A. Bergson as general counsel for the Office of Defense Mobilization on Bergson's own terms—that is, on a no-compensation basis, though the performance of many no-compensation and dollar-a-year men in World War II verged on scandalous favoritism to their clients and corporations. He took Clay and Weinberg on a no-compensation basis, and Clay draws pay from Continental Can while working for the government.

The union leaders still insist that control of civilian man-power be vested in Secretary of Labor Tobin because they fear that Wilson will seize the first excuse to fasten a man-power draft on the country. They have noted that he favors weakening the overtime provisions of the wage-hour law, and they foresee that, supported by Weinberg and Clay, he will try to abrogate the wage-hour law and to undermine the prevailing-wage principle for government-financed business established in the Walsh-Healy and Bacon-Davis acts.

There is one basic difference between a military and a labor draft: civilians work for employers operating for private profit. If other means of obtaining vital production should fail, it might be necessary to draft civilians; a democracy can do anything essential to its survival. But a labor draft was not needed during World War II, and is certainly to be regarded as a last resort rather than a present imperative. When union spokesmen gathered to argue with Wilson about man-power policy, they were treated to a long lecture on the powers granted him by the President and were told that if they would not accept Arthur Flemming, his personal nominee, as man-power director, he would assume the responsibility himself. One of the union leaders bluntly replied: "What makes you think that would be satisfactory?"

Wilson is capable of driving the railroad strikers back to work with appeals to their patriotism, but he has not yet used his broad powers to set up machinery for settling the rail dispute or any other legitimate labor grievance. He has taken no step to roll back prices, to ask Congress for a new national rent-control law, or to seek authority to control food costs. He replaced Alan Valentine with Eric Johnston as director of the Economic Stabilization Agency but has given Johnston no authority to work out a formula on food prices fair to both farmers and consumers.

Johnston is tackling his job in a sensible spirit. Recognizing the necessity of obtaining labor's cooperation in fixing prices and wages, he has appointed a union nominee as his deputy—George Harrison of the Railway Clerks. He has an advisory committee composed of representatives of both unions and management. "The difference between Johnston's operation and Wilson's," one union lawyer says, "is the difference between black and white." But Johnston is subordinate to Wilson; he may know that new rent and food-price controls are vital, but he cannot act independently. It is suggested—and not by labor alone—that Wilson and his coterie of

top aides are deliberately currying political favor with Congress by avoiding the hot issue of farm prices. They find it less dangerous to demand that labor cut its own throat by "voluntarily" accepting a frozen-wage formula even while Johnston admits that prices will continue to rise until next summer.

The only union leader who has publicly denounced Wilson is James B. Carey, secretary of the C. I. O., who in a Boston speech charged that Wall Street had executed a coup d'état and seized control of our economy for big business and that Mr. Truman was letting Wilson treat workers as second-class citizens. But other union leaders are saying the same thing privately. The President disregarded an urgent appeal from Philip Murray and William Green when he handed man-power control to Wilson. In likening the leaders of the rail strike to "Russians" incapable of keeping agreements, Mr. Truman reverted to his worst form.

In Great Britain, in the terrible crisis of 1940, a Tory government broadened itself into a national government and gave labor leaders responsibility for harnessing the civilian energies—the energies of free men—needed for Britain's survival. In no other democracy today would it be claimed that the bitter and difficult tasks of mobilization were the exclusive prerogative of a corporation and banking clique. With his hamfisted tactics Wilson has thus far deprived himself of the aid and counsel of American labor and opened a gulf between himself and the workers' spokesmen. If he had wanted to give a semblance of plausibility to Soviet charges that American mobilization is a Wall Street plot, he could scarcely have chosen a better course.

Peace: Why It Was By-passed

BY LILLIE SHULTZ

THE United Nations resolution branding China an aggressor will not save one drop of blood from being spilled. Nor will it strengthen peace and security. Why, then, was it adopted? Actually the resolution represented the grim presumption by both the United States and Russia that a third world war is inevitable, and was a play for stakes related to that eventuality.

Could there have been a settlement of the Korean war? Sir Benegal Rau, the delegate of India, said on February 1 that a cease-fire could have been achieved within a week had the Asian-Arab resolution been adopted.

It would be naive to assume that the forty-four countries that voted, most of them reluctantly, for the United States resolution genuinely believed that the authority of the United Nations could be maintained only by branding Mao an aggressor. Until the United States resolution of January 20 was introduced, not even the North Koreans had been formally labeled aggressors in the resolutions of the Security Council. In 1947 when the Arab states, among them a member of the Security Council, announced that they were attacking Palestine in defiance of the U. N. resolution, no effort was made to charge them with aggression. In the Indonesian war the United States opposed branding the Netherlands an aggressor lest peace negotiations be impeded. The U. N. principles of January 13 included no demand that China should accept the label of aggressor as a condition to a settlement. Why, on January 30, had it become so imperative to condemn China first and then seek to negotiate a settlement? Why, as Sir Benegal Rau put it, was it more honorable to negotiate with a branded aggressor than with a government which had not been so branded?

American insistence would seem to be in anticipation of the day when United Nations policies will force the withdrawal of Russia and its allies from the U. N. A prerequisite is a tight alliance to isolate the Eastern bloc in preparation for what may be the final contest between Russia and the democratic powers. In the meantime, the United States wants no settlement which might require concessions, political and strategic, to Communist China, Russia's ally. This is the only explanation for the extraordinary pressures exercised by the Americans to produce a vote which, instead of quenching the flame in Korea, could only fan it into a new blaze.

The behavior of the Soviet Union, on the other hand, conditioned also by the assumption of a coming global war, was based on the gamble that before the breakdown occurred, the United States could be lured into a series of military commitments in Asia which would consume our strength and perhaps divide our allies.

Had the members of the United Nations been free to act with independence and common sense, had Britain in particular continued to practice *Realpolitik*, as it started to do so brilliantly, the Korean crisis might have been resolved. Had it not been for American insistence, the members could not have failed to acknowledge that Mao Tse-tung, after at first expressing the intransigence of Moscow's tutelage, in the space of ten days had been moved by India to the position of accepting the principles set forth by the United Nations.

What are the facts? So-called Chinese "volunteers"

entered the Korean war late in October, after General MacArthur's forces, with U. N. approval and despite India's warning that Chinese intervention would follow, crossed the Thirty-eighth Parallel and approached the Manchurian border. On January 13, with the concurrence of the United States and over the opposition of the Soviet bloc, fifty-five members of the United Nations adopted a series of principles looking toward a settlement with China of the war in Korea and other outstanding Far Eastern problems. The two basic principles were: (1) that there should be a cease-fire; (2) that as soon as the cease-fire had been arranged, the General Assembly should set up an appropriate body, on which the United States, the United Kingdom, the U. S. S. R., and the People's Republic of China would be represented, for the purpose of achieving a settlement of Far Eastern problems, including Formosa and the admission of China to the United Nations. The January 13 resolution proposed that following the cease-fire, foreign troops should be withdrawn from Korea in progressive stages; arrangements should be made for the establishment of a unified, independent state in Korea; pending the establishment of the unified, independent state, interim arrangements should be made in accordance with U. N. ideas for the administration of Korea and the maintenance of peace and security. These principles were conveyed to Peking by cable in English.

On January 17 Foreign Minister Chou En-lai replied to the U. N. proposals in a cablegram in Chinese, translated at U. N. headquarters. He insisted that a cease-fire before negotiations would "merely give U. S. troops a breathing spell" and proposed instead a seven-power conference, with the prior understanding that China's admission to the United Nations would be assured, that the United States would agree to withdraw its forces from Korea and the Formosan Straits, and that it would negotiate all other Far Eastern problems. Such a conference, China stipulated further, should be held in China.

But by January 29, twenty-four hours before the adoption of the U. N. resolution branding Communist China an aggressor, the Indian delegate had been able to place on the record a series of clarifications of Peking's position and basic concessions which Communist China had been induced to offer the United Nations. They were: (1) acceptance of the principle of cease-fire before negotiations; (2) acceptance of the principle of negotiation of problems outstanding between China and the U. N. in the Far East, following the completion of arrangements for a cease-fire.

Communist China agreed also, India reported, to withdraw its "volunteers" from Korea after the cease-fire, as part of a general agreement for the withdrawal of all foreign troops. It dropped its demands for its own recognition by the U. N. prior to negotiations and a commitment to any solution of Far Eastern problems in advance of negotiation, including its previous demand that the American navy be withdrawn from the Formosan Straits. China did ask that there be a conference of the five nations listed in the January 13 resolution of the United Nations, to which were added India and Egypt, but agreed that the first item on the agenda of this conference should be the arrangement for a cease-fire.



Warren Austin

Thus China accepted the basic principle of the January 13 U. N. resolution—namely, cease-fire first and negotiation afterward. To be sure, this acceptance was not registered in direct communications to the United Nations. It was negotiated with Peking by the Ambassador of India and transmitted to the U. N. by the Indian government. As soon as Peking's concessions were made known, the Philippines, Turkey, and Greece, backed by the United States, hastened to throw doubt on their authenticity and relevance.

THERE was no apparent reason why the Peking government, in its first official reply to the United Nation on January 17, should not have accepted the January 13 principles. Basically, they were the program set forth by the Soviet delegation last October for the peaceful settlement of the Korean crisis—a proposal which was rejected. They offered Communist China an opportunity to achieve by diplomatic means three of its chief objectives—acceptance as a negotiating power, with the door open to recognition of its claims with respect to Formosa, and the right to occupy China's seat in the United Nations. Why Peking failed to seize this opportunity when it was first offered is any man's guess. A reasonable assumption is that, dependent on Moscow for its information with respect to the United Nations, China was misled as to the intentions behind the offer.

That the U. S. S. R. had no wish to see China accept the U. N. terms was made unmistakably clear. At no time did the Soviet bloc show any interest in seeing a settlement reached. Behind the scenes in Peking a tug of war for Mao's soul was going on between India and Russia. India won the first round when it produced China's basic acceptance of the U. N. terms.

It was not until opinion had already approached the point of crystallization that the U. S. S. R. gave any indications that it regarded the Chinese replies as keeping the door open to negotiation. Although the Soviet Union

and Poland did finally say so in the Political Committee, this aspect was completely submerged in their speeches, which were clearly intended to strengthen Mao's and the whole of Asia's distrust of Western intentions.

The Russians revealed their hand on the night of the vote in the Political Committee, when Tsarapkin introduced an amendment to the Asian resolution, dealing with the agenda of the seven-power conference. Sir Benegal Rau had already received Peking's unconditional acceptance of a cease-fire before negotiations. The Soviet representative first proposed that the cease-fire should be in two stages and, when that failed, asked the Arab-Asian bloc to accept a change making the cease-fire provisional. To this the resolution's sponsors could not agree. The entire Soviet bloc then voted against the provision which would have made the cease-fire the first item of the conference agenda—which Peking had accepted. It is notable too that the Russians at no stage tried to make the seating of China in the U. N. an item of the agenda.



Sir Benegal N. Rau

Apparently the Russians see no advantage in peace in Asia. They are still gambling on splitting the Western alliance or, failing that, on splitting the strength of the United States by diverting the best part of it from Europe to Asia. This would seem to be their real purpose.

The United States needed the resolution on aggression in order to push forward its new concept of policy in the Far East. This policy is based on Formosa. Our intervention in Korea, in the belief that we could resolve that situation in a week, was used as a cover for our declaration with respect to Formosa and the dispatching of the Seventh Fleet to Formosan waters.

The United Nations, committed on Korea, has never backed the United States on Formosa; indeed, no valid excuse could be adduced for the U. N.'s support of the American action in Formosan waters. This is especially true in view of the Cairo declaration that Formosa belongs to China and the strong feeling of many of our Western allies that Communist China should be admitted to the United Nations and its sovereignty over Formosa, accordingly, recognized.

Formosa is strategically situated. In the event of war it would form an important link in the chain of bases protecting our Asiatic interests, including Japan and the Philippines. General MacArthur has been insistent that our policy in the Pacific requires the control of Formosa. The MacArthur viewpoint, publicly repudiated some months ago, has been strengthened by Chinese intervention in Korea. With Red China labeled an aggressor, the United States can find full justification for the continued policing of Formosan waters and can expect that sometime in the future U. N. support will also be forthcoming. For the adoption of the American resolution almost certainly means that the United States will never give up Formosa to Communist China. It means also that as long as the label of aggressor attaches to Peking, that regime will never represent China in the United Nations. It is conceivable that the United States, under the pressure of a hysterical Congress, may arm Chiang Kai-shek for both offensive and defensive operations. For this the United States requires no approval from the U. N.

COMMUNIST China, stung by the U. N. resolution, has already moved back into the Russian orbit and has rejected negotiation in the language of Moscow. The war in Korea will go on. More than that, China under Russian pressure may be pushed into military adventures elsewhere in Asia. If this happens, will the United States and the United Nations remain passive?

The imposition of sanctions, diplomatic and economic to begin with, would immediately be proposed, and a stiff legal and political battle would begin. This issue, on which the U. N. is already sharply divided, may provide the first test of the legality of the Acheson plan to by-pass the Security Council and the Russian veto. Should military sanctions be pressed, as conceivably they may be, the result could be the disintegration of the U. N. as an organization based on the principle of universality and the outbreak of war on a limited or unlimited scale. These were the possibilities clearly foreseen in the reserved and moving utterances of Sir Benegal Rau, who, together with his government, had labored unceasingly to bring about a settlement and had warned the U. N. that once the aggressor label was tied to China, negotiation would no longer be possible.

The Asian-Arab resolution proposing a seven-power exploratory conference, whose first purpose should be arrangement of "an appropriate cease-fire and after it had been put into effect . . . further deliberations," was defeated by the opposition of twenty-seven countries, a minority of the membership of the United Nations. With the exception of the Philippines and Thailand, all the Asiatic and Arab countries voted for this resolution. The members of the Atlantic Alliance, apart from Turkey and Greece, abstained.

The American resolution was adopted by a vote of

forty-four, with seven negative votes and nine abstentions. This absolute majority in the U. N. represented one-third of the population of the world, while two-thirds of the world's population either abstained or voted against the resolution. India and Burma joined the Soviet bloc in opposing it. In the abstention column were Sweden, Afghanistan, Egypt, Indonesia, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, and Yugoslavia.

The possible consequences of this vote were understood by most of the delegates. In the speeches of Sir Gladwyn Jebb of Britain and Lester B. Pearson of Canada awareness of the dangers was striking evident. These men voted for the resolution because of the American campaign of pressure, the like of which had never been seen before. The resolutions of the House and the Senate were calculated pressures instigated by the Administration and subsequently backed by the President's declaration. In the United Nations Ambassador Austin emphasized the implicit threat that unless Europe stood with the United States in Asia, the United States would not stand with Europe in Europe.

Behind the scenes the pressure on the European countries that are dependent upon American military and financial aid was even more direct and more insistent. Delegations which privately stated that they believed China had accepted at least 90 per cent of the principles contained in the January 13 U. N. proposal supported the resolution which said just the opposite. Canada, which publicly called the United States resolution premature and unwise, could go no farther than to suggest an agenda for a seven-power conference, based on the concept of the Asian resolution, which it hoped some other delegation might offer as an amendment to that resolution. Because of its relationship to the United States, Canada could not formally offer this plan.

When it appeared that basic parts of the Canadian proposal might be adopted by the Asian-Arab group and the support of Canada thus assured, the United States blocked this by letting it be known privately that it would not agree to a cease-fire group composed of the seven conference members because it included Russia.

UNTIL the very last moment the outcome of the vote was uncertain. Great Britain held the key. Had it voted in favor of the Asian resolution, for which it sought a priority, the votes of the Scandinavian countries and Canada would have been assured, and probably those of the Benelux countries. Europe's vote would have guaranteed the adoption of the Asian-Arab resolution. In the end Sir Gladwyn Jebb did a complete somersault. On January 25 he said: "May it not be that the punishment may cause wider havoc than the crime?—that the cure may be even worse than the disease? . . . It is our duty to urge upon what appears to be the majority of this committee to think many times before they take a step which may carry us much farther on a road along which none of us is prepared to proceed in practice." On January 30 Britain voted for the American resolution and abstained on the Asian resolution—at the very moment when India had obtained the clarifications and commitment for which Britain had been asking. With Britain abstaining, it was a foregone conclusion that the other European countries would abstain as well. Each waited, up to the last moment, for some other to take the initiative. All hoped for a miracle which would make a vote on the American resolution unnecessary.

The Europeans were terrified by the thought of applying sanctions after branding China an aggressor. But it was left to Israel to propose deletion of the paragraph in the United States resolution dealing with sanctions and modification of the language charging that Communist China had refused to accept the U. N. principles. Israel's proposals were sharply tossed aside by the United States, only to emerge later in modified form as two amendments, offered by prearrangement by Dr. Malik of Lebanon. Dr. Malik was a sponsor of the Asian resolution but had been successfully courted by the United States in order to break Arab unity. These amendments gave the hesitant European countries the peg, weak though it was, on which they could hang justification for supporting the American resolution — namely, that sanctions would not be considered until the Good Offices Committee had a chance to try for a settlement.


Sellgson

Nasrollah Entezam

On the day the press announced the vote in the Political Committee, the real American intention was revealed in Washington dispatches which stated that a special United States committee was studying the question of sanctions. When, none the less, Ambassador Entezam, the U. N. Assembly's President, said he would proceed to set up a Good Offices Committee and try to arrange peaceful settlement, Ambassador Gross told correspondents that he hoped due weight would be given to the temper of American opinion.

The American delegation got its resolution. But the

Soviet Union has won the first round. Russia has succeeded in splitting the United Nations. It has strengthened Chinese intransigence and dependence on the U. S. S. R. It has dragged the United States into a position where it will be forced to commit personnel and material in increasing numbers, with no assurance that Asia in the end will not be lost to the West, or that peace is on the horizon.

The Right People in the Right Place

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

"IT IS not that we do not have enough people in this country to do the job," said President Roosevelt in 1942. "The problem is to have the right numbers of the right people in the right place at the right time." Today, as I attempted to show last week, our man-power potential is adequate for the defense job in hand—partial mobilization and the building up of a trained reserve backed by growing industrial capacity and a large stockpile of arms and raw materials. Some diversion of labor from civilian to military production will be essential but not to an extent necessitating drastic cuts in living standards unless events force a much higher degree of mobilization.

The absence of an over-all man-power shortage does not mean that there will always be enough of the right men in the right place at the right time. In fact, we are already finding that the supply of highly trained man-power, both professional and manual, is too small. As long ago as the beginning of August, 1950, the Department of Labor prepared for the use of the Department of Defense a list of "critical occupations." The professional section included most varieties of engineers and chemists, many other kinds of physical scientists, and doctors, dentists, and nurses. Among craftsmen twenty-four categories of skilled mechanics were listed.

Under conditions of full mobilization the demand in essential industries for persons qualified to work in these occupations, for all of which a minimum training period of two years is required, would exceed the total supply. Indeed, acute shortages are to be anticipated even without full mobilization. Already difficulties are apparent in filling some professional positions and in recruiting certain kinds of skilled metal workers. The aircraft industry, in which employment rose from 237,000 to 407,000 during the second half of 1950, is advertising frantically for designers, draftsmen, mechanics, electricians, and other specialists. So are the 3,000 tool and die shops which turn out "original models" of tools and master patterns for stamped parts and so occupy a key position in the metal industries. These shops are working fifty hours a week to keep up with orders and expect soon to be called upon to double present production.

Such industries are complaining bitterly about the loss of skilled employees through the draft and the recall of reservists. They question the wisdom of giving draft boards full discretion to decide whether such men should be inducted or deferred. The Selective Service system, of course, operates on a basis of decentralized democracy, on the theory that a man's fellow-citizens should pass on his liability to service. In regard to deferment claims based on dependents, this is almost certainly the fairest method. But it is doubtful whether local draft boards, harassed to fill their quotas, are always capable of grasping which claims for occupational deferment are justified in the national interest, and there does seem to be a case for some kind of national review board.

If Congress agrees to draft the eighteen-year-olds, this particular difficulty will be alleviated, for few boys in this age group have acquired essential skills. But we will then face the problem of conserving our "seed corn," of insuring against a fall in the supply of trained minds. Any blanket exemption of men regarded as "good college material" would be rightly protested as undemocratic; yet if we draft all the physically fit and force them to defer their higher education, we will open up a yawning gap in our none too plentiful supply of doctors, engineers, scientists, and teachers. The nation needs, it has been estimated, some 30,000 entrants annually to various branches of engineering alone, and about this number will in fact graduate in 1951. But after that, on the basis of present college registrations, there will be a rapid decline, until in 1954 we shall have a graduating class of around 12,000. The prospective supply of new blood is also inadequate to meet the rising demand for physicists, chemists, biologists, and other experts.

The Defense Department hopes to resolve this dilemma by selecting annually on the basis of ability some 75,000 men who, after basic training, will be released until the completion of college courses. This plan seems sound in principle, but a good many questions about its operation remain to be answered. The proposed total of draftees to be given the opportunity of returning to their studies appears definitely on the low side unless the Defense Department intends to confine this group to those with aptitudes for the physical sciences. But this surely would be a gross error, for a democracy needs more than a tech-

nical élite; it cannot afford to neglect the humanities and the social sciences. And, above all, if we are to maintain high standards of literacy we must provide an expanding supply of teachers for our rapidly growing school population. It is to be hoped, therefore, that Congress will authorize releases on a more generous scale than that suggested by the Defense Department and will intrust the selection of students to a broadly representative civilian body.

ASSUMING that large enough numbers of the right men can be found, we next have to consider ways and means of getting them to the right place at the right time. The defense program calls for a great expansion of such industries as aircraft manufacture, shipbuilding and ship repair, steel, non-ferrous-metal mining and processing, machine tools, ordnance, and electronics. In a good many cases the necessary labor will be found on the job, as, for instance, when men now producing television sets shift over to radar apparatus. But it will also be essential for large numbers of workers to move from their present places of employment to others, often in different parts of the country.

Since any form of labor draft will be acceptable only in the direst emergency, this redeployment of the labor force must be achieved through the free labor market. It will be influenced, no doubt, by indirect government controls. Credit restrictions are tending to reduce opportunities for builders, some of whom may be persuaded to seek different kinds of work; limitation or prohibition of the use of scarce raw materials in nonessential production will put some men out of their present jobs and set them hunting for new openings. Such men will find information and guidance in the local offices of the state employment services. Moreover, it is government policy to place contracts, wherever possible, in labor-surplus areas. But by and large, as in World War II, we shall depend on the individual decisions of millions of workers to bring them to the jobs where they are most needed.

Americans more than most people are easily convinced that the grass in the next field is greener, and hitherto they have been exceptionally mobile. There has long been a steady stream of migrants, especially in times of prosperity, from the South, where fertility is high, to the Northeast and West, where industrial concentration produces the largest number of job opportunities. And mobility has been occupational as well as geographical, thanks to the adaptability of Americans and their readiness to "try anything once." Thus a Census Bureau survey showed that between Pearl Harbor and the spring of 1944 one out of every five workers moved from one broad employment category—"professional," "clerical," "skilled," "semi-skilled," "farming," and so forth—to another.

Has labor mobility diminished since the end of the war? That is a question that officials in the Labor Department's Division of Defense Man-Power are pondering with some anxiety. In the past five years many more workers have become home-owners, and such men will not easily be persuaded to uproot themselves and their families unless they are guaranteed decent housing. Too many of the war-time migrants came to the conclusion that the opportunity to earn more failed to compensate for the miserable living conditions they were forced to endure.

The housing situation, therefore, provides another argument for bringing the job to the worker. But we also have to bear in mind the desirability of decentralizing industry in view of the danger of air attack, and in cases where defense requirements call for the construction of large new plants there is much to be said for their location well away from heavily populated areas. However, when isolated sites are selected, the provision of housing and full community facilities ought to be undertaken concomitantly with the building of the factory or plant. The Administration has recognized its responsibility in this matter to the extent of asking for an appropriation of $150,000,000 for defense housing and community facilities. Let us hope that Congress will not consider this a "Fair Deal" proposal calling for the pruning knife.

Another possible obstacle to mobility may be the enormous increase in the number of workers covered by union contracts providing for pensions and the protection of seniority rights. This represents an important social advance, but it does tend to make the labor force less flexible by giving men a stake in their existing jobs which they are not prepared to sacrifice for the sake of a few extra dollars in pay. In his statement to the Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee on January 16, Secretary of Labor Tobin referred in passing to this problem and said that "measures will be required" to protect pension and seniority rights. But I do not believe that anyone in the government has yet given much thought to the nature of such measures. Possibly something could be worked out analogous to the provisions in the G. I. Bill of Rights which guaranteed that drafted men should be reinstated in their jobs without loss of seniority. Now that so many employers operate pension plans, there might also be some kind of pooling arrangement, underwritten by the government, which would enable men to be transferred from one pension roll to another. Certainly some solution must be found for the problem if we are to attain the degree of labor mobility that will be needed during the next few years.

In addition to seeking to overcome forces making for inertia, man-power policy must pay attention to positive incentives to change. Workers decide to look for and accept new jobs for many reasons, such as greater

opportunities to use their skills and improved chances of promotion, better working conditions, a more congenial atmosphere—there are "happy" and "unhappy" plants just as there are "happy and unhappy" ships. But income is of course almost always a major consideration, and wage policies must be closely related to man-power needs. Thus while the government is attempting to stabilize wages in order to check inflation, it has to bear in mind that a permanent, universal wage freeze would tend to immobilize the labor force. We cannot allow supply and demand unfettered play in the labor market because with full, and over-full, employment the result would be a steady increase in all wages accompanied by an increase in all prices. But supply and demand for labor in certain essential industries is relevant, and if, for instance, the Wage Stabilization Board finds that men are leaving the copper mines because they can earn more in the shipyards, it may have to decide that copper-mining wages must be raised.

In this connection the question of overtime is important. At the present time some business men and some politicians are agitating for an increase in the legal working week to forty-five or forty-eight hours, with the abandonment of premium pay for overtime. Quite apart from the effect of such a step on labor morale, it would hinder rather than help full man-power mobilization. Since overtime involves additional costs, only those firms that are long on orders and short on labor will consistently operate more than forty hours. By so doing they tend to solve their difficulties, for the opportunity to earn time-and-a-half for several hours a week and so increase take-home pay attracts new workers. Thus the wage-and-hour law, by encouraging men to move from less essential to more essential employment, is not the least of our tools for getting the right people in the right place at the right time.

[*This is the concluding article in a series on Controls in a Rearmament Economy.*]

Arms for Germany?

BY BASIL DAVIDSON

II. Germans Don't Want to Fight

Bonn, January 27

IT IS not too much to say that America's demand for the rearmament of West Germany has finally destroyed Europe's war-time illusion that the New World would set right the balance of the Old. The rift between the United States and Western Europe which will develop if this demand is pressed is likely to be immeasurably deeper than that caused by European objections to America's Far Eastern policy.

Consider the line-up on rearmament in West Germany today. It is true that those who want a new German army are not the self-admitted Nazis, but they are the same coalition of conservative forces that wrecked the hopes of the Weimar Republic in the twenties and has prevented the emergence of a new Germany since the Second World War. They are the Old Guard nationalists like Adenauer and company, the heads of the great undisbanded imperial industries, the suave and self-confident Guderians, Speidels, and Heusingers who now explain in published memoirs that Germany could have won the war but for Hitler's mistakes—and but for the cardinal Allied mistake of fighting against the Germans to the finish instead of turning in good time against the Russians.

On the other side is by far the greater part of the people of West Germany. Recent newspaper polls have shown that 70, 80, and 90 per cent of those questioned oppose rearmament. Conferences and congresses to protest against it have assembled doctors, teachers, professors, lawyers, and workingmen who have no sympathy with the Stockholm movement or the Communist Party. Germans today, perhaps for the first time in history, are deeply convinced that war cannot help them, cannot solve their problems.

The division of opinion on rearmament reflects the confessional division. It is not an accident that the leaders of the opposition to Adenauer's policies are the Protestants Niemöller and Heinemann, both of whom, it should be said, hold strictly conservative views on most matters—Heinemann, for instance, is a Christian Democrat. Nor is it an accident that Adenauer's spiritual adviser is Cardinal Frings of Cologne, a cleric of the blackest hue, or that the Pope's adviser on German affairs is Monsignor Kaas, who was a power in the great Catholic *Zentrum* of the Weimar Republic. The West German state is in the most practical sense a Catholic base in Europe, in every way as self-conscious and proselytizing as, for instance, Franco's Spain; the demand for German rearmament goes hand in hand with the demand for Spain's admission to the Atlantic Pact. No one who does

BASIL DAVIDSON is a staff correspondent of the New Statesman and Nation *(London) and author of "Germany: What Now?" The first part of this article, headed Unrepentant Nationalism, appeared last week.*

not recognize the Catholic character of the West German state can understand the present pattern of Western policy.

THE political opponents of rearmament fall into two distinct categories. In the first are those whose opposition is provisional and is pressed for tactical reasons. Among them are the Social Democratic leaders, whose position on the question does not differ in principle from that of Adenauer but who want no rearmament unless and until they can themselves carry it out. This group also includes, however, such ex-Nazis as Remer, Dorls, and von Ostau, who look forward to the day when quarrels among the victors of 1945 will enable a nationalist Germany to rise once more to supremacy in Europe.

The opposition of the other group is genuine and based on principle. It is led by Gustav Heinemann, the sober and intelligent former burgomaster of Essen, who resigned from his post as Minister of the Interior—an unprecedented step for a member of the West German government—rather than go along with Adenauer's plans for remilitarization. Heinemann does not underestimate the difficulty of coming to an agreement with the east zone, but he has no illusions about the future of West Germany if rearmament should go forward. His view is that the unification of Germany, always the basic purpose of German policy, may be difficult now, but that it will be quite impossible after bilateral rearmament. Then the guns will speak, and Germany will become once more a battlefield—with the additional horror of being the battlefield in a civil as well as an international war. Heinemann, accordingly, urges a genuine attempt at unification now, and by four-power agreement. To this end he has taken steps to find out exactly what the Communists and their Protestant allies in East Germany would be prepared to accept. A few days ago he said his investigations had convinced him that the eastern authorities were ready to make concessions on such vital matters as all-German elections, the People's Police, and a far-reaching political amnesty.

In this courageous attempt to stem the tide of hysteria Heinemann has the powerful support of Pastor Niemöller, bishop of the Evangelical church in Hesse. Perhaps because he is in no sense a politician, Niemöller has great moral influence in Germany today. One of the Kaiser's most daring and successful U-boat commanders, he was the Protestant priest who outraged his respectable congregation at Dahlem in Berlin before the Second World War by denouncing Hitler's attempt to turn the Evangelical church into an instrument of Nazi policy. At that time he founded, within the Evangelical community, the *Bekennende Kirche* and fought the Nazis until they silenced him in a concentration camp. Even at its height the *Bekennende Kirche* failed to obtain the support of more than a minority of the Evangelical hierarchy, but the best men were with him in heart and often in word. Although Niemöller and Heinemann are careful not to say so, the *Bekennende Kirche* has come to life again in the current fight against remilitarization. The Evangelical bishops who condemn Niemöller today are at one with those who found it convenient to compromise with the Nazis.

"We cannot and we ought not to keep silent," Niemöller wrote last October to his charges in Hesse, "about mistaken policies which today—even at times through the misuse of the Word of God—are leading us along a false road where we shall all be torn apart in sin and hatred." And he has not kept silent. "The church which lives by God's Word," he said, "can only reject the legend of the Christian West as a romantic camouflage applied by secular power politics." His open letter to Adenauer of last October contains this paragraph:

> Before the eyes and ears of the whole German people, Mr. Chancellor, I beg of you in this decisive hour not to present the citizens of the Federal Republic with an accomplished fact without first genuinely consulting their wishes. If such a consultation cannot be carried out through a referendum within the terms of the constitution, then there should be a new general election. But this new general election must be organized in such a manner that the electorate may be able clearly to ask all parliamentary candidates whether, if elected, they will stand for or against rearmament.

Adenauer cannot risk an election, for he knows that the majority of the people would vote for candidates who are against rearmament. Provincial elections in Hesse, Württemberg, and Bavaria have proved that. But the opposition continues to grow. Loosely organized as yet, it is spreading across the whole spectrum of German society. "It would be much more difficult to mobilize an army in West Germany today than it would have been a year ago," a German ex-general told me privately, "and it may be impossible if we have to wait another two years." This being the situation, every step toward the remilitarization of West Germany may well be a step toward the moral and political disintegration of the Federal Republic which American money and influence have constructed with such painful care. The horse can be dragged to the water, but will it drink? And can it be ridden into battle?

What is perhaps worse, a wider survey of the European scene provides evidence that strengthening West Germany in the military sense will mean weakening the United States' other allies. To the thoughtful European, the Americans seem to have reached a crucial point in their destiny. They can press onward along the road they are now following—probably no one can stop them—but if they do, they will find their friends, one by one, falling behind until in the end they are alone—except for their former despised enemies.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Moments of Vision

MAKE LIGHT OF IT. By William Carlos Williams. Random House. $3.50.

EARLY STORIES. By Elizabeth Bowen. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

SUCH DARLING DODOS. By Angus Wilson. William Morrow and Company. $2.50.

"MAKE LIGHT OF IT," the collected stories of William Carlos Williams, a book that is all dry light, and Elizabeth Bowen's "Early Stories" sound as if they had been written out of an intense and critical joy in experience. Angus Wilson's stories, as any one of his characters might say, are another dish of tea.

Dr. Williams's prose is tight, economical but not bare, and never pretends to more than the author thinks or feels. These may sound like minor virtues, but they are exceedingly difficult to keep to and rare in contemporary American fiction. In this reprint of "The Knife of the Times" (1932), "Life Along the Passaic River" (1938), and twenty-one hitherto uncollected stories he re-creates in all its human wonder the sights and sounds and smells of his world, the dreary, half-suburban, half-metropolitan wasteland of Rutherford and Paterson, New Jersey, inhabited largely by a Polish and Italian proletariat which he loves.

He writes with a fine ambivalence, for he is at once the skilled doctor reporting on sickness, childbirth, and death, and the artist with all his wits about him and all his senses operating. He has a habit of identifying himself, for the moment, with those whom he observes and to whom he ministers. The illnesses in A Face of Stone and The Use of Force and the pregnancy in Comedy Entombed, to cite examples at random, have an immediacy that makes most contemporary fiction look like reflections seen through a glass darkly.

After too many years of patronizing and sentimental prating by writers who want to be profound about the little, the average, and the forgotten man it is refreshing to find Dr. Williams talking quietly about him and convincing us that he is always really singular and memorable. There is more to be learned about the depression or about the ruthlessness of large corporations from The Round-the-World Fliers and The Paid Nurse than from most of the heavily documented novels on such subjects of the last twenty-five years. Not that these stories are merely informative, although they show a wonderful sense of fact. They are informed with passion. Dr. Williams writes of being excited by or falling in love with his patients—an Italian woman in her fifth pregnancy, a sluttish girl suffering from acne, and so on. This is not rhetoric. He is not detached. What he sets down is recollected not in tranquillity but in a kind of critical happiness.

It would be pleasant to add that these are good short stories. For the most part they are not, at least in any conventional sense, although this judgment seems curiously irrelevant as soon as one has made it. To borrow a phrase from Hardy, they are moments of vision. With few exceptions, of which Old Doc Rivers is the most sustained, Dr. Williams is apparently not interested in developing or expanding his momentary insights. His compassion does not lead him beyond the luminous sketch. He takes human relationships for granted; they rarely change or grow. The Dawn of Another Day and To Fall Asleep, relatively ambitious pieces, do not resolve the situations they posit. But the reader has been, unforgettably, on that derelict yacht and in that suburban bedroom. Even when it smells somewhat of the clinic and the waiting-room, this writing is so alive that it leaves one questioning all one's views about the theory and practice of the short story.

If the insights are not always sure and if the situations seem, sometimes, not to have been felt through, still it is good to have Elizabeth Bowen's early stories. These include "Encounters" (1923) and "Ann Lee's" (1926). Very often "Encounters" sounds as if it had been influenced by Katherine Mansfield. But as Miss Bowen notes, in a wise preface which should be digested by anyone who wants to write fiction, when she wrote her first book she had read chiefly the stories of Richard Middleton and E. M. Forster and was altogether innocent of Bliss and The Garden Party. This is a minor fact in literary history but of some note, for it is evidence of the error of hasty generalizations about literary influences. These nebulosities may turn out to be merely resemblances in diverse sensibilities which happen more or less simultaneously to flower into art.

According to Miss Bowen the chief difficulty in the composition of these stories "was that I at that time could not extend my vision outside the range of an hour. I could spotlight, but not illumine steadily. I could expose people, but I was not yet interested in their continuity: I had a flitting mind." Their chief virtue is their freshness. She is all Miranda in this brave new world of sights and sounds—but chiefly sights—which unfolds itself for writer and reader alike. Some of her situations, she points out, were not well found; occasionally she patronizes her characters, an example, she calls it nicely, of "the repulsive superiority of young persons." But these lapses are infrequent. Already she knew, like the twelve-year-old in the fine story Coming Home—she tells us it is transposed autobiography—"that nothing ever became real for her until she had had time to live it over again." This is the lesson applied, with variations, in all these stories, as people, situations, and feelings grow into reality.

Of the first story in "Encounters," Breakfast, she comments that it is really not a story, since it has no turning point, but a sketch. Her Mr. Rossiter, who dies daily amid the vulgarities of a suburban boarding-house, is created and then dropped. Yet in this unpretentious piece she says, by implication, everything that Angus Wilson says over and over, the emphases becoming, finally, tiresome, in "Such Darling Dodos." His central thesis is that the English middle class, the dodos of the title, is falling apart as the assault upon its values and its customs begun by World War II and stepped up by the Labor government continues. Each one of these ten stories demonstrates this point in some in-

genious fashion. Together they make up a study in dislocation. Everywhere Mr. Wilson sees vulgarity and simple nastiness increasing. But important fiction cannot be created out of grimly sustained dislike and in an absence of compassion. The very fact that the dislike is so consistently sustained enervates the writing, and what was intended as a series of deft and witty chronicles is repetitious and boring. ERNEST JONES

Society and Politics

THE OPEN SOCIETY AND ITS ENEMIES. By Karl R. Popper. Princeton University Press. $7.50.

HONESTY, even at the risk of adding inflationary pressures to a market already unjustifiably bullish, requires an indorsement of Karl Popper's "The Open Society and Its Enemies" as probably the most stimulating, original, and genuinely important book to appear in many years. Relatively unheralded in this country, Popper's book has gone through three printings in England, and changed minds at Oxford, where it was the subject of a special seminar. No mere review, as one writer has already observed, can "give an account of the wealth of historical, philological, political, educational, and logical suggestions contained in Popper's work." Indeed, it is even difficult to define its subject. With characteristic modesty Popper describes his book as a "kind of critical introduction to the philosophy of society and politics," but it is also, either as a whole or in part, a survey of Greek philosophy, and modern philosophy since Kant, an essay in the logic of investigation, a treatise on the art of government, an inquiry into the aims of the social sciences, a history of the rise and fall of Athens, a formal philosophical critique of idealism, an analysis of the ideology of fascism and of its pervasive success, a study of the meaning of Marx, a storehouse of brilliant *aperçus*, and a defense, and in many ways model, of clarity, scientific method, and democratic procedure. No thinking person would be doing himself a service by neglecting Popper's book.

Fortunately, all the diverse inquiries pivot about a central argument which, consistently pushed ahead, forms the point of Popper's gigantic effort. Popper argues that a prime goal of social activity should be the establishment of an "open society." The "open society" which was first achieved, though only partially, by the Greeks, notably in Athens, is a society based on reason rather than taboo, and characterized by a distinction between the conventional regularities of social life, amenable to democratic control, and the regularities found in nature, which must be tended by a knowing élite. Consciousness of the possibilities for democratic management which is exemplified by the Periclean motto, "Although only a few may originate a policy, we are all able to judge it," leads to the notion of individual responsibility, and thence to egalitarianism and class mobility. Within the "open society" men are relatively free to rise and fall or remain indifferent. But the development of the "open society," a historical fact as well as a logical succession, has provoked sustained resistance down to and including modern fascism, which is "only an episode in the perennial struggle against freedom and reason." The men of the resistance in effect have opted for the "closed society," which resembles primitive tribal life in its magical attitude toward a social existence regulated by taboos which constrict the area of personal decision, submerge individualism in collective tradition, and establish unbreakable order as the answer to the insistent question of rank. The devices used to argue the return of the "closed society" are numerous, but one of the most common and effective techniques is what Popper calls historicism.

By historicism Popper means the proposition that history is a moving but immovable force with a discoverable direction to which men must accommodate themselves. This proposition, popular though demonstrably false, leads to moral futurism—the contention that men must cry "hail" to horror because it is allegedly imminent—and the myth of destiny, which implies inequality, racism, and mysticism: destiny's children, the chosen people, the master race, the proletariat, enjoy a blood superiority, incapable of achievement by mere effort or study, and they are dogmatically reinforced against rational criticism by their private, self-conscious identification with the forces of history. In addition, historicism begets utopianism—the doctrine that reform must be made in the light of some ultimate political aim, usually happiness—which in its turn, by demanding a clean slate for a new beginning in harmony with "history," begets totalitarianism.

Since the days of Heraclitus the historicist line has been hawked to a long-suffering public, who, Popper says, quoting Samuel Butler, "are easily led by the nose, and quick to offer up common sense at the altar of logic when a philosopher arises among them." As preeminent among the high priests supervising the slaughter of mind, Popper counts Plato, an aristocrat of great argumentative agility and sociological acumen who betrayed his teacher Socrates to become "a totalitarian party politician, unsuccessful in his immediate and practical undertaking, but in the long run only too successful in his propaganda for the arrest and overthrow of a civilization which he hated." At the fount of modern historicism squats Hegel, spewing out ponderous nonsense designed to transform history into a court of justice which has recommended a "blind obedience" to the existing, and therefore rational, and therefore divine, state of Frederick William III. Hegel, Popper asserts, connected Plato with modern totalitarianism by developing a theory of the modern nation-state as the bearer of destiny's word. But Hegel's influence, though in-

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR
Just Arrived! A. GONCHAROV
STANDARD BEARERS
In English — 332 pp. — $1.50
And Its Sequel
GOLDEN PRAGUE
In English — 198 pp. — 60¢
Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
1951 Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals
Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. [redacted] Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

Just Published
SELF and CHANCE
by
Joseph Kling
Limited Edition $3.00
Obtainable at
INTERNATIONAL BOOK & ART SHOP
17 W. 8 St., N. Y. C.
METROPOLITAN BOOK STORE
88 E. 23 St., N. Y. C.

tense, hardly extended beyond the gentle classes, and the great modern popularizer of historicism was Karl Marx. Popper begins his treatment of Marx by applauding Marx's great humanitarianism, to which he traces Marx's popularity, and by noting the value of the Marxian suggestion that the cause of the toiling masses could most effectively be furthered by a shortening of the working day. Popper also pays tribute to two of Marx's admittedly exaggerated methodological suggestions: "the need for considering things in relation to their economic background," and the virtue of allowing sociology to go beyond an examination of individual intent into structural analysis. Finally, however, Popper concludes that Marx was in large measure a historicist who blinded himself and crippled his followers by the attempt to predict a necessary historical development which would bring superiority to a chosen people whose destined rise to power might legitimately be hastened, but only hastened, by the use of means formally prescribed by existing society. Popper finds that Marx grievously neglected the acceptable means for reform, which have in fact proved the most useful.

This neglect still exists, and indeed the historicist tradition has been continued, not only by the Communist and fascist heirs of Marx, but also by the German existentialists with their emphasis on demonic forces lurking in the next moment, by Karl Mannheim and the sociology-of-knowledge school with their concept of a total ideology which can be penetrated only by a few freely poised spirits, by Arnold Toynbee and by A. N. Whitehead, who is sharply criticized for his contention that science rests upon metaphysical speculation, and that accordingly scientific progress rests upon a change in the prior irrational commitment necessary to all thought.

As to what progress is possible, Popper has modest hopes which are nevertheless hopes. He believes that speculation about ultimately desirable political conditions should be replaced by "piecemeal social engineering," the consideration of distinct, practical problems subject to institutional rather than discretionary individual control, such as the problems of social security, literacy, and the curbing of monopoly. Social scientists should concentrate on an explanation of the unintended results that may arise from suggested institutional reforms. And historians should devote their efforts to an identification and analysis of past problems which may have current relevance. By such a functional approach, Popper suggests, the little progress of which man is capable, the reduction of a part of all that is wild and random to the realm of the controllable, may be achieved.

Popper's program, while hardly stirring, is in itself thoroughly acceptable, but doubtless much criticism will be forthcoming as to the accuracy of Popper's interpretation of particular philosophers. The only advance reply to such criticism is that Popper's documentary justification is admirably thorough, and the internal argument thoroughly convincing. That Popper's final program seems somewhat pale does, however, serve to indicate one general weakness which weaves through the book. Popper is only occasionally, and then only belatedly, aware of the bewilderment and frustration produced by the absence of certainty and order, and the need for renouncing aesthetic perfection implicit in the "open society." The proponents of the "closed society" feed on chronic dissatisfaction and not on primitive atavism or the sway of Plato. Their message gets across because it answers a real need. Popper's effort to discredit this need by connecting the "closed society" with primitive yearnings is not thoroughly successful and, in any case, carries with it no imperative prescription. And to hold "social philosophies . . . responsible for the widespread prejudice against the possibilities of democratic reform" is as remote an explanation of democratic apathy as the statement that Wilson "fell a victim to his upbringing in the metaphysical political theories of Plato and Hegel and to the nationalist movements based upon them" is an unsatisfactory explanation of the temporary success of the doctrine of self-determination. In short, Popper exaggerates the role of philosophy in stimulating what is in fact a self-sustaining resistance to the "open society." Historicism is more deeply rooted and, by so much, more of a curse than Popper imagines.

But optimism in such matters is surely a venial sin. And Popper's firm insistence that "we must go on into the unknown, the uncertain, and insecure, using what reason we may have to plan for both security *and* freedom," places him, if not on the side of the angels whose company he would doubtless spurn as a snare, at least with the little band of man's best friends.

JOSEPH KRAFT

Books in Brief

THE HELL BOMB. By William L. Laurence. Knopf. $2.75. The science reporter for the New York *Times* describes for the layman the theory, nature, and potentialities of the hydrogen bomb, the first of which, he believes, may be ready for testing before the end of the year. The appropriately named hell bomb can destroy all life within an area of over three hundred square miles and severely burn within an area of more than twelve hundred square miles. Its advantage to us, therefore, lies in the fact that it would neutralize military disparity by enabling us to destroy Russian armies in the field before they had a chance to overrun Europe. The atom bomb, on the other hand, owing to its comparatively small area of destructiveness, is primarily a weapon for strategic bombing against concentrated populations and industrial centers. Thus the H-bomb might be hailed as a means of getting war back to its original purpose of killing soldiers rather than civilians. However, H-bombs can be rigged with casings capable of exploding into radioactive dust that can wipe out life throughout an entire country or even the whole world—a temptation that the military mind, in a struggle for survival, might find difficult to resist.

ATOMIC ENERGY AND THE HYDROGEN BOMB. By Gerald Wendt. Medill McBride. $2.75. Dr. Wendt gives less space than Mr. Laurence to the military and political aspects of nuclear fission (the basis of the A-bomb) and nuclear fusion (the basis of the H-bomb) and more to the scientific aspects. He is also considerably more pessimistic—or should one say optimistic?—regarding the chance of quick and successful manufacture of the H-bomb, which he says will apparently not be attained for years if ever. Moreover, he

believes its discovery a disadvantage to America because of our greater concentration of population and industry. The two authors agree that in the hell bomb humanity has at last achieved the possibility of collective suicide.

THE ATOM AT WORK. By Jacob Sacks. Ronald Press. $4. Atomic energy can transform earth into paradise or into hell, with the odds at the moment on its doing the latter. Messrs. Laurence and Wendt deal with the destructive aspects; Dr. Sacks with the constructive. The first half of the book recounts the discoveries that led to the use of atomic energy; the second half tells how radioactive isotopes are employed in chemistry, biology, agriculture, and industry. A factual work for study and reference.

ROMMEL, THE DESERT FOX. By Desmond Young. Harper. $3.50. The North African campaigns were not only "a gentlemen's war," as one German general remarked, but a tactician's delight, with unlimited space for maneuver and no civilians to get in the way. As military history this is a book of extraordinary interest, but even more fascinating is the dramatic and detailed story—already covered but more briefly in General Speidel's "Invasion, 1944"—of Rommel's last days and of his forced suicide on orders from Hitler.

THE SKY CLEARS. POETRY OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS. Edited by A. Grove Day. Macmillan. $3. An interesting, thoroughgoing, and informative volume, whose method is to present the verse of the American Indian in categories according to the culture from which it rose. Unhappily, as Dr. Day notes in his introduction, the most profound students of American Indian lore have not always been the most expert practitioners of verse, or vice versa, and while he comments in his introduction on the difference between literal and literary translations, he does not seem entirely convinced that the latter is sometimes the less poetic. The name of Mary Austin does not appear in his list of translators, or that of Oliver LaFarge in his bibliography. One notes, with a rueful satisfaction, that the poetry of the noble red man was also frequently "intentionally cryptic, ambiguous, or esoteric."

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

THE heroine of "The Rose Tattoo," Tennessee Williams's new play (Martin Beck Theater), is a Sicilian, Serafina Delle Rose; the locale is "a village populated mostly by Sicilians somewhere along the Gulf Coast between New Orleans and Mobile." Mr. Williams has recently spent some time in Italy. Serafina, like Blanche in "A Streetcar Named Desire," is a frustrated woman, but she has the Mediterranean attitude toward sex, and unlike Blanche is voluble and frank about its "glory." Moreover, in the end she finds happiness again with one of those lusty fellows that Mr. Williams delights to set before us. His treatment of the single-minded Serafina appears at times more condescending than compassionate, but it is free of the overtones of sadism that marked his dissection of Blanche.

The first act is by far the best, and it is the first act of a serious play. Serafina's husband, "wild as a gipsy" and a baron besides, for all that he is a truck-driver who carries dope under his ostensible freight, is killed shortly after the action begins. Serafina so treasures the memory of their "glory" together that she renounces all other men—and central to her renunciation is her belief that her husband has shared the glory only with her. At the end of the first act three years have passed, Serafina suspects that her husband was not faithful after all, and her repression shows itself in an exaggerated attachment to religion and a determination to keep men away from her fifteen-year-old daughter.

So far so good. This first act is vivid and humorous—but within the terms of the prevailing serious mood—and it has the poetic touches characteristic of Mr. Williams's writing at its best. In the second act the serious mood quickly evaporates, and the proceedings descend into cheap farce which must be seen to be believed. The absurd and the vulgar contend for place in the sequence in which the new truck-driver finally overcomes Serafina's scruples. And this is matched by a scene in which the fifteen-year-old daughter attempts to seduce a nice young sailor and is not deterred even by his pathetic remark that it could cost him ten years.

In the third act Serafina once more feels on her breast the impress of the rose tattoo—the insignia of her dead husband—and knows that she has con-

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

The NATION

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine . . . . . $9.50 You Save $2.50

☐ *with* Consumer Reports . . . . . $10.75 You Save $1.25

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine and Consumer Reports . . $13.25 You Save $3.75

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION BY ITSELF:

☐ One Year $7 ☐ Two Years $12 ☐ Three Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years. ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME_____

STREET_____

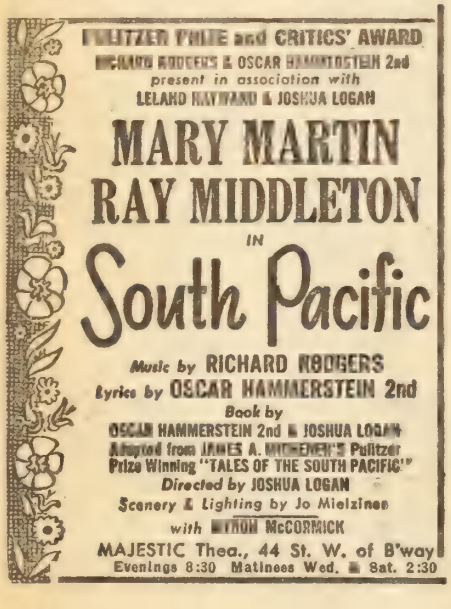
CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

2/17/51

ceived; the daughter goes off happily, with her mother's blessing, to spend the afternoon in a hotel with the sailor.

The play is good theater in the elementary sense. It is well directed, the setting is striking, the acting is good. Maureen Stapleton as Serafina plays the part as if she believed in it and makes it more believable than it would be, I suspect, in print. I should say that the character of the new lover, Mangiacavallo, as written, is the best realized of the lot, and Eli Wallach brings him to life on the stage. The part of the daughter is a pretty thankless one. Phyllis Love's portrayal is not very convincing, in spite of her skilful and devoted efforts, and is made less so by the fact that Miss Love can't help looking and seeming more American than Sicilian, rather than the other way round. Of the minor characters, Ludmilla Toretzka's Assunta is particularly good, and the Sicilian neighbors seem much more authentic than the principals. I almost forgot to note that one of the characters is a goat, played by a goat, which goes on a rampage at two critical points in the ordeal of Serafina. And I can only say that this bit of "symbolism" was nothing if not appropriate.

Mr. Williams has creative power and a gift for dramatic and poetic expression, but he writes from so many levels of thought and feeling—and some of them are so low—that I for one can't make him out. It would be easy to conclude from this play that he is primarily a sensationalist whose "serious" touches are part of a technique, instinctive or deliberate, to provide something for everybody; it would be more charitable to assume that he is primarily a serious writer who is incapable of exercising the faintest critical judgment toward his own effusions.



Art

MANNY FARBER

BY THE word "abstraction" painters mean composition freed of naturalistic appearance, experience communicated by relationships of color, line, space, and so on. The Museum of Modern Art's latest survey—running from the 1913 Armory show to De Kooning's largest all-over pattern of squirming, bio-morphic strokes—indicates that American abstraction is generally a fussy dissertation in flat space. The show wriggles through eight rooms, in which the white walls, the practical character of American painting, and the absence of ornate frames give the resolved effect of a tidy New England asylum.

The first wave of abstraction (1912-25) shows artists using Futurist "lines of force" and Cubist shapes with the dry dogmatism of protestants against academic technique and philistine critics. Life's noise, speed, and confusion were depicted in kaleidoscopic designs that either half transformed nature or disowned it to produce sensations of dynamism and color music. During the depression years the second wave (1930-51) washed up clean, still lifelike abstractions—a flat backdrop of decorative color patterned with simultaneous aspects of a salt shaker—which were orderly reactions against the troubled times, the congested scene paintings of Benton, Curry. In the mid-forties the young avant-gardist sold abstraction to the American public with his sophisticated approach that trusted the pull of spontaneous, irrational impulses, and advanced post-Cubist technique into a new all-over patterning devoid of objects. The last exhibition room is pledged to these intrasubjectivists—Pollock, Hoffman, Rothko, and others—who have now perfected their slap-happy, wallpaper technique to an elegant point, dangerously close to the empty stylishness of academic art.

The American painter approaches independent art—composition without subject interest—with the functional, efficient spirit of people who believe in "getting down to brass tacks." From Feininger's frosted use of kinetic design to Pollock's glum idolatry of automatic writing, strict obedience to the principle underlying an art style makes the work appear cold and persistent. The artist not only pushes one principle to the exclusion of all else, but the quick, largely decorative solving of each canvas unmasks the expedience and intensity of young Americans out to "succeed." Once his technique is mastered, he becomes an assembly belt turning out the same machine in varying colors, sizes, and shapes. Art schools now find students masterfully covering stretched mattress ticking with aluminum house paint—no model, no subject, no composition, and soon—"Look, Ma! no hands."

In sculpture the Americans' absorption in "method" has a truer ring because the aesthetic is unavoidably joined with problems of construction. In the metallic works of Calder, Smith, Lassaw, the artist's personality is drawn into the form by means of his arduous labor, while painters, fascinated by the mechanics of expression, lay feeling over structure like a sentimental veneer. Sculptor Lassaw, a sensitive materialist, builds an elongated nest of cubicles with a continuous string of plastic metal, the tedious repetition of stretched, molten drippings exuding a handsome milky-gray atmosphere. Winding, changing width, plodding along at a snail's pace, the line has the sensuality of a heavy, langorous doodle. My first association with Noguchi's five-foot "Gunas" is of three loose keyholes cut from a marble bathtub. With wafer-thin organic shapes that can unlock like collapsible furniture, Noguchi communicates technical difficulties along with an icy-fingered but admirable formal talent.

Among the better painters, James Brooks contributes a mystic landscape done with a weird paint-blot technique. Seeping blackish tints into both sides of a porous canvas, Brooks develops a translucent mire with magical white writing and tangling curvilinear shapes. The result is poetic chaos in a bottomless subterranean world, rich in atmospheric color and trick effects. The painting—tissue-paper thin and deep as a dream, quagmire-surfaced and with a

desert's dryness—suffers somewhat from virtuosity.

The leaders of current abstraction are capable of more fireworks and elegant acrobatics, but the following works get closer to the nervous apprehensive flavor of current times. Russell's "La Rue Saint Denis" suggests a tenth-floor view into a busy intersection with everything abstracted into narrow rectangles of pasty color. This finicky labor holds the eye through the fine contrast between tiny, pure foreground colors and larger, background tones which expand and change to a ponderous glow. Cavallon's checkerboard looks like a Mondrian painted by a peasant: no two rectangles the same size, roughly edged contours, primitively built color. Because of sensuality that mixes a worn ivory tone into an old-fashioned palette, this geometrical composition exudes warmth, taste, some of the crudeness missed in Bauhaus-type art. Guston's panel of gummy red eeriness is also a clumsy work full of the joys and errors that come from pursuing emotion down a dark, uncharted path.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

CERTAIN of the Prades Bach Festival recordings issued by Columbia are among the outstanding events of the year; and first among these are the ones of Casals's own playing. It is heard in the three Sonatas originally for viola da gamba—Nos. 1 and 2 on one record (ML-4349), No. 3 on another (ML-4350)—with the keyboard instrument part played on the piano by Paul Baumgartner; and one finds no change in the tone that is unique in its tensile strength and continuous life, or in the powerful inflections and distentions of this tone in the sustained phrasing. The music has always impressed me as dull; but Nos. 1 and 2 played by Casals are exciting experiences. No. 3 remains dull—which may be connected with the fact that Casals's tone is altered and less impressive in this work.

On the same record with No. 3 are the Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue and the Italian Concerto played on the piano by Serkin in a way that contrasts strikingly with Casals's. The great *Andante* movement of the Concerto, though played *Adagio*, is played very simply with none of the tensions and the continuity of impetus that create exciting life in Casals's phrasing of melody. Nor is there any other kind of strength in Serkin's playing—now lyrically contemplative, now fluently animated—of the other music; and indeed one is glad that he doesn't this time strain for anything more than the small-scale playing he does naturally.

After the recordings of Casals's own playing the most interesting are those of the performances he conducted. One record (ML-4345) gives us the first three Brandenburg Concertos, another (ML-4346) the next two, and another (ML-4347) No. 6; and the performances are the only ones that seem to me to be, in their completely different style, of the same stature and impressiveness as the wonderful old Busch Chamber Players performances. As against the Busch performances with their lightness, grace, clarity of texture, sensitiveness of inflection, refinement of execution, the Casals performances achieve magnificence, in certain movements, by fullness of sonority and powerful accentuation and shaping. There is good playing by the soloists in Nos. 2 and 4—Alexander Schneider, violin, M. Mule, soprano saxophone (in place of trumpet), John Wummer, flute, and Marcel Tabuteau, oboe, in No. 2; Schneider, Wummer, and B. Goldberg, flute, in No. 4. In No. 5 Szigeti plays well, but a little too loud for Wummer at times; and Eugene Istomin's piano playing is sensitive and straightforward except in the long solo, in which he indulges in too many changes of tempo. But the outstanding solo performance is Tabuteau's in the *Adagio* of No. 1; and there is beautiful playing also by the other oboes, L. Storch and J. Mack, the bassoon, M. Allard, and the horns, L. Thevet and G. Coursier, in the other movements. It is difficult to understand why, if Casals is willing to use a piano so that the keyboard part may be audible in No. 5, he uses a mostly inaudible harpsichord in the others. The recorded sound is a little brash; Nos. 1 and 5 have crackling noises and acquire a hash of high-frequency distortion near the center of the record.

On the same record with No. 6, the dullest of the series, are three excerpts from "The Musical Offering"—the not-too-interesting Ricercare a 3, played with power on the piano by Leopold Mannes; the dull Sonata a 3, played by Schneider, Wummer, L. Teraspulsky, cello, and Mannes; and the superb Ricercare a 6, excellently played by Schneider and Orrea Pernel, violins, M. Thomas and K. Tuttle, violas, Teraspulsky and D. Saidenberg, cellos, and J. Rotenberg, bass. The recorded sound of the last two is afflicted with gritty noise and distortion.

What I said about the performances of the Brandenburg Concertos is true also of the performances of the charming Suite No. 2 for flute and strings and the dull Suite No. 1 (ML-4348)—with the one additional difference from the Busch performance of No. 2 that Wummer's playing is not as beautiful in tone and phrasing as Moyse's. The recorded sound is weak in bass.

On another record (ML-4352)

GOOD NEWS for Music Lovers
Pocket-Sized, Low-Priced Editions
BACH: The Well-Temp. Clavier, 2 vols., each.. .98
BACH: 3 Cello Sonatas & 7 Flute Sonatas..... .98
BACH: 6 English Suites & 6 French Suites.... .98
BEETHOVEN: All Violin Sonatas, 3 vols., each .98
& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG
Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From:
LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138 New York 32, N. Y

25% Less than List on LP Records
Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:
DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB
DEPT. N-15
Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y
Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges (50¢ minimum). SAME-DAY SHIPMENT.

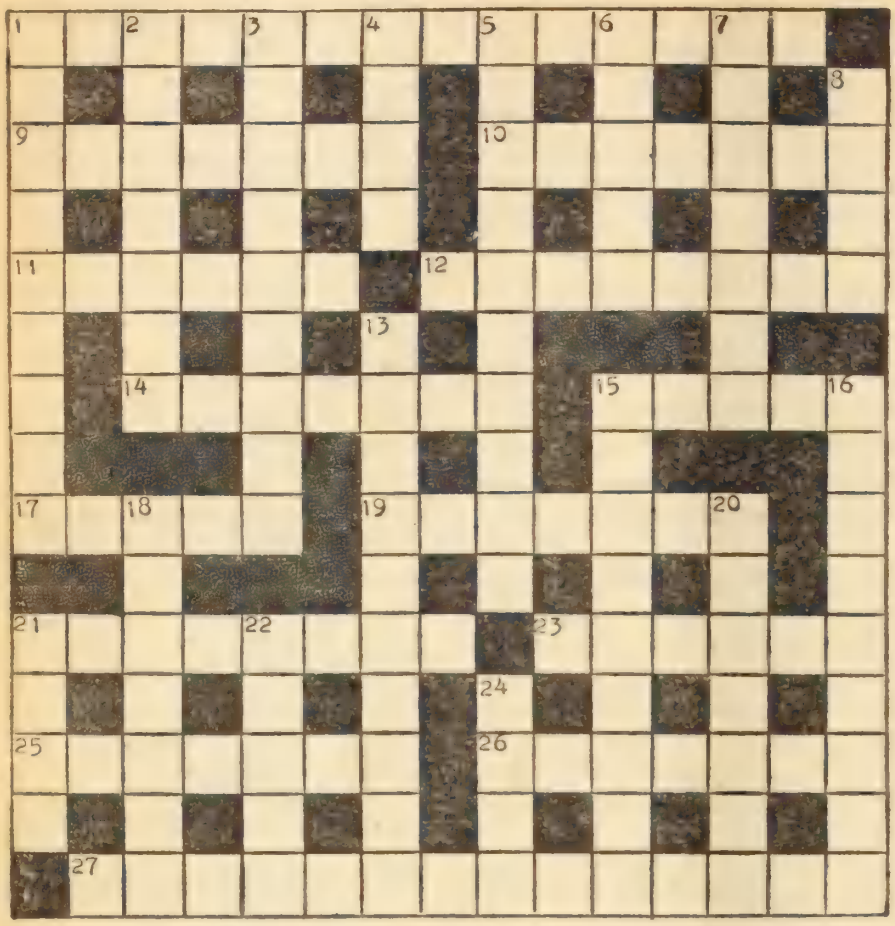
Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular list price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the list price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

Crossword Puzzle No. 400

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 11
9 Key saw the flag in this light. (7)
10 It's light, but still quite an achievement for her to carry. (7)
11 and 1 across. The line of attack in '50? (6-6, 8)
12 Researches, perhaps, when the draughtsmen get upset. (8)
14 The kind of Roman Caesar was. (7)
15 See 27
17 Right name for championship. (5)
19 H_3BO_3 is such an acid. (7)
21 Strictly speaking, anything 9 would likely be this. (8)
23 and 8. Draft, perhaps. (4, 2, 4)
25 Animals are precious things to an Americanized editor. (7)
26 Camels come from here with almost all of their germs. (7)
27 and 15 across. The fight one engages in with a corporation? (3, 6, 2, 3, 5)

DOWN

1 The law of representation? (9)
2 Rain god pertaining to an ancient king of Phrygia. (7)
3 Without one, no motion could go into the record. (9)
4 Make sport of the traveler. (4)
5 Thinkers, or just throw-backs? (10)
6 A line of shale fragments. (5)
7 Late riser around here, according to Cicero. (7)
8 See 23.
13 Damp? Damper! (3, 7)
15 His most famous tales took only ■ hundredth as long to tell as Scheherazade's. (9)
16 Speak to Eva softly, and disappear! (9)
18 Three expressions of contempt for winning? (7)
20. Drake's Fay was the guilty one. (7)
21 The revelry seems to be ■ bloody mess! (4)
22 You couldn't say "he doesn't have ■ bob to his name!" about this expatriate Englishman! (5)
24 One would expect ■ gardener's son to sound competent! (4)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 399

ACROSS:—1 METAPHYSICIAN; 11 and 10 LA GUARDIA FIELD; 12 OMNIBUSES; 13 ESTER; 14 TRIAL BALLOON; 19 QUEEN OF CLUBS; 22 AMISS; 24 POWER SAWS; 25 EXTIRPATE; 26 NOMAD; 27 NEXT TO NOTHING.

DOWN:—2 EXEUNT; 3 ALDEBARAN; 4 HALF-STAFF; 5 SAGES; 7 ADDITION; 8 AFOOT; ■ PATRONS; 15 BELOW ZERO; 16 LABYRINTH; 17 SQUARES; 18 BELITTLE; 20 and 6 SALMON CHASE; 21 ASIDE; 23 SPRAT; 24 PLATO.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

Szigeti plays the violin version of the great Concerto in D minor that he recorded years ago with the New Friends Orchestra, and plays it less well this time, I think—his tone being wiry and granular. The recorded sound of the orchestra is more spacious this time, but brash; that of the violin is sharp, and distorted near the center of the record. The Concerto in A minor played on the piano, violin, and flute by Horszowski, Schneider, and Wummer on the reverse side I don't care for; and its recorded sound is brash and sharp.

Nor do I care for the Concerto in C minor for violin and oboe (ML-4351) played by Isaac Stern and Tabuteau, which acquires a hash of high-frequency distortion near the center. But on the reverse side is the most satisfactory performance so far of the fine Concerto in D minor for two violins; though one notes things like Schneider's choppy phrasing of the opening statement of the *Andante* movement and then the continuous flow of Stern's phrasing of the answering statement.

Stern also plays beautifully in the *Andante* of the Violin Concerto in A minor, another good work, but throws his virtuoso-violinist weight around in the phrases of the other movements. The recorded sound is compressed and unresonant. On the same record (ML-4353) is the dull Concerto in F minor, played on the piano quite well, except for occasional unsteadiness of tempo, by Clara Haskil. The recorded sound needs stepping up of treble, which also steps up surface noise. Also on the record are the fine Toccata and Fugue in E minor, the Fugue played by Istomin not as straightforwardly as it should be, but the rest done very well; and an uninteresting Trio Sonata played by Stern, Wummer, and Istomin.

And finally a record (ML-4354) with the Sonata in B minor for flute and piano, most of it uninteresting, played by Wummer and Mannes; the English Suite No. 5, some of it rather engaging, and some movements played charmingly by Horszowski but others played in excessively romantic style; and the Prelude and Fugue in E flat minor from Book 1 of the Well-Tempered Clavier, well played on the piano by Yvonne Lefebure except that the Fugue is treated as a crescendo from *pp* to *ff* and a decrescendo back to *pp*.

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • FEBRUARY 24, 1951 NUMBER 8

The Shape of Things

GENERAL MACARTHUR, ON HIS RETURN TO Tokyo last week after inspecting the Korean battlefront, declared that "talk of crossing the Thirty-eighth Parallel at the present stage of the campaign, except by scattered patrol action . . . is purely academic." Before operations north of that line could be seriously considered, he explained, the existing superiority in numbers of the enemy would have to be materially reduced. Nevertheless, if the daily reports of Communist casualties emanating from Tokyo are approximately accurate, it seems possible that the Chinese and North Korean forces will withdraw beyond the parallel, and it is not too soon to consider what strategy the United Nations should follow in that event. Such a withdrawal might produce a lull in the fighting, a de facto cease fire, which would give the United Nations Good Offices Committee a chance to explore the possibilities of a real armistice. It follows that the question of whether or not General MacArthur's command should attempt a hot pursuit of the foe across the parallel is at least as much political as military. The British government, Prime Minister Attlee said on February 12, believes that the line should not be crossed in *depth* without full consultation with the United Nations and especially with those countries having troops in Korea. This view, he continued, had been advanced in Washington and there met with "the fullest comprehension of the political implications." That seemed to be confirmed in a guarded statement by Secretary of State Dean Acheson on February 14, but next day the President once again asserted that crossing the parallel was a strategic matter on which General MacArthur had full discretion. Obviously in the highest Washington quarters there is something less than the "fullest comprehension" of British views, which are shared by many other United Nations members.

*

WINSTON CHURCHILL IS NOTHING IF NOT persevering in his efforts to save Britain by reestablishing himself in Downing Street. Four times in three weeks he has pressed votes of no-confidence against the government, hoping that a mixture of physical infection and political disaffection would liquidate the thin Labor majority. However, the flu virus has no politics: it has attacked Tories and Laborites alike, and apparently the former have been less willing to leave sick-beds to vote. Consequently, the government successfully repulsed challenges on its steel, coal, and meat policies. Nor have internal Labor Party disputes led to rebellions. The latest Tory motion of no-confidence, which attacked the government's arms program, seems to have been launched on the theory that abstentions by Labor "pacifists" might give the opposition a victory. But as Attlee could have said to Churchill, "They will not kill me, Winnie, to make you king." Dissenting Labor members may dislike the government's arms program and fear its economic and social consequences, but they know that the advent of a Tory regime would mean still greater emphasis on defense. Churchill did in fact charge that Labor's proposals were both too little and too late. However, Hugh Gaitskill, Chancellor of the Exchequer, showed that the program would raise per capita defense costs from $45 this year to $101 in 1953 and put a heavy strain on Britain's economic capacity. As for its being too late, he pointed out that a year ago Churchill was calling for less expenditure on arms so that more consumer goods could be produced. The Liberal *News Chronicles's* charge that the Tory Party "stands convicted of a party maneuver" seems thoroughly justified.

*

THAT GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED States differ in their interpretation of the Charter and the functions of the United Nations was confirmed in a very important article published in the London *News Chronicle* on January 25. Its author, Francis Williams, was press officer to the British delegation at the founding conference of the U. N. in San Francisco and consequently speaks with authority. From the beginning, he points out, there were two conceptions of the role of the U. N. "The first, behind which American opinion is strongly intrenched, is that the U. N. is the embodiment of the principle of the rule of international law. In the field of security one of its primary functions is therefore that of an international law-enforcement agency. The second springs from the conception of the U. N. as an indispensable tool of something much less automatic and precise"; or, as he describes it farther on, "an instrument of diplomacy which would take into account the long as well as the short-term consequences of any action it might take." This, in Mr. Williams's opinion, meant shifting the whole emphasis in the China debate from

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 165
The Squeeze on Labor 166
Reply to Stalin 167

ARTICLES

The Falangist International *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 168
Last Chance for Sanity *by Willard Shelton* 169
The Nazis Go Free *by Telford Taylor* 170
The High Cost of Total War *by Fritz Sternberg* 173
After the Pleven Visit *by Alexander Werth* 176
Everybody's Business: Britain's Coal Crisis *by Keith Hutchison* 178

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Sinclair Lewis *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 179
The Dark Night of F. Scott Fitzgerald *by Delmore Schwartz* 180
Croce's Role in Italy *by Frances Keene* 182
Britain Since 1945 *by Keith Hutchison* 184
Scrim and Blackout *by Frederic Ramsey, Jr.* 184
Devil's Pact *by Gerald Sykes* 185
Inflation and Control *by Charles F. Noyes* 186
Hero and Victim *by Morton Dauwen Zabel* 187
Films *by Manny Farber* 188
Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 189
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 190

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 191

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 401 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 192

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Contributing Editor: Robert Bendiner
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

sanctions to negotiation, from force to diplomacy. It is only necessary to examine the situation in which the United Nations finds itself today to recognize the validity of Mr. Williams's analysis. Many delegations which supported without question the American resolution branding China an aggressor, are now praying that the new cease-fire committee may find some miraculous formula to induce Peking to talk peace on the terms it was ready to accept before the condemnation was voted.

*

THE NEW YORK BOARD OF REGENTS UNDER pressure from the Catholic Church, has canceled the license of the Italian film "The Miracle" previously granted by its own Motion Picture Division. This unprecedented action suggests that the continued existence of the division is a waste of the taxpayers' money. All that the Regents need do is to give licences only to those movies which have received Cardinal Spellman's approval. Of course, the Constitution does say something about the separation of church and state, but since so many of our public authorities honor this provision in the breach without arousing much public protest, perhaps we had better burn the writings of Jefferson and forget about the whole thing.

The Squeeze on Labor

WHEN the three representatives of labor withdrew from the Wage Stabilization Board last week, their action was more than a condemnation of the wage-control formula on which they had just been outvoted. It was a protest against the systematic squeeze that has all but eliminated organized labor from the planning of our national defense. Not since the days of the Great Engineer have trade-union leaders counted for less in Washington, and they have reason to fear that unless they assert themselves quickly, their influence will be frozen more effectively than anything else in the stabilization program.

From the earliest days of the international crisis labor has placed itself squarely behind the Administration, with a degree of unity unknown since John L. Lewis created the C. I. O. nearly fifteen years ago. With Communist influence literally eliminated from all the major divisions of labor, the trade-union movement has successively backed the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact, the United Nations' action in Korea, and the whole concept of a mobilization program. While its initial reaction to wage stabilization was to oppose any rigid formula, it came around last December to an acceptance of wage controls. But when the stabilizers began unfreezing prices which were at an all-time high to begin with, it became obvious that there would have to be a corresponding

thaw in wages. Labor has lowered its sights from a 15 per cent raise to 12 per cent, but the Stabilization Board's industrial and public representatives refuse to go beyond 10.

In return for a greater display of conciliation at each step of the way than might have been expected, labor has received nothing but the chilliest of cold shoulders. When Charles E. Wilson, of General Electric, agreed to serve as Mobilization Director, he exacted a price in power which, for all the desperate difficulty of recruiting top government personnel, no President should have agreed to pay. In World War II, while we were actively waging the greatest struggle of our history, William M. Knudsen received no such sweeping mandate as Wilson has been granted, and such power as he had was shared equally with labor's representative, Sidney Hillman. Yet labor accepted Wilson's rule, too, asking only that one of his top lieutenants be a trade-union leader. Instead Wilson picked General Lucius D. Clay, of the Continental Can Company, and Sidney Weinberg of the banking firm of Goldman, Sachs. Making a third try, the C. I. O., A. F. of L, Railway Brotherhoods, and Machinists cooperating to an unprecedented degree in a United Labor Policy Committee, asked the President to give the newly created man-power post to Secretary of Labor Tobin, and once again their advice was spurned. In the meantime the striking railway workers were publicly compared by the President to "Russians," incapable of keeping their word, though no comparable pressure was put upon management to quit stalling on negotiations that had dragged on for nearly two years. And to top off these grievances, as Willard Shelton pointed out in last week's issue of this magazine, Wilson let it be known that he favored the weakening of the wage-hour law during the emergency, and of other protective labor legislation painfully achieved over the years.

That emergency, as labor well knows, is not likely to be of short duration. It may, indeed, go on for years. The notion that 15,000,000 American workers, highly organized, will consent over any prolonged period to have their most vital interests arbitrarily disposed of by a coterie of bankers and industrialists is patently absurd. Particularly so when labor feels strongly that it is being asked to carry a disproportionate burden in the fight against inflation. William Green, surely among the mildest of the mild, put the matter plainly:

> . . . the government has unlimited powers over the worker's income. On the other hand, the government's power over the prices of goods and services the worker has to buy are limited and substantially less effective. Food prices, in particular, cannot be subject to effective price control. Control over rents at the present time is only partially effective. On top of this burden, the worker is expected to pay substantially higher taxes, while at the same time loopholes in our present tax structure are likely to remain open for use by higher-income families and corporations.

In the immediate issue as to whether the wage thaw should run to 10 or 12 per cent we suspend judgment until the facts and figures are in. It is quite possible that the lower figure would adequately cover the cost-of-living increase since the beginning of the Korean war. But the issue, we believe, is larger than this. The issue is one of confidence. If labor does not feel that its voice is to be heard in the mobilization councils, and heard only faintly in the White House, it will inevitably raise that voice until it is heard. The cooperative spirit that was present at the start will more and more give way to intransigence. It is to be hoped that the President's intuition will warn him in time that not even the efficiency of a Charles E. Wilson is worth the price of a rejected and aggrieved labor force, that the nation's war production can be no higher than the morale of its working people.

Reply to Stalin

NEVER has a statement from the Kremlin been subjected to more minute exegesis than Premier Stalin's interview in *Pravda.* From one end of the non-Communist world to the other political experts have been weighing every phrase, searching for clues to Moscow's intentions, for they know that Stalin is a man who never speaks for the sake of hearing himself talk.

The *Pravda* interview comprised a few apparently plain remarks whose underlying meaning remains obscure. Did his reference to Korea suggest that a negotiated settlement was still possible? Was his bitter attack on British policy an attempt to widen existing differences between Washington and London? Or was it designed, in advance of the four-power talks, to saddle the onus of war preparations on the West? Was the attack on the U. N. in preparation for possible Russian withdrawal? Was the statement that war "at least at present . . . cannot be considered inevitable" meant to dispel anxiety among the Russian people? And why did he make no mention of Germany?

The answers to these questions have reflected, in most cases, the hopes and interests of those who gave them. The only points of general agreement have been, first, that the *Pravda* interview should be considered in the context of the proposed Big Four talks and of U. N. consultations on sanctions against China; and, second, that the interview does not portend any sharp change in Moscow's policy. But if all the sifting and analyzing has simmered down to this inconclusive conclusion, at least one practical answer to the Stalin démarche is available.

The British note to Moscow, delivered ahead of schedule when the Stalin statement came out, denied the charge that Britain had violated the Anglo-Soviet treaty

and answered vigorously and effectively the various allegations in the interview, including especially Stalin's assertion that Britain in collaboration with the American "billionaires and millionaires," was planning an aggressive war. Some of the British counter-charges leave room for dispute—especially those relating to Greece and to the disintegration of four-power control in Germany; in neither case is the blame all on one side. But the note as a whole was calm in tone and stated plainly that Britain not only had no aggressive plans itself but had no intention of reviving German militarism or allowing its zone in Germany to be a base for aggression. It also reaffirmed Britain's readiness to seek "in discussion with the Soviet Government . . . the settlement of the principal problems whose solution will make possible a real and lasting improvement in their relations."

In this spirit the three major Western powers could easily test the meaning and purpose of Stalin's words. They could discuss the issues which will comprise the agenda for the four-power meeting in terms that would provide concrete evidence of their desire for agreement rather than war, and would require the same kind of evidence from Moscow.

On the question of arms, the West could ask for figures rather than general statements about Russian demobilization and about the present size of the Soviet armed forces and those of the other Cominform states. And in return the Atlantic powers should be prepared to convince the Russians that plans for Western rearmament are flexible and would be scaled down to any point made possible by Soviet policies—military and otherwise.

On the question of Germany, the Western powers could insist upon dissolution of the East German armed police and an agreement for free, internationally supervised elections to create a reunited German state, offering on their side to keep that state neutral and disarmed.

The Western powers could demand enforcement of the treaty provisions against remilitarizing the former enemy countries in Eastern Europe, whose armies are now supposedly well above treaty strength. They could press for completion of the peace treaty with Austria—so endlessly delayed by Russian quibbling—to be followed by the withdrawal of Soviet forces from the neighboring satellite states. In return the West should agree, as Britain implicitly did in the passage quoted above, to keep hands off the Cominform area. This might go against the grain of some anti-Communists, especially in the United States, who have enlisted—and tried to enlist—the West—in a crusade to liberate all nations within the Soviet sphere. But it may as well be recognized that such a crusade implies a war of aggression which would justify Russia's worst allegations and violate our own firmly announced purposes.

If the Atlantic allies really want a settlement with Russia their reply to Stalin should take the form of proposals such as these, looking toward a democratic solution of the issues that divide East and West. Their case is a strong one, even though it has been distorted by reactionary compromises and expedients. Their long-range bargaining position is also strong in spite of the Kremlin's present superiority in man-power and arms. Instead of trying frantically to decipher Stalin's words and then meeting charge with counter-charge, they should try to find out what he is willing to do and act on that knowledge.

The Falangist International

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

IN A remarkable series of articles on Spain published in the New York *Times*, February 7-10, C. L. Sulzberger has drawn an accurate picture of the situation in Franco's realm. I can only hope they will be read by United States Senators and Representatives and by the politicians and commentators who for some time now have been obsessed by the thought of the twenty-two divisions which Spain's *Caudillo* says he can place at the service of the Western democracies. Mr. Sulzberger describes the misery in Spain, the incompetence of the regime, its irresponsibility in not concerning itself with the succession ("not even the foetus of a potential successor system is encouraged"), the reactionary character of the church, more reactionary than anywhere else in the world ("many sincere Catholics privately complain that dogma is increasingly in the outmoded form of the sixteenth century"), and the "rebellious spirit that lives in Spain," as he entitles his fourth article.

His analysis of Spain's military value to the West is very keen and should restrain the enthusiasm of Franco's friends in the Pentagon. "Could the highly unpopular governmental structure," he asks, "bear this strain, risk the possibility of letting some opposition elements gain arms, support the necessary economic stress?" As a matter of fact, many elements are only hoping that Franco will order a mobilization, so that the soldiers can turn their weapons against him.

Mr. Sulzberger makes some extremely astute observation about the Falange. It boasts, he says, that the ideology of the dictatorship has not changed and will not change, however many ambassadors and loans are supplied by the West. The regime is in fact 100 per cent fascist, and its fascism, like that of Mussolini and Hitler, is for export. Franco's Spain is today the center of the new fascist international; it really should be called the Falangist International in honor of the Generalissimo.

The Falange is helping to build fascist cadres in every country. Spain is known to be full of Nazis, and Nazi cells are being reestablished in Germany. The Nazis in

Argentina were once the subject of a State Department "Blue Book," and their present intrigues would provide plenty of material for a new edition. Everywhere in Latin America the Spanish Falange is active. One of the most scandalous things it has done is to provide Spanish aviators to machine-gun the Colombian guerrillas: people in the United States, from whom the truth about what is happening in Latin America is systematically concealed, probably do not even know that there are guerrillas fighting the dictatorship in Colombia.

The Falange carries on its fascist propaganda in Latin America with cynical effrontery. The Franco regime knows that it has been temporarily saved from bankruptcy by the desire of certain influential American interests to make Spain—along with Germany—an essential part of the West's system of defense. Encouraged by the prospect of new loans, of millions of dollars squandered as they were in Greece, it is now engaged in fortifying the self-confidence of the Latin American dictators. No Odria, no Laureano Gomez, no military junta like that in Venezuela need fear a popular rebellion. Latin American tyrants will be protected by Point Four aid and the might of the United States. Schooled by Franco, the whole crowd of them now believe that the most hated *caudillo* can get money and arms in return for taking a strong anti-Communist stand.

It is in this context that the foreign ministers of the Latin American countries—among which the democracies can be counted on the fingers of one hand—will meet in Washington next month on President Truman's invitation. Latin American liberals and progressives, fearing that the conference will only strengthen the dictatorships, are already planning to seize the occasion to proclaim the solidarity of the democrats of the southern continent against Falangist infiltration and domestic tyranny.

Frequent complaints are heard about the ineffective propaganda of the Voice of America in the Latin republics. It is not easy, however, to export merchandise of doubtful value. You can't sell Franco in either Europe or South America by saying that his aid is necessary to the "defense of democracy." The whole strategy of the West is undermined when the United States talks of democracy and of freeing nations from the threat of communism and at the same time links arms with Franco and with the reactionary cliques in power in this hemisphere.

An intelligent policy would have sought first to rid the Western world of fascist regimes so that the democratic coalition could have appeared as the vigorous defender of the liberties of all peoples. But nothing of the sort has been done, and so no one listens to the Voice of America. How can the Voice be taken seriously when the region to which it speaks is under the domination not of the International of Human Rights but of the Falangist International?

Last Chance for Sanity

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, February 15

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S new Commission on Internal Security and Individual Rights was sworn in this week, and its first meeting began, appropriately, with prayers offered by the Reverend Karl Morgan Block and the Reverend Emmett M. Walsh, two of the members. It is not irreverent, I think, to suggest that the commission stands in urgent need of guidance and help beyond the scope of human instrumentalities. Conceived in the highest of purposes, headed by Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, it is certain to find itself continuously bedeviled by the clamorous witch hunts of the McCarthy-McCarran clique on Capitol Hill, abetted by the more venomous sections of the anti-Administration press.

Admiral Nimitz has already suffered a few dagger thrusts. One might think that the character assassins would hesitate to attack the integrity, patriotism, and proved capabilities of the man who commanded our Pacific naval forces throughout the Japanese war. But as soon as his appointment was announced, the cry was raised that, as a regent of the University of California, Nimitz had refused to vote with the majority which imposed disgraceful loyalty oaths on the faculty. George Sokolsky wrote a column suggesting that Nimitz was a creature of Donald S. Dawson, one of Mr. Truman's administrative assistants, that Dawson would name the commission's staff, and that Nimitz was an innocent dupe behind whom the treasonous Administration hoped to skulk.

Mr. Truman has granted the commission broad powers and set it an admirable objective. It has complete authority to make "a thorough examination of the laws, practices, and procedures concerning the protection of our nation against treason, espionage, sabotage, and other subversive activities," and to recommend any changes needed to strike "the wisest balance between security and freedom." It will review procedures of the loyalty program covering federal employees and can examine the confidential personnel-security files of government agencies. Differences of opinion regarding the nature of our internal-security precautions, the President said earnestly, "must not degenerate into partisan controversies."

If the Nimitz commission had been appointed six or eight months ago, when such a group—above and beyond politics—was originally urged on the President, its creation might have done a great deal of good. It might have lifted to another plane the investigations of the State Department called for by the demagogic charges of Senator McCarthy. Today it seems almost naive to say that discussion of security "must not degenerate into

partisan controversies." In the interval since the Tydings committee made its report last June, correctly describing the Wisconsin Senator's accusations as a hoax and a fraud, the McCarthy-McCarran group has tasted blood.

Tydings himself has been driven from the Senate. McCarran has forced through Congress, despite a Presidential veto, a tyrannous and vindictive internal-security act. Richard Nixon, formerly of the House Un-American Activities Committee, has been elected to the Senate, badly defeating the liberal Democrat Helen Gahagan Douglas, who used to vote against appropriations for Nixon's committee, McCarthy, a tough and dangerous man whose strength should never be underestimated, has been recognized by the Republican Party as an asset, and the Taft-Wherry leadership has granted him new party positions of power and prestige. One is a choice post on the Appropriations subcommittee that handles State Department funds. As senior Republican member of the Committee on Executive Expenditures, McCarthy himself "bumped" the liberal Margaret Chase Smith from an investigating subcommittee and replaced her with Nixon. Senator Taft as early as 1948 was capable of attacking David Lilienthal as "soft toward communism and Russia" and now appears ready to use McCarthy as an aide in his campaign for the 1952 Presidential nomination.

Senator McCarran, who though a Democrat is even more hostile than McCarthy to the Truman Administration, also occupies key positions from which he can harry the executive branch, the Nimitz commission, and any poor devil of a government worker who had the misfortune to tie himself, no matter how briefly or how long ago, to some little Communist-front organization now on the Attorney General's "subversive" list. McCarran is chairman of the powerful Judiciary Committee and of the Appropriations subcommittee on State Department funds to which McCarthy has just been named by the Republicans. He is chairman of a special subcommittee on foreign economic cooperation that this week issued a report intimating that the United States ought to abandon Western Europe to Russia because cowardly Europeans don't want to fight themselves.

It is conceivable that the Nimitz commission may do some good in the face of the McCarthy-McCarran-Taft-Wherry drive to persuade the public that all New Dealers are Russian spies and that anybody who disbelieves in Chiang Kai-shek is a "poor policy risk" if not a traitor to America. Its members appear to be people of integrity, and they are operating under a directive of great scope and authority. If they do their job well, they may contribute to a recovery of political sanity and a repudiation of witch-hunting techniques. But let us have no illusions about keeping issues of individual freedom and internal security—or the operations of the Nimitz commission itself—above the level of "partisan controversies." They are already matters of partisan controversy, and they will be crucial issues in the Presidential election of 1952.

The Nazis Go Free

BY TELFORD TAYLOR

WHATEVER praise or blame history may ultimately lay at the door of the Nürnberg trials, no one is ever likely to charge that the sentences there imposed were insufficiently reviewed. Under the procedure established for the twelve Military Government trials in the American zone, after the experienced judges who heard the cases had pronounced the sentences, the Legal Division of Military Government reviewed the records and reported to General Clay its conclusions and recommendations. General Clay, on the basis of these reports and a close personal examination of all the death and many of the heavier prison sentences, decided whether to confirm or reduce them. Most were confirmed, but one of the death sentences—of an S. S. concentration-camp administrator—was reduced to life imprisonment.

This was supposed to complete the process. In March, 1950, however, High Commissioner McCloy appointed a three-man "Advisory Board on Clemency for War Criminals" to make a second review of the sentences. The board sat in Munich for forty days during the summer of 1950, considered written petitions and oral presentations by fifty defense counsel representing the convicted Nürnberg criminals confined at Landsberg in Bavaria. These were ex parte proceedings; no representatives of the prosecution were heard. The board's recommendations were submitted to Mr. McCloy on August 28, 1950. In its letter of transmittal the board declared that it had read all the judgments (some 3,000 pages) of the Nürnberg tribunals. One must infer that time did not permit the board to study the records (more than 330,000 pages of testimony, exclusive of documentary exhibits) on which the judgments were based. After

TELFORD TAYLOR, formerly brigadier general in the United States Army and chief United States prosecutor at the Nürnberg war-crimes trials, now practices law in New York.

receiving this report, and on the basis of his own judgment, Mr. McCloy announced his decision on January 31, 1951.

In the introduction to his statement Mr. McCloy declares that he has "striven to temper justice with mercy." Having perused this document, however, I am reluctantly forced to the conclusion that, however well-intentioned, it is the embodiment of political expediency, distorted by a thoroughly unsound approach to the law and the facts, to say nothing of the realities of contemporary world politics. Mr. McCloy paints his action as an effort to iron out discrepancies in severity and to consider individual circumstances justifying clemency. Analysis shows, however, that what he has done approximates a blanket commutation of sentences.

IN THESE 12 Nürnberg cases 177 defendants were tried, of whom 142 were convicted. When the board reported to McCloy, 104 convicts were still in Landsberg: the shorter sentences had meanwhile expired, a few convicts had died in prison or been released on medical parole, and death sentences imposed in the "medical experimentation" case had been executed. When Mr. McCloy released his decision, the 104 had already dwindled to 89—as a result of the expiration of more sentences, hastened by crediting the convicts with ten days per month for good behavior, and of the commutation of sentence and release of von Weizsäcker. *Of these 89 convicts, 78 received a reduction in sentence by virtue of Mr. McCloy's decision. And of these 78, commutation of sentence to time already served was granted to 31 convicts, all of whom were promtply set at liberty.* Among them were Alfried Krupp and all eight of his fellow-convicts from the Krupp management, seven S. S. officers who had participated in the over-all administration and management of the concentration-camp system, four other S. S. officers convicted of racial atrocities, four generals, three government ministers, three judges, and one doctor.

Of the eleven sentences not reduced, five were death sentences imposed on Pohl, Ohlendorf, and three other S. S. mass-murderers. Three were prison terms imposed on generals. The remaining three were life sentences imposd on Fieldmarshal List and General Kuntze (for the murder of hostages in the Balkans) and Franz Schlegelberger, Acting Minister of Justice in Hitler's Cabinet. Schlegelberger, however, was liberated on medical parole, and applications for a similar parole were invited by Mr. McCloy from List and Kuntze.

It is hard to find much evidence of judicious selectivity in this wholesale dispensation. What strange concepts of justice or notions of political expediency dictated the setting at large of eleven S. S. felons in the explosive atmosphere of present-day Germany? Count Schwerin von Krosigk, Minister of Finance throughout the Hitler regime, signed the infamous decree of July 1, 1943, which outlawed the Jews and remitted them to the tender mercies of the Gestapo. For this and other crimes his ten-year sentence was moderate to say the least; today he is at liberty.



Seligson

Alfried Krupp

S. S. General Gottlob Berger was one of Himmler's right-hand men, deeply involved in the abduction of children and in numerous other hideous atrocities. His twenty-five-year sentence Mr. McCloy reduced to ten; with good-behavior credits he will be freed in 1952. Mr. McCloy was favorably impressed by Berger's intervention "toward the end of the war" to prevent the execution of Allied officers held as hostages. Impending defeat worked wonders with the morals of many Nazi villains; Himmler himself essayed the incongruous role of peace-maker by abusing the good officers of Folke Bernadotte.

Numerous other appalling instances could be listed. Especially puzzling is the fact that Mr. McCloy admittedly went beyond the recommendations of the Clemency Board in commuting the death sentences of some—which ones he does not reveal—of the S. S. *Einsatz* murderers, who "liquidated" over a million Jews in western Russia. Among the nine reprieved we find, for example, S. S. Lieutenant Schubert, who confessed to supervising the shooting of 700 to 800 Jews and gipsies in the vicinity of Simferopol at Christmas time, 1941. His death sentence was commuted to ten years' imprisonment, and he will soon be out. Shades of the American soldiers who were executed by our own courts martial for crimes against individual civilians!

Mr. McCloy is, or has been, a good lawyer, and he has legal advisers of excellent caliber. It is surprising, therefore, that his statement is woefully imprecise and throws no light on the reasons for many of his decisions. By and large he seems to have been less lenient toward the generals than the other occupational categories. Yet among the four generals released was Wilhelm Speidel, brother of General Hans Speidel, who is one of the two military representatives of the Bonn government to "negotiate" German rearmament with the Allied authorities. General Wilhelm Speidel, one-time military commander in Greece, was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment for

the criminal execution of many hundreds of hostages. No other general with so heavy a sentence was released; several with lighter sentences were not released. No hint is given as to why Wilhelm Speidel was thus favored. In view of his brother Hans's present status and functions, this unexplained action is bound to give rise to suspicions and inferences of the most damaging type.

BUT in large perspective the outstanding feature of the McCloy dispensations is the blanket release of all the Krupp convicts and rescission of the court order forfeiting Alfried Krupp's properties. With respect to his commutation of the prison sentences, Mr. McCloy declared that the Krupp managers were no guiltier than the Flick and I. G. Farben convicts whose shorter prison terms had already expired, and there is some merit to this point, in so far as a comparison with the leading Farben defendants may be thought relevant.

Mr. McCloy, however, did not content himself with this explanation. That slave labor was criminallly utilized in the Krupp plants, and that these wretched deportees were inhumanly treated, "being constantly subjected to corporal punishment and other cruelties," Mr. McCloy admits in so many words. But "the industrial concern and its management were not primarily responsible for this treatment." This is bad logic and worse law. Accomplices, accessories, and co-conspirators are severely punished every day in our own courts for complicity in crimes for which they are not "primarily responsible." As the tribunal of able career judges from the appellate benches of Connecticut, Tennessee, and Washington found, Krupp cooperated with the Nazi government's slave-labor policies, not reluctantly or under duress, but willingly.

Most unfortunate of all, Mr. McCloy gives the impression of sneering at the very idea that industrialists can be guilty of war crimes in his deprecation of "whatever guilt these defendants [the Krupps] may have shared for having taken a consenting part" in the plunder of occupied countries and the deportation and enslavement of their citizens. Particularly in the light of Mr. McCloy's own personal background as a Wall Street lawyer representing large industrial corporations, this is ill-advised language which the Communists are sure to seize upon, to the grave detriment of our national interests. In fact, as the tribunal found, Krupp's complicity in the use and abuse of slave labor was no mere "consenting part." Krupp, like I. G. Farben, undertook the construction of a plant near the Auschwitz concentration camp, with the avowed expectation of using the inmates as a labor supply. And in June, 1944, at a meeting attended by Alfried Krupp, it was decided to explore the possibilities of employing "prisoners and convicts" at Krupp's Geisenheim plant. "Negotiations" to this end were carried on with the concentration camp near Geisenheim.

Accordingly, the tribunal was abundantly justified in speaking of the plight of "the thousands of helpless victims whom they [the Krupp firm] daily exposed to danger of death and great bodily harm." In the light of the judgment and the evidence, the sentences of six to twelve years imposed by the tribunal were quite sufficiently tempered with mercy, and there was not the slightest excuse for Mr. McCloy's interference.

What is the motivation, conscious or unconscious, behind Mr. McCloy's sweeping "clemency"? He is a man of integrity, and credit is due him for having at least resisted strong pressure from Bonn to commute all the death sentences and release all the generals "to restore the honor of the German army." There is no reason to believe that he has not acted in accordance with his own best judgment, distorted as that judgment appears to be.

In substantial measure, however, these pressures are the inevitable result of inexcusable delay in resolving the issue. Pohl and Ohlendorf and their cohorts were condemned to death in the winter of 1947-48, and if Mr. McCloy was determined to grant them a second review, there is still no sufficient reason why it could not have been completed within the first six months of his tenure of office. Had he not permitted the pot to boil so long, there would have been far less steam.

It appears to me that Mr. McCloy has been deluded into the belief that the Germans will regard his "clemency" as a demonstration of American fairness and good-will. We shall soon see how wide of the mark he has shot. True democrats in Germany will not applaud the release of Krupp directors and S. S. concentration-camp administrators. Nor will German nationalist sentiment be appeased. For the ultra-nationalists, Nürnberg has become an invaluable whipping-boy. These commutations will be seized upon as tantamount to a confession that the trials were the product of Allied vengeance and hate rather than the embodiment of law. Wittingly or not, Mr. McCloy has dealt a blow to the principles of international law and concepts of humanity for which we fought the war.

Saddest of all is the political naivete of Mr. McCloy's approach. There is no group of Germans whom the peoples of Eastern Europe have better cause to hate and fear than men like Berger and his S. S. henchmen. There is no symbol of German militarism more potent in Western Europe than the name "Krupp." The reaction to Mr. McCloy's decisions in both England and France has been one of anger and bewilderment.

We are engaged today in a mortal struggle to suppress the menace of communism in the West and undermine its freezing grip on the East. By these commutations we have added a powerful new weapon to the Kremlin's propaganda arsenal, and it will not be long before we feel the sharpness of its edge and the power of its thrust.

The High Cost of Total War

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

WE ARE in the midst of a major debate on American foreign policy, a debate that will continue for some time. Meanwhile we shall be carrying out the planned transformation of the American peace-time economy into an armament economy—not a war economy, for military expenditures at their peak will amount to hardly more than 18 per cent of our national income. And we shall begin to create a European-American army strong enough to prevent a Russian break-through to the Atlantic.

Public opinion is almost unanimous on the necessity of raising our military expenditures but is sharply divided on foreign policy, and especially on one of its most important features—a European-American army. The differences cut across party lines. Among the Republicans, Governor Dewey, twice a Presidential candidate, favors an army of one hundred divisions, while Senator Taft, probably the party's most influential representative today, declares that a large American ground force, in addition to a strong air force and navy, would weaken the United States to such an extent that the Soviet bloc would actually be strengthened. Mr. Hoover, for his part, wants to see the United States defended by a few "Gibraltars"; he has written off continental Europe without seriously considering what the repercussions of a Soviet empire reaching to the Atlantic would be for Britain and the United States. The expression of such diametrically opposed views by leading spokesmen of the same party is a measure of the prevailing confusion—a confusion which derives largely from a failure to see the interrelated aims of American foreign policy in their proper proportions.

The United States has been the greatest world power for such a short time—only since World War II—that people here are not really familiar with world affairs. They have not sufficient background knowledge to evaluate properly the factors that determine foreign policy. Since the beginning of the Korean war, British newspapers and magazines have been in striking contrast to the American press, both in tone and in content. The British press tries not to oversimplify a complex situation; conclusions are drawn only after a consideration of all the factors. The American press, on the other hand, expresses a mixture of arrogance and fear; overemphasizing one or two features, it gives a distorted impression of the world panorama.

FRITZ STERNBERG, author of "How to Stop the Russians Without War," will bring out a new book this spring, to be called "Capitalism and Socialism on Trial."

Because the situation is so complex and a third world war would be so catastrophic for everybody, it is hard to present the facts unemotionally and rationally, which means in their proper proportions. Unfortunately, Americans have not been given a true picture of their part in World War II. In most of the articles, pamphlets, and books which appeared during the war, and even in those published later, America's contribution was depicted as the decisive factor. We were told many times that we were engaged in a "total" war, and after it was over that we had made tremendous sacrifices. That was not really so. We did win the war against Japan almost single-handed, but in that war there was no battle in which millions of men were locked in combat. When we shifted to the offensive, we were opposed by Japanese contingents made up of only a few divisions, and Japan capitulated before it was invaded. Only on one front did we face millions of the enemy—on the German front, where our troops fought for about one year.

What was the relative strength of the antagonists on the western front? What man-power reserves were available on both sides? America, Britain, and the "white" British dominions numbered about 220,000,000 people; Germany and Austria 80,000,000—Germany's allies fought only on the eastern front. Between 1941 and 1944 Germany had the bulk of its troops in the east, and still kept the majority of them there in 1944-45. Even if Germany had not been already at war with Russia, it would at most have used only half of its industrial, military, and man-power potential on the western front—that is, the man-power that could be furnished by a population of about 40,000,000. As things were, the number of troops that Germany used in the west was probably based on a man-power potential of at most 20,000,000 to 30,000,000. Thus the Allies had a tremendous superiority in man-power reserves.

The same superiority was enjoyed in munitions. Raymond W. Goldsmith, in an article in *Military Affairs* (spring, 1946) entitled The Power of Victory, Output in World War II, summarizes the situation as follows:

> The rapid success of the invasion of the Continent in 1944 finds its counterpart among these figures on the massive preponderance of the cumulated and current production of munitions in the hands of the attacking forces. The United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada in the eighteen months preceding the invasion and during the first six months after its start produced over $60 billion of munitions, if it is assumed that slightly over one-half of the American and about four-

fifths of the British and Canadian armaments output was destined for the European theater. Germany and her satellites on the other hand during that period turned out less than $15 billion for use on the western front, if total output be apportioned on the basis of estimated troop strength each year on the two fronts. *The Allies' advantage thus was of the order of five to one,* a figure that may help to explain the relatively short duration of operations in the west. (Italics mine.)

In the one year of World War II when America had millions of troops engaged in ground fighting, it had such overwhelming superiority in man-power *and* munitions that victory was not only swift but relatively inexpensive. American losses were extremely small compared with those of the Germans and Russians. In an article in the "Encyclopedia Britannica" General George C. Marshall gives the figures for dead and missing military personnel:

United States: 295,904, or 1 in every 500 of the 1940 population;

Germany: 2,850,000, or 1 in every 25 of its 1940 population;

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: 7,500,000, or 1 in every 22 of its 1940 population.

Thus in contrast to Germany and Russia, which in the literal sense waged *total* war, America, thanks to favorable circumstances, waged a very *partial* war.

Moreover, in World War II this country was the *one great power that, in the field and even more at home, waged only partial war.* It was the only major nation that was not bombed and that—in part by putting from eight to ten million unemployed at work—was able to raise production to such a peak that in the course of the war the standard of living went up for millions of Americans and remained relatively stable for the majority, while after the war it rose for everybody.

IF AT the close of the war it had been pounded home to the American people that they had waged only partial war and in a military sense had been forced to make only a limited effort, and if the reason for this had been explained to them, they would now be able to appraise more realistically the dimensions of the problem before them. That problem can be expressed in a sentence: in a war with the Soviet bloc the American-led coalition cannot possibly have the superiority in arms and man-power that the Americans and British had over Germany in 1944 and 1945. This is true for the following reasons. In the first place, America will be involved from the beginning, in contrast to World War II, when it came in more than two years after hostilities started. And, secondly, America's allies will be weaker than they were in the last war and its enemies stronger.

In comparing man-power strength let us confine ourselves to Europe, because that is where the battles that will be militarily and politically decisive will be fought. Russia has more than 190,000,000 people; the satellite states bring the figure up to approximately 270,000,000. England, France, Western Germany, and Italy have about 45,000,000 each; Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Norway together about 25,000,000. Thus the countries with whose help the United States is to build up a European army—leaving out Yugoslavia—have a population of about 200,000,000, which is far below that of the Soviet bloc. Britain, moreover, must always keep part of its troops overseas. Obviously America must make a major contribution to balance the scales. The question is, and this should be the focal point of discussion in days to come, how large a contribution?

With its 150,000,000 people America would be able to provide the man-power for an American-European army that could stop a Russian offensive, even if considerable reserves were held in readiness for Far Eastern and other campaigns. The United States has about 75 per cent as many people as Western Europe, including Western Germany. In some proposals voiced up to now, however, it has been suggested that the United States should organize one division to each six of the European countries; Senator Taft has suggested one American to nine European divisions. Regardless of what course American policy takes, if a ratio of even one to five is officially adopted, the West's efforts to contain Russian military might are doomed to failure. Responsible European statesmen will see in this kind of American military collaboration no chance of building an American-European army adequate for the defense of Europe. The idea that if America sends the arms, Europe can set up the required number of divisions, thus keeping down the number of American troops needed, is an illusion.

A pact on this basis would meet determined opposition in Europe, the kind of opposition that already finds expression in the "neutralism" now rapidly spreading even beyond the circles influenced by the Communists. If Europe is expected to make a supreme military effort despite the proximity of the Russians—the border of the Russian occupation zone in Germany is only 150 miles from France—then the formation of these new European divisions must be synchronized with the formation of new American divisions; most Europeans will consider twenty American divisions an absolute necessity in an army totaling sixty divisions.

It is noteworthy that of the hundreds of editorials that took up and answered Hoover's speech, hardly any commented on his criticism of the European effort in setting up a European army. Hoover, it will be remembered, said that only after the European countries themselves had made a supreme effort, should this country step into the picture. Let us look at the facts. The formation of a European army depends primarily on Britain, France, and West Germany. Hoover is probably aware that according

to the analysis of the Bank of International Settlements, Britain, in 1949-50, before the outbreak of the Korean war, spent a larger percentage of its national income on defense than the United States—namely, 7.4 per cent to our 5.9 per cent. Even in France the percentage was only slightly below the American figure, that is, 5 per cent, and France introduced universal military service many years ago. In the same period in which American military expenditures will rise to around 18 per cent of the national income, British and French military expenditures will reach approximately the same percentage.

THE Germans have not yet made any contribution toward a European army; even if they wanted to, they could not do anything without the permission of America, Britain, and France. The French have been reluctant to consent to German remilitarization because they are strongly aware of the danger inherent in the establishment of a German army. But precisely this danger would be lessened *if the United States were to assume a burden more in proportion to its man-power.* If the new American-European army is backed by the reserves and man-power of 350,000,000 Americans and Europeans, then the danger that it may be dominated by the Germans —who have less than one-seventh of this man-power— is greatly reduced. As the British rightly emphasize, such a plan would serve to scale down the German share to a proper proportion.

Expansion of the United States army to meet the demands of the present situation would necessitate extensive changes in the structure of the American division. It has often been pointed out that in an American division a much larger number of men is required to maintain one soldier at the front than in a Russian or, it should be added, a French, British, or any other European division. In World War II man-power could be used wastefully, since we had tremendous superiority on the most important front. Today we do not have that superiority, and considerable reorganization in the structure of the individual American division will be required to increase the fighting strength at the front.

I do not want this article to convey the impression that war is inevitable. I think war can be avoided. But it makes little difference whether one believes, with Mr. Acheson, that the military strength of the West must be restored before negotiations can be safely carried on



CONFUSION AMONG THE TORY CHILD-MINDS

London *Daily Herald*

with the Russians, or whether one maintains that negotiations now may avert the necessity of creating in the West a massive war machine with all its political and economic consequences. In either case we must face the facts set forth in this article—namely, that our military program, and the foreign policy that underlies it, can have no reality so long as they continue to be based, not on present conditions, but on those of the last war.

After the Pleven Visit

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, February 13

NOW that with the adoption of the China resolution humanity is said to have passed another milestone on its way to the third world war, it may be salutary to try to disentangle the intricate network of French policy. What was the reality of the Pleven visit to Washington, and what was propaganda for American consumption?

Ever since the French government started its ferocious drive against the "neutralists," the Gaullist press has been denouncing the Pleven ministry as so many "neutralists in disguise." Observers closer to the government are heard remarking these days: *"Ne vous en faites pas.* It isn't as serious as it looks. There's an awful lot of play-acting about it all." This, I think, is too sweeping a generalization. There is a lot of play-acting in the government's assurances about the complete identity of views between France and the United States, but not so much in its dealings with the Communists and those other dissenters now conveniently branded "neutralists" and "defeatists."

In a remarkable article in *Le Monde* of January 31, M. Beuve-Méry, the editor, raises a question of tremendous gravity: namely, is a French brand of McCarthyism, a high wind of suspicion and slander, going to sweep the country—tomorrow will it take great courage to say that it's raining if the Communists have had the Machiavellian idea of saying so, too? M. Beuve-Méry seemed in a hurry to put down on paper a number of useful home truths before McCarthyism begins to wield its ax. (Heaven knows, there is plenty of pressure, not least from the United States, to get "neutralist" Beuve-Méry pushed off his editorial chair at *Le Monde.*) His main points are well worth recording:

1. The great majority of Westerners do not want "Stalinist" communism. But they realize that to avoid communism in Western Europe it is also necessary to avoid war. Military victory would not guarantee the liberties of the West—far from it.

2. One does not necessarily preserve peace by preparing for war. On the contrary, war has always been the natural end of an armaments race. War becomes inevitable as soon as the economic and psychological consequences of the armaments race become intolerable. This does not mean that Western Europe must be left defenseless. But rearmament alone is not enough. A constructive policy is needed.

3. While all good Frenchmen are agreed on the need to maintain peace, some would give priority to rearmament and others to keeping the country in a healthy economic condition. Some rejoice at American help; others are alarmed by the inequality between "the two great allies." The government must find a course which will save both peace and the benefits of American aid.

4. Unfortunately, French governments, hampered by an unstable parliamentary position, have always tended to take the line of least resistance. When decisions cannot be postponed any longer, the "inevitable" is accepted—the war in Vietnam, the Atlantic Pact, and the rearmament of Germany.

5. All this is wrapped up in a lot of rhetoric about France's love of peace and its independence and moderation. Then, for American consumption, scapegoats are invented, and everyone's uncertainties are piled on the head of the mythical neutralist. Fear of being suspected of neutralism may ultimately lead French statesmen to subscribe to a holy war against the Communist half of the world, especially since it is technically far easier to plan aggression than common defense. This would turn Europe into a heap of ruins.

6. With the war fever mounting in the United States, with MacArthur ready to fight for a "free Asia," with American aid perpetuating the war in Indo-China, France is in danger, through sheer inertia, of being dragged into a total war.

What, then, is the way out? The French government, says Beuve-Méry, needs immense moral courage. It must do its utmost to create a strong allied defense force in Western Europe. It must persuade the United States that it is much too late to crush communism throughout the world. It must make it plain to the United States that it will not enter any war launched without its having been consulted. It must convince the Russians and the Chinese that if they would agree to abandon territorial expansion, they would benefit economically. It must give the French people a greater sense of civic responsibility,

---

ALEXANDER WERTH, for many years The Nation's *Moscow correspondent, is now a staff contributor living in Paris.*

more self-confidence, something constructive to work for that would reduce the temptation to join the Communist Party in desperation.

The article, I gather, has caused great annoyance among Americans here, especially because it has demonstrated that neutralism is simply a refusal to follow the United States blindly. It has also debunked some of the high-minded nonsense written about the Pleven visit to Washington. The visit was, of course, a "success"—a much greater success than Attlee's visit two months ago, when no reference was made, in the final communiqué, to the *unanimity* of the two countries. Pleven said that two great allied nations could have different views on a common policy, but that this common policy did not suffer so long as they did not forget the aim, which was to defend their independence and peace. But what a quibble, really! What a piece of window-dressing, too! The statement was no doubt intended to show that France was not "subservient," that it was an equal partner with the United States. And yet it is impossible to escape the impression that all along Pleven was doing his utmost to sound like the Good Boy of Europe.

One of the purposes of the Washington visit, to which Pleven "got himself invited," was probably a purely internal one: to heighten his prestige at home as the man who "did so well with Truman" and to make it seem most unwise to turn him out of office. Pleven is, in fact, in a difficult spot, not least over the seemingly insoluble problem of electoral reform, a matter on which his coalition has so far been totally incapable of agreeing. Will he break his neck over it yet—despite the success of the Washington visit? Many think so, including the author of a Racinian alexandrine: *"Et parti pour rester il revient pour partir."*

BUT whether Pleven stays or not is relatively unimportant. What matters is the American attitude to France as displayed during his visit, which for various reasons was extremely cordial. First of all; if Britain voted the "aggressor" resolution obviously under duress, France did it quite cheerfully; M. Pleven greatly improved his advance publicity by hastening to announce France's intention during his brief landing in Ireland. Secondly, whatever Pleven's own mental reservations, France, in the American view, has now subscribed to America's Far Eastern policy and is ready to support its "total strategy" both in the Far East and in Europe. Indo-China, so ruinous to French finances and military strength in Europe, is a weapon that the United States has used with tremendous effect. To pursue the war there, France needs ample help. To evacuate, if necessary, the French forces in Tonkin to Cochin-China, France needs the good offices of the American navy. As one French observer, sympathetic to the Pleven mission, put it: "Although, by pursuing its war in Indo-China, France will be militarily weaker in Europe, it will become diplomatically stronger all around by throwing in its lot with the United States in the Far East."

Indo-China, more than anything else, is what *Le Monde* calls France's stifling mortgage. In French business circles as well as on the left, the possibility of negotiating with Ho Chi Minh is not regarded as out of the question; from everybody's point of view, it is said, negotiation would be better than pulverizing Indo-China in Korean fashion—but will the United States allow any overtures to be made?

Is not France the Good Boy of Europe? Eisenhower, while ignoring Britain's rearmament effort, made a point of patting the French on the back. But much in the two Eisenhower speeches left the French wondering. How many American troops were really going to be sent to Europe? Was Eisenhower really against rearming Germany? What he said in Washington was different from what he said in Bonn and Frankfort, but was it entirely contradictory? At heart no French government wants to follow MacArthur or any other American general or statesman blindly, and as I said, there was a lot of play-acting in the ardent display of pro-Americanism. But it is a dangerous game, for it might convince the more explosive elements in the United States that France will play ball in *all* circumstances.

The French people want one thing only; that is to avoid war. As François Mauriac declared in *Figaro*, to save the peace is the most sacred mission of the present generation. War for France would mean annihilation, as is proved by the appalling accounts of what is happening in Korea, where every house and every civilian are treated as "military targets" by the American air force, even in "allied" South Korea. In this context Eisenhower's appeal to the French to revive the heroic spirit displayed by their fathers at Verdun sounds singularly unrealistic. A solid defense force in the West—yes. But, please, no heroics about a Verdun against atom bombs.

Another disturbing development is symbolized by McCloy's infinite charity to all the Nazi gangsters and murderers, a charity which is already having its repercussions in France. What are mere Vichyites compared with the killers of Buchenwald? Thanks to McCloy and his colleagues, French collaborators feel trebly whitewashed, and while until recently Vichyite propaganda was chiefly confined to semi-private publications like *Aspects de France*, the notorious Alfred Fabre-Luce has now come out with a spectacular sheet, called *Rivarol*, which with its frantic praise of Vichyism, its pro-Nazism, and a pinch of anti-Semitism, promises to develop into the *Gringoire* of our days. It is very pro-American, of course. "Into battle with Franco and Syngman Rhee for freedom and Christ" might well be its motto. It is a sign of the times, and I suspect it is less likely ever to be confiscated by the police than a Communist or even neutralist sheet.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Britain's Coal Crisis

NOT the least of Britain's present troubles is a serious shortage of coal which has necessitated a 15 per cent cut in supplies to industry, a curtailment of railroad services, and a blackout of store windows and advertising signs. Distributed stocks have been steadily declining and on January 27 were only one and a half million tons above the danger-point level—nine million tons, or two weeks' consumption.

To meet this situation the British government has taken steps—very belatedly according to its critics—both to conserve supplies and to expand production. Last October British exports of coal were sharply reduced, a move very upsetting to a number of European countries which suffer from chronic fuel shortages, and at the same time arrangements were made to import coal from this country and South Africa. Meanwhile voluntary operation of Saturday shifts by the miners has been adding to production, and an increase in wages, together with promises of other benefits, seems to have halted, temporarily at least, the drift of workers from the pits. In the last few weeks output has been higher than at the beginning of 1950, despite an appreciable decline in the number of miners employed, and unless Britain is smitten by exceptionally bad weather, it will probably surmount the crisis without being forced, as in 1947, to close down large sections of industry.

But while the shortage may cease to present an immediately acute problem by April, it seems likely to remain as a chronic difficulty. Coal production is rising, but domestic consumption is keeping ahead of it, while there is a huge unsatisfied foreign demand amounting to three or four times the export total of 12,200,000 tons in 1950. Moreover, British coal is not only scarce but increasingly expensive. On February 2 Philip Noel-Baker, Minister of Fuel and Power, told the House of Commons that he had agreed to an increase of about 60 cents a ton in the pit-head price of coal. It was necessary, he said, to cover high labor and material costs and the losses which the National Coal Board would incur on emergency imports of American coal.

Not surprisingly, critics of public enterprise have seized on this situation with avidity. Here, we are told, we see the inevitable outcome of nationalization of the British mining industry—too little coal at too high cost. I note, however, that while British Tories take this line they do not advocate the return of the mines to private ownership. Their failure to propose this remedy is not due merely to recognition of the difficulty of unscrambling eggs. It is also because all who have studied the British coal situation—no matter what their political beliefs—are bound to conclude that its present troubles would have been experienced in an exaggerated form had the industry remained in private hands. Prices would certainly have risen still more, for it would have been necessary to fix them at levels sufficient to induce owners of high-cost pits—whose output cannot be dispensed with—to continue in operation. The National Coal Board, on the other hand, can cover losses from such mines with profits from the more efficient properties. Again, private ownership would surely have accelerated the drift of workers from the industry which has been going on in spite of the important improvements in working conditions that have been achieved under nationalization.

All the same, the Labor government can in one sense be held responsible for the present coal problem. If it had not kept its promise to maintain full employment, it probably would not be struggling with a coal shortage. For full employment puts a two-way squeeze on coal supplies. In the first place, it adds to the demand for fuel both in its raw state and transmuted into electric power. In 1950 domestic industrial consumption of coal in Britain was 35,000,000 tons greater than in 1938, but in 1950 industrial production was some 40 per cent above that in 1938 and there were only about 300,000 people unemployed on the average compared to well over 1,500,000 in the pre-war year.

In 1938 there was no man-power problem in the coal industry, for the mining valleys were full of men who couldn't find jobs. They might hate their dangerous and dirty trade, but for most of them there was no alternative. Under present conditions, however, the demand for good workers in other trades is greater than the supply, and a steady stream of miners moves to more attractive jobs, even though mining wages, relatively low before the war, are now relatively high. As a result, during the last two years there has been a net overflow of 35,000 men from the mining industry.

Since the beginning of the year the trend has been checked. But it would be optimistic to suppose that this is more than a temporary change in direction, and the National Union of Mineworkers has, rather reluctantly, recognized the difficulties of the National Coal Board to the extent of agreeing to the employment of some 10,000 Italians who formerly worked in the Belgian mines.

The long-run solution for the problem is, of course, greater productivity, and in fact there has been a slow but fairly steady improvement in output per man-shift since the mines were nationalized. Eventually, the National Coal Board hopes to raise total production by some 35,000,000 tons with 80,000 fewer miners than at present. But success depends on a vast investment program which, even if not sidetracked by defense needs, will not be completed for fifteen years.

SINCLAIR LEWIS

BY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

SINCLAIR LEWIS loved notoriety almost as much as he loved fame, and he sought one almost as ardently as the other. What looked like both came to him rather early—he was thirty-five years old in 1920 when "Main Street" was published—and he had not outlived his reputation when he died at sixty-six. Two years after "Main Street" came the equally sensational "Babbitt"; after that a diminishing series of novels which, nevertheless, included such successful books as "Arrowsmith," "Elmer Gantry," "Dodsworth," and "It Can't Happen Here." For all the disorderly vehemence of his life he was a hard worker, and he did not give up, as many another writer has done, when it became evident that he could never again enjoy such a furor as he had once created. But he must have asked himself the question which is inevitably asked now: Had he won some enduring fame or was it all mere notoriety?

Like H. L. Mencken—whose permanence seems much less open to question—Lewis was that not unfamiliar paradox, the writer whose name is made a household word by the very people whom it was his special delight to attack. Just as every member of the boobocracy knew Mencken's name and, likely enough, could quote him, so "Main Street" lay on the tables of half the Main Street parlors, and Babbitts defending babbittry used the term with which he had supplied them. That, of course, proves nothing against him, may indeed be a point in his favor, since the enduring novelists, more consistently perhaps than the enduring writers in any other form, have tended to win easily a large general public. But such readers are sometimes lost as quickly as they are won, and Lewis has probably lost most of them already. His chance for immortality rests now in other hands.

Many of the factors which contributed very largely to the creation of his notoriety will hardly affect his fame at all. A man who added two apparently permanent words to the English vocabulary can hardly be forgotten. But he need not, for that reason, be read. And very much the same thing can be said in connection with the "social situation" and the "cultural climate" which so strongly favored him. Lewis did not invent his theme, for what Carl Van Doren called so precisely "the revolt against the village" was already under way. Ten years later, after the events of '29, native criticism of American society commonly concerned itself with the alleged defects of our economic system, but at the beginning of Lewis's heyday the equally inevitable targets were our puritanism and our provinciality, our lack of sophistication and "culture" in the narrowest sense of that term. "Main Street," especially, followed this line of attack so precisely, so uncritically, and, one might almost say, so naively that even then its author was compelled to protest, somewhat unconvincingly, that he had not, as his critics assumed, intended to present the rather priggishly self-conscious Carol Kennicott as a model of elegant intellectuality and that—if I may put it this way—he did not really mean to suggest that the substitution of petits fours for the inevitable angel food at village card parties would constitute an important step forward.

Thus if Lewis did not invent his theme he gave it such a clear and not over-subtle exposition abroad as well as at home and was so closely identified with it that when, in 1930, he became the first American to receive the Nobel Prize for literature, not a few of his countrymen felt that the prize was less an expression of Europe's admiration for an American writer than an attempt to put the stamp of official approval upon what was regarded as a definitive exposé of American civilization. In certain respects "Main Street" so strongly suggested "Madame Bovary" that Lewis found it worth while to deny publicly that he had, at the time when his book was being written, ever read Flaubert's novel. Yet, so far as I know, "Madame Bovary" was never regarded as a definitive picture of the Frenchman or Frenchwoman, and the fact that it was not suggests to just what extent Lewis's study of a small town was, and Flaubert's was not, essentially a journalistic polemic rather than primarily a work of art.

If the fact that they were so perfectly apropos made for the immediate success of "Main Street" and "Babbitt," the sudden shift of criticism from concern with "culture" to concern with politics and economics may have abbreviated their vogue and raised earlier the insistent question of what qualities other than journalistic ones they and the later novels may have, and whether or not any such qualities are sufficient to assure that the books will be read and not merely remembered. Can one imagine any of Lewis's novels becoming, within the next half-century, the beneficiaries of a revival like that which has affected the works of Melville and James, or to a lesser extent those of Hawthorne and Stephen Crane? Will Lewis ever be "rediscovered"? He is historically important of course. But have his books "wit enough to keep them sweet"?

Of "Arrowsmith" (1925) and "Dodsworth" (1929), as well as of lesser efforts, I have only an old memory, which, nevertheless, I trust. Lewis tried to find a hero as well as a butt, and his heroes were the emergent heroes of the popular advanced thinkers—an aviator in one of his earliest books, then a scientist, and then a business man dimly aware of a world he could not really enter. It was easy to call "Arrowsmith" and "Dodsworth" better novels than his two most sensational successes, and perhaps in some sense they were; but their virtues were not sufficient to compensate for the lesser journalistic impact, and it is largely because of "Main Street" and "Babbitt" that they are still remem-

bered. To these last two I have returned, and I find them not very different from my recollection of them.

"Main Street" begins with a magisterial prologue. "This town is, in our tale, called 'Gopher Prairie, Minnesota.' But its Main Street is the continuation of Main Streets everywhere. Main Street is the climax of civilization. That this Ford car might stand in front of the Bon Ton Store, Hannibal invaded Rome and Erasmus wrote in Oxford cloisters." It ends, just short of fatuously, with its heroine defeated by this same Main Street and proclaiming, "But I have won in this: I've never excused my failures by sneering at my aspirations. . . . I do not admit that Main Street is as beautiful as it should be! I do not admit that Gopher Prairie is greater or more generous than Europe!" "Babbitt" has the advantage of a protagonist who embodies the central conception more satisfactorily than do any of the actual persons in its predecessor. It is also shorter, broader, more extravagant, less dependent upon earnestness, more dependent upon ridicule. And it is, for all these reasons, better. Neither Carol Kennicott nor her husband is a memorable figure. As persons they are not even very impressively what they are. George F. Babbitt, on the other hand, has a certain daemonic air. He may be no truer to life, but he comes closer to being mythical. If he is not a Don Quixote or a Gargantua he is at least, let us say, a Dick Tracy or a Katzenjammer Kid.

Both books are, each in its own way, tremendously well done in the sense that it is easy enough to understand why they produced the effect they were intended to produce. Yet, except perhaps in the case of George Babbitt himself, neither very often suggests the aims or the methods of that higher sort of fiction which either creates or reveals something that the mere description of observed fact cannot convey. Though Lewis had to a remarkable degree mastered his method, that method is a good deal like the one so successfully employed in the writing of many present-day best-sellers—the method, I mean, which produces books that are not so much naturalistic novels as "documentaries," pseudo-fiction in which everything is recognizable as true but with the fidelity of a waxwork and no suggestion of any sort of autonomous life.

If Lewis's books look better now than most of the current crop of documentaries will look a quarter of a century hence, that is principally because of one mental quality possessed by the man himself and one literary gift which he developed to an extraordinary degree. Much as he loved fame and even notoriety, it was not the desire for either which moved him to write "Main Street." He was passionately sincere, and he was engaged in a crusade which seemed to him profoundly important. He may have understood the culture of Main Street a great deal better than he understood the idealized European culture which he attempted to oppose to it. Indeed, there is something ludicrous in the way in which he falls back upon vague references to Europe, as if he were imagining some fabulous London, or Paris, or Vienna populated exclusively by cultured sophisticates. But he genuinely hated something which he saw very clearly; he genuinely loved something which he but dimly understood; and because of those two facts both "Main Street" and "Babbitt" are more than merely slick jobs.

The literary gift that he developed to an extraordinary degree was, of course, the gift for mimicry, which is as definitely something more than mere naturalistic reproduction as it is definitely something less than imaginative re-creation. As he used to demonstrate in social gatherings—sometimes rather over-insistently—he could improvise at any length the conversation or the speech-making of a Babbitt on almost any topic, and his improvisations had, like what he wrote in the same style, an air of authenticity, heightened by touches of burlesque, which made them as astonishing in their way as anything of the sort ever achieved. Yet at the same time he rarely if ever escaped the limitations of mimicry as an artistic device. The typical fact or the typical gesture is one step above the merely authentic. But it is also one step below the symbolic. Lewis habitually achieved the one, habitually made one exclaim "How characteristic!" But rarely if ever did he rise to that point where a detail is so charged with meaning that it becomes a symbol whose significance all but defies analysis.

It is for this reason that his brilliant, parodistic mimicry must go on and on; so that Babbitt's speech at the Chamber of Commerce dinner continues for nine pages. Good as most of it is, no sentence or paragraph is good enough to make further elaboration unnecessary, and in the end one is reminded of that ultimate satire on the naturalistic method embodied in a stage direction for one of Ring Lardner's plays: "The curtain will descend for seven days to indicate the passage of a week." Lewis falls victim, therefore, to the mimic's nemesis, which condemns him to remain always insufficiently more entertaining than the victim of his mimicry. There is too much burlesque, not enough wit.

To realism in art there is a limitation which "Babbitt" all too frequently illustrates. A bore in literature should be different from a bore in real life in at least one respect: he should not be boring. If "Babbitt" is not really a classic, that is probably because in the midst of our laughter and admiration we are likely to remember Mr. Bennett's remark to his piano-playing daughter: "You have entertained us enough for one evening."

The Dark Night of F. Scott Fitzgerald

THE FAR SIDE OF PARADISE. By Arthur Mizener. Houghton Mifflin Company. $4.

ARTHUR MIZENER'S book about F. Scott Fitzgerald is very good as biography and very good as literary criticism. Mizener succeeds in devoting exactly the right degree of attention to Fitzgerald's life and to his work. The result is a rich unity of impression instead of the alternation of personal history and literary discussion which would have been easy and which must have been the condition of his material when he first took hold of it. And Mizener stops short of any interpretation of Fitzgerald's career as a whole, a restraint which works perfectly: for to have committed himself to any interpretation at any point would have made for over-emphasis, distortion, and omission. Now that his book, with all its explicitness, fulness, and exactitude, is available, it should serve to check and correct the interpretations which are inevitable.

It is clear that Fitzgerald has become a symbol and a myth. He has a national or American significance as well as a

literary one, which means that any kind of interpretation and construction is likely. He can be regarded as a toy, puppet, and victim of the *Zeitgeist*, for a national mood made him famous when his first book appeared, and a national mood was the reason for the apparent failure of his fourth novel in 1934. Again, he can be regarded, and he has been regarded, as the complete example of the romantic genius who wastes his gifts in self-indulgence, seeking an intensity of being which can only lead to self-destruction. Some incarnation or ghost of Irving Babbitt will doubtless appear to point out this fearful moral. Then again Fitzgerald will certainly be invoked as a witness of how America destroys its men of genius by giving them a false and impossible idea of success.

Yet, and this is one of the best things about Mizener's book, all these views, and the many others which are probable, look one-sided or distorted once we have read Mizener. He shows clearly that the pattern of behavior which was the cause of so much of Fitzgerald's suffering was active long before Fitzgerald's early success began to wane. The extravagant spending, the drunkenness, the determination to live at a pitch of intensity, excitement, and exultation are in full swing in the first years of his literary career. This important fact, to which Mizener does complete biographical justice, is epitomized in a little piece which Ring Lardner wrote in 1923. Lardner is performing a traditional act of the American humorist; he is visiting Europe and pretending to be dumbfounded by it:

> We went by train to St. Raphael where who was at the station but Mr. and Mrs. F. Scott Fitzgerald. Mr. Fitzgerald is a novelist and Mrs. Fitzgerald is a novelty. . . . I made Mr. Fitzgerald a present of a rare perfume that said Johnnie Walker on the outside of it. It was coals to Newcastle so I took it back to the hotel. . . . While dressing I heard Mr. Fitzgerald in the next room mentioning prominent Biblical characters.

How heartbreaking the jokes about novelist, novelty, and Johnnie Walker as coals to Newcastle become when we know the aftermath which they foreshadow: Mrs. Fitzgerald's insanity, Fitzgerald's agonized conviction that he had used himself up, and his early death!

But the whole story is more than one of simple waste and failure if we see the biographical facts in relation to each other, from beginning to end, and apart from what Fitzgerald thought of himself or others thought of him at one time or another: he had a different image of himself at different times, and others did too. It is the change of images and their relation to each other which is important. In 1923 Fitzgerald was a celebrated young novelist, the laureate of the Jazz Age, a role he enjoyed very much. By 1926, before he was thirty, he had written "The Great Gatsby," which seemed then to T. S. Eliot "the first step that American fiction has taken since Henry James," and which was, in fact, Fitzgerald's first masterpiece. By 1930, with the onset of the depression, he already seemed to belong to the past; so that when in 1934 his fourth novel was received with apathy and indifference, this was a confirmation to Fitzgerald of the conviction of failure which possessed him, a conviction which others were willing enough to share. And the obituaries written when he died in 1940 revived the impression that he had been a gifted young novelist who failed to fulfil his youthful promise. As Mizener says, these obituaries read as if "his life had consisted of the years from 1920 to 1928."

Fitzgerald's sense of failure is unquestionable, and it is true that he increasingly lost control of himself from 1928 until the end of his life. His wife's insanity and the loss of his early reputation made him withdraw more and more into himself, and the periods of desperation became longer and longer. The picture of long and steady deterioration becomes an extreme oversimplification, however, when we recognize that it was during the last fifteen years of his life, during his worst suffering and sense of degradation, that he wrote the work which makes him a great author. And not only was his best writing accomplished during those years, but he achieved a new mastery and power in his last and unfinished novel. Had he written only "This Side of Paradise" and "The Beautiful and Damned," there would be little reason to be concerned about him, and it is unlikely that Mr. Mizener would have wanted to

The Letters of

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL

Collected and edited by EVA INGERSOLL WAKEFIELD

Preface by Dr. David Saville Muzzey

THROUGH his letters, Ingersoll, the embattled Agnostic, is revealed as one of the great Humanists of all time. His guiding creed was the greatest happiness for the greatest number. Because he exalted liberty and free thought above all other spiritual values, Ingersoll fired the thinking of his whole generation. His greatness, still felt today, remains ever timely and contemporary.

WHAT SOME GREAT CONTEMPORARIES THOUGHT OF INGERSOLL

Clarence Darrow: "Robert G. Ingersoll was a great man . . . he used his matchless powers for the good of man."

Mark Twain: "I held him in as high honor as I have held any man living or dead."

Thomas A. Edison: "No finer personality ever existed."

A fascinating biographical introduction illuminates Ingersoll's many-faceted personality.

750 pages . . . $7.50

Order from your bookseller or from

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY, *Publishers*

15 East 40th Street Desk N New York 16, N. Y.

Expedite shipment and save postal charges by prepayment

write a book about him. It is easy enough to attribute his increasing powers as a novelist to the intermittent periods of strength during which he took hold of himself and during which the actual writing was done. But this lucid and wholesome view, though it encourages right living, cannot account for the essential character of his best writing. On the contrary, when we have placed his work in direct relation to the last fifteen years of his life as presented in Mr. Mizener's book, we come up against a very different and unpleasant conclusion. The disappointment, disillusion, drunkenness, and complete loss of self-esteem become necessary to Fitzgerald: without them, he would not have reached the insight which made his books masterpieces. This does not mean in the least that a cultivation of the abyss will help all other authors. A knowledge of the abyss was necessary to Fitzgerald because of the hopes and the illusions with which he began, his total involvement in the American Dream, his romantic conception of love, his worship of the rich, his fabulous assumption that he was going to be successful *and* popular *and* famous *and* rich *and* a great writer, all at once, as soon as possible, now and forever after—an assumption which should be compared with what French, German, and Russian authors have expected to gain by the practice of their art.

His early success was based on the devoutness with which he was able to hold such beliefs. But his early success was nothing: it was his experience of deterioration and failure after that which made his genuine success, for it gave him the insight which transforms his later works. It was the insight of the hangover after joy, illusion, and intoxication. Without the hangover, there would have been no insight; without the illusion and the intoxication, there would have been neither hangover nor insight. To have lived by the insight, instead of losing and regaining it again and again, and to have denied the new hope and illusion which renewed the process of disillusion and demoralization would have kept him from writing his best books, or made him a different kind of author.

It is not a pretty story, it is not fit for the children, no is it an inspiration to earnest and ambitious young men. But the more one thinks of it, the more it has the enigmatic and tragic character of existence itself.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

Croce's Role in Italy

CROCE, THE KING, AND THE ALLIES. Extracts from a Diary by Benedetto Croce, July, 1943, to June, 1944. Translated by Sylvia Sprigge. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.

ON THIS February 25 Benedetto Croce will be eighty-five years old. He was born in a period when the competent were bred up to take their part in "individual and socially ordered activities," when "men . . . labored, set [themselves] well thought-out programs, and carried them calmly through." He has lived to see the end of all that, and he writes in his war diary that "we must not expect the rebirth of that world, its revival and improvement, but we must expect an interminable sequence of clashes, upsets, and ruin due to revolutions and wars, which will cover half a century or more, and may even achieve nothing positive but only lead to the *finis Europae*."

It has been Croce's métier for more than half a century not to blink historical facts. We may disagree with aspects of his basic philosophical interpretation of history, but for the dignity and force of his fearless, controversial personal attitude we cannot deny him respect. The publication of this diary brings our understanding of his attitude up to date.

Since before the First World War, Croce has attempted to influence his countrymen to adopt a thinking, critical attitude toward politics. Urging neutrality in the Franco-German conflict at a time when that theme was unpopular, Croce later saw what political weight he might have had reduced to nil while the infatuated mobs flocked after D'Annunzio's shrill idealization of the man of action. The nationalistic rabble-rouser, thus deified, paved the way for a subsequent acceptance of the ugly, tragic buffoonery of Fascism.

During the Fascist period Croce's hard irony, his deliberate refusal to be tricked into even passive participation, his splendid isolation marked him as the most notable opponent of the regime left within Italy. We had to wait until after the liberation for publication of part of his correspondence during the Fascist period (see particularly *Pagine Politiche*, Laterza, Bari, 1945). Especially instructive is a letter Croce wrote in September, 1933, to Francesco Ercole, then Minister of Education—a post Croce himself had held from June, 1920, to July, 1921, under the last Giolitti premiership. In this letter, a masterpiece of irony and wit but carrying too the irrefutable logic of the block-buster, Croce tells off Fascism's mouthpiece as follows: "Why, since I already know the reply Your Excellency will make, do I write you this letter? Certainly not to ask you for an explanation, nor to beg you to alter your attitude toward my works. . . . I write it because I should feel I had failed in my duty if I accepted all this *without a protest*."

Such, then, was Croce's attitude during Mussolini's rule: he stayed put, and he protested. Specifically, he remained the focal point for a group of friends, not all intellectuals, who placed loyalty to certain spiritual values above expediency; he worked at his own vast philosophical and literary production; and he piloted the interests of true scholarship in seas beset by all manner of turbulent subsurface threats and decoys. In an era when Ministers of Education were expected to authorize periodic rewriting of the history books to conform with the interests of the regime, a Croce is a beacon.

The present volume is taken from a sort of daily notation of visits, conversations, and political ideas he wrote down for himself and eventually (1946-47) published in *La Critica*. It covers the period from July, 1943, to June, 1944, a period in which Rome was occupied by the Germans, the north was abandoned to the so-called Republic of Salo, and the first "free" government of Italy was formed in Naples, Croce's city, with all the hindrances the Allies, confused and only partially recognizing their own motives, could deploy.

Croce's diary shares with his other works that noteworthy, conscious clarity, that real limpidity of expression, only possible for those who know what they are thinking and doing (Sylvia Sprigge's translation is, by the way, splendid). In its pages he does not equivocate, and the dates of its entries should end once

and for all the factious, continuing quarrel over his attitude toward the monarchy; after the conversation De Nicola had with the King about his proposed abdication (February 22, 1944), the jurist reported to Croce that the King agreed with him when he said that Croce was "perhaps the only true monarchist in Italy who is still devoted to a constitutional monarchy." At the same time De Nicola was urging on the King Croce's reasons for a speedy abdication; and a matter of days later we find Croce, with perfect ideological consistency, writing: "The blame for what is happening . . . must rest entirely with the Anglo-American politicians, the Churchills, the Edens, and the Roosevelts, who have for months turned down the reasonable and most reasoned proposals and wishes of the Italian Liberals and Democrats . . . that the King should be removed so that a democratic government might be formed." He continued, through the succeeding months, to scotch the plans of the Italian Communists, who sought to bolster the monarchy from within, patiently explaining first to one Allied Commissioner then to another that this was indeed a trick to hamstring the other parties, which, feeling bound by their oaths not to collaborate with the tainted monarchy, would be excluded in the event the monarchy were permitted to remain, whereas the Communists, having "themselves no scruples about any binding pacts," would find themselves the only left-wing party with official backing. He carried his point, and the monarchy in due season fell.

Though this *mise au point* is, perhaps, the most significant incident recorded in the diary, it is not the only one which makes these pages timely. His first encounter with "an Italian Communist arrived from Russia with the conventional name of Hercules, real name Togliatti," is strangely moving in that they both find themselves evoking the martyred Communist leader, Gramsci, who in Croce's memory "stood out among them all." Needless to say, this recollection eased the meeting for them both. Again, Croce's understanding of and loyal friendship for the vain, impulsive, yet practiced and competent Sforza reveal him at his best. In an attempt to temper "friend Sforza's utterances . . . I told him [February 25, 1944] that he was miraculously turning me, a born polemicist who had spent all my life using the most varied argumentative instruments, from high emotion to jokes and leg-pulls, into someone with a reputation for a quiet, moderate, and mild temperament, by dint of comparing what I say with what he says." Croce's wit is revealed in his judgment of people: his vignette of a meeting with "one Andrea (*sic*) Vishinsky" is high comedy. His conclusion: "For freshness or sharpness of thought, there is little to be hoped for from people of this type."

Critics and opponents—not, be it understood, of Croce's philosophy in this instance but of his political attitudes—declare with considerable reason that his world is so limited by his criteria of intellectual responsibility as the only passport to the assumption of authority that it cannot be called democratic. His liberty is not liberal but Liberal, or, within our own framework, not unlike Willkie's Republicanism. He is for the slow, evolutionary betterment and a priori against the radical change.

Croce has been called "the great unheeded man of Italy," but the diary proves that, at least for a moment in time, this was not so. His maneuverings to obtain the Premiership for Sforza did not work out, it is true, but the King's abdication, in which he played so vital a part, the early modus vivendi reached by the five major parties, and the formation of the first democratic Italian ministry—all are attributable in notable measure to Croce's continuous work in post-liberation Naples.

His continued devastating polemic against the Catholic church as a political force has kept him, after the brief moment in which he became the touchstone of the New Italy—because he was the most prominent man on the spot with clean hands—the black reprobate of the present Vatican-tutored regime. This has effectively prevented his assuming the role of elder statesman. He is today, as he has always been, out of official favor.

Croce's attitude reveals his acceptance of a necessarily threatening future. His recommendations? "Upon this scene, faltering at every step, we must do the best we can to live with dignity as men, thinking, working, nursing the gentle affections, and be ever ready to give up without on that account becoming low-spirited." "The proposition," he wryly concludes, "is much easier to formulate than to carry out."

It would be hard to overemphasize the stature of this man who, whatever his shortcomings, remains the colossus of modern Italy.

FRANCES KEENE

FREE EXAMINATION OFFER

on the famous Manchester Guardian



"The *Guardian* is far more important than its circulation indicates . . . it is known and read throughout the world." (*N. Y. Times.*) "Unquestionably, one of the world's half-dozen great newspapers." (*Time Magazine.*)

YOU ARE INVITED to read the next four issues of the *Manchester Guardian*, weekly air edition, at our risk. This famous publication brings you a fresh viewpoint on British and international affairs—especially on the confusing questions of Korea, East vs. West, and the internal situation in England today. The *Guardian* is fearless, honest, liberal. It will stimulate your thinking as it does for the great opinion makers throughout the world who read it regularly. Accept this Free Examination Offer by mailing the coupon with your payment today. Money back if not delighted. *Manchester Guardian*, 53 East 51st Street, New York 22.

MAIL COUPON FOR SPECIAL FREE OFFER

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN N 5
53 East 51st Street, New York 22, N. Y.

Please enter my subscription to the *Manchester Guardian*, Weekly Air Edition, ☐ checked below. If not satisfied after seeing the first four issues, I may cancel and get a full refund. My payment is enclosed.

New, Low Rates

☐ 1 year, $6.50 ☐ 20 weeks, $2

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

Britain Since 1945

THE CAUTIOUS REVOLUTION: BRITAIN TODAY AND TOMORROW. By Ernest Watkins. Farrar, Straus and Company. $5.

THE drama of Britain's socialist experiment has been staged in the full glare of American spotlights. It has been dissected and debated, blessed and blasted, by hundreds of radio commentators, in endless columns of the daily press, in innumerable magazine articles. And as things are going, a five-foot shelf will soon be too small to hold all the books about it. For all that, judging by the kinds of questions I am asked, a great many Americans have very foggy notions about what has been happening in Britain and why.

The trouble may be, as an American friend wrote Ernest Watkins, that "the focus is too close. It's all yesterday and tomorrow stuff. It doesn't give me the chance to stand back and see it whole. . . . I'd like someone to write a book about Britain—I mean the people of Britain—over the last five years. Just a plain, ordinary book, with no ideas to sell, no ax to grind, no mirages to conjure up."

We can be glad that Mr. Watkins harkened to this plea, for "The Cautious Revolution"—a good title, that—provides the fullest and most illuminating account of Britain since 1945 that has yet been published. It succeeds in placing the trials, tribulations, and triumphs of that land in perspective; it offers in palatable form a great deal of useful information. Here we have a succinct account of the political and economic developments that brought about the Labor victory in 1945. We are told something of the whys and wherefores of the nationalization program and of its successes and failures. We learn of the impact of the welfare state on the lives of various groups of Britons. We have discussion of the relations of the Labor government with the press, the business world, and the trade unions. Finally Mr. Watkins gives us three chapters on Britain's external affairs, of which that on the Commonwealth is the most valuable for an American audience, since the translation of Empire into Commonwealth has nuances that demand a lot of patient explanation.

Mr. Watkins writes of such matters where possible in terms of personalities, both high and low: he is judiciously economical of statistics and theoretical discussions. Realizing that no contemporary can be entirely dispassionate when writing of controversial subjects, he usually succeeds in stating both sides of a question fairly. Perhaps some prejudice appears in his treatment of Herbert Morrison, whom he dismisses as not much more than a smart operator.

I feel, also, that in his discussion of the Royal Commission on the Press, he is too easy on the newspaper lords and less than fair when he assigns responsibility for "the present-day weakness of the press" to the working journalists. "Bias in news," he writes, "is largely a matter of day-to-day presentation, and there the deciding factor most frequently is the routine sub-editor, not his chief nor his proprietor." That sentence will surely arouse raucous laughter in Fleet Street, for it is notorious that on most British newspapers these day-to-day decisions are shaped by directives from on high.

There are other judgments in this book which I would dispute if space allowed. But my chief quarrel with Mr. Watkins lies in the realm of manner rather than matter. His book seems to me to bear internal evidence of overhasty composition in the midst of other preoccupations—as a member of the *Economist's* staff and news commentator for the B. B. C., Mr. Watkins is a busy man. Parts are very well written, but there are also some pretty slipshod passages, and the work as a whole tends to be discursive and repetitious. It would have been much improved by drastic cutting, and it certainly deserved more careful proofreading than it received.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Scrim and Blackout

MUSICAL COMEDY IN AMERICA. By Cecil Smith. Theater Arts Books. $5.

ALMOST any account of musical comedy in America would have been a good idea, and this one goes the idea one better: it does the job. Before Cecil Smith's book one could consult sources as satisfactory as Sibylline Books for light on any matter connected with musical comedy. If one cared to know whether Marie Dressler danced, sang, made records, or tended a wardrobe prior to her latter-day film appearances, it was almost mandatory to seek the services of a private eye.

The example is random; the index of "Musical Comedy in America" is as crammed with persons, places, and moments of the musical stage as a Baedeker would be had Mr. Baedeker gone on a backstage spree. The wrapper lists Tony Pastor, Lillian Russell, Weber and Fields, George M. Cohan, Al Jolson, the Marx Brothers, Mary Martin, Ethel Merman, Ezio Pinza; but that is just a pitch to get the reader into the book. Once inside its covers, he'll find *everyone* is in the act.

The plan of Mr. Smith's excursion into scrim and blackout is logical and indisputable. He has divided it into three major parts; the first opens with an account of "The Black Crook" (1866). "For all important purposes," he tells us, "the history of musical comedy in America starts with 'The Black Crook,' as everyone has always said it did." The date assigned to end Part One is 1907. Part Two covers the 1908-1925 period, under such headings as The Gaiety Girls, The Passing Show, Weber and Fields, The Turn of the Century, and so on through The Post-War Revue and a summation of musical comedy from 1919 to 1925. Part Three (1925-50) catches up with the "sophisticated" post-World War I revues, The Depression Decade, The War (II) and Post-War Years, and arrives, as everyone has suspected it should, at "South Pacific."

Chronology aside, Cecil Smith has also made a conscientious effort to sift and weigh performances, talent of individuals, stagecraft, and genius of production. Contemporary dicta, like Alexander Woollcott's confession in regard to Ziegfeld's (1928) "The Three Musketeers"—"I did greatly enjoy the first few years of Act I"—are tossed in at appropriate intervals. Smith has also chosen to liven his prearranged tour with a junket here and there that takes his reader into and out of such promising subjects as pantomime in the 1860's and 1870's, the Kiralfys—a well-placed chapter devoted to the spectacular productions of a Victorian triumvirate of Hungarian dance and pantomime performers—the bleached blondes of Lydia Thompson, the intriguing farce-come-

dies of the 1880's, and comic opera of 1890.

One is tantalized throughout by evocations. There is, in comic opera, the case of "Poor Jonathan," a Millöcker operetta "first produced in Germany, where its American locale at that time was thought to be the height of the exotic." Stage directions read: "Rubygold's plantation; happy darkies picking cotton along the Battery, New York." For Manhattan audiences the whole thing was moved up the river a few leagues, and West Point played host to the cotton pickers.

As reported by Mr. Smith, word fracture—simple, compound, or greenstick—seems to have undergone little transmutation from one decade to the next. Stage directions to "Ixion" (1868) include a "Crowd of Red Republicans, unread Republicans, avengers, scavengers, Greeks, sneaks, and female furies. . . ." One of the compound *mots* of the twenties, quoted as putting in an appearance at Gershwin's "Tell Me More" (1925), is comedian Lou Holz's "definition of pantomime as observed in a Russian ballet—'pantomime, from the Greek *pantomimus: panto*, meaning pants, and *mimus*, without.'" And for contrast Mr. Smith records Bea Lillie at her acid best in a parody of Ruth Draper's "Railway Station on the Western Plains." "In this little sketch, ladies and gentlemen," said Miss Lillie, "I want you to imagine far too much."

Besides noting the passing glint of a well-turned line, Mr. Smith also manages to pay graceful tribute to prima donnas of the musical stage. His compact sketches, from Lillian Russell to Mary Martin, are as apt as one could wish. Here and there, too, Smith lets his eye fall on the rhythmic rise and fall of legs in a chorus line, bestowing bouquets in a matter-of-fact, non-nostalgic fashion. Press agents might not be pleased, but it is possible that he has done their products a better service with his quiet, drawing-room estimations than could be effected by miles of ten-foot super-colossals. Ballet and music, too, come in for fair discussion in the work, which turns out to be pretty much of an omnibus affair when one sets out to take up its parts. One slight omission: one wishes that songs mentioned in the text could have been indexed, as is almost every other pertinent matter.

There is the passing glint, too, of Cecil Smith's own sharp opinion. He has no use for sequels to successful original productions, and he never lets the point go; he remarks, *en passant*, on the "unyielding provinciality of New Yorkers"; he cites three witch plots in a row, all of them flops, and adds: "Salem witches do not seem to inspire American composers to the most inviting efforts, if the evidence of these three works may be regarded as indicative." On page 239 he dispenses with no less than nine productions ("all great successes") with the remark that they "deserve mention here only because someone might look at the index and object to their omission."

One hardly expects an excellent reference work to be as "readable" as romantic fiction, and this work is no exception. It does, nevertheless, present the bulk of its material with a maximum of clean, efficient prose. Although Smith flounders a bit throughout the book in his attempt to isolate musical comedy as a separate entity, he comes out all right in the end with: "It is, in short, the form of all musical works for the stage except revue, ballet, and through-composed opera." One wonders at this point why he did not go back to excise some of his earlier and more complex expositions. Perhaps he was saving his tidbit of conciseness for the last. FREDERIC RAMSEY, JR.

Devil's Pact

LUCIEN LEUWEN. Book One: The Green Huntsman. Book Two: The Telegraph. By Stendhal. Translated from the French by Louise Varèse. New Directions. $3.50 each.

THIS long, secret, unfinished novel, which is only intermittently dramatic, was Stendhal's audacious attempt, made between 1832 and 1835, to give a new twist to the devil's-pact idea that fascinated the age of "Faust." Lucien is a marionette—a banker's son, rich, clever, handsome, with every advantage, who *none the less must behave vilely if he is to get ahead*—constructed for the express purpose of shocking us into concrete realization of what success in politics actually involves. Stendhal, the paid servant of the state who never got over his private horror of statecraft, was never more moralistic than when he made his amiable young lieutenant become a deliberate Machiavellian, go to mass to impress the right people, serve a corrupt Minister, and rig elections with a callousness that today might give pause to any candidate for any secret police. His story is an outraged republican's denunciation of the reactionary King Louis-Philippe, who paid Stendhal's consular salary—and so specific that much of it would be unintelligible to a modern reader without footnotes.

Since Stendhal's present-day admirers delight rather naively in his prescient brilliance, preferring to enjoy him merely aesthetically or merely intellectually, without an understanding of his serious, though rather mixed, moral purpose, it is necessary to recall his purpose, which he never declared grossly, if we are to know what he was about. "Lucien Leuwen" is singularly illustrative: more continuously interesting as a revelation of his method than as a work of art.

The paradox of Stendhal's method is that his marionette comes most vividly to life precisely when he is most vile. As the actions of the hero get more contemptible, the action of the drama gets more exciting. Each surrender of

BOOK BARGAINS

New, original editions, (quantity limited).

Samuel Johnson: Joseph Wood Krutch 1.00
Roosevelt and the Russians: E. Stettinius 1.00
Decision in Germany: Gen. L. Clay 1.00
A Treasury of Brooklyn ($5 list, Sloane) 1.00
Copernicus and His World: Hermann Kesten 1.50
Great Modern Composers: Oscar Thompson, ed. 1.50
Anatomy of Paradise (South Seas): J. O. Furnas 1.75
Arthur Rimbaud: Enid Starkie, $5 list 1.75
The Roosevelt I Knew: Frances Perkins 1.75

Following are original Knopf editions:

Prince of the Ghetto: Maurice Samuels 1.50
Fruits of the Earth: Andre Gide 1.50
Foreign Mud: Maurice Collis, $5 list 2.25
Seeds of Liberty: Max Savelle 2.75
The James Family: F. O. Matthiessen 3.00
The Wagner Operas: Ernest Newman 3.50
Home Book of Trees and Shrubs: J. J. Levison 4.50
Papermaking: Dard Hunter, $12.50 list 5.50
Life of Richard Wagner: Ernest Newman, set of four volumes, $30 list 12.75

Special Christmas overstock, strictly limited

Index of American Design: E. O. Christensen, $15 .... 9.75

Postpaid, U. S. only

DOWNTOWN BOOK BAZAAR
212 Broadway, corner Fulton, New York 7, N. Y.

What Does Your Child Read?

Guide his reading into proper channels with **Adventuring with Books.** A graded annotated list, arranged by topics, for ages 6–12. Emphasis on human relations and personal growth.

115 *pages, illustrated—60¢ prepaid*

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH
211 West 68th Street Chicago 21, Ill.

DEEP DISCOUNTS

Offered *Nation* readers by the oldest labor bookstore.

Current books on economics, politics, sociology, socialism, communism, trade unions, cooperatives, Great Britain, Russia, History, Philosophy, Psychiatry, etc.

Pamphlet center, liberal and labor magazines. Rare and out-of-print books on social-economic problems.

Visit Our Bookstore • Send for Catalog

RAND BOOK STORE
7 East 15th Street, New York 3. AL 5-4259

principle is followed by a gain in intensity, and the writing improves when Lucien lies his way into the best circles of Lorraine and is best of all when, returning to Paris, he becomes the hated catspaw of a ministerial crook who uses the sun-telegraph to aid his speculations on the Bourse. A warm-hearted young idealist turns in a twinkling into a cool master of intrigue as soon as there is a murder to hush up, a decent citizen to bully, an honest cause to smother.

The reason for this originates probably in the nature of Stendhal's talent, which was a strange mixture of opera and cerebrality. He was at his best when demonstrating a particularly subtle insight with the florid sensationalism of La Scala. That was his recipe—violent Mediterranean intensity about perceptions so keen that only the finest minds could follow them. Thus only could he both startle and command the intellectual respect of "the happy few" for whom he wrote. Lucien, therefore, could not be only moderately corrupt; he had to turn the stomach. (And go on being a nice boy.)

There was another nineteenth-century novelist who also employed opera methods to express rare insights, who also lived under a reactionary government, who also wrote a political novel of surpassing quality about a devil's pact. It was even better than this one, much better, and its author succeeded in completing it. His name was Dostoevsky, his novel "The Possessed," or more correctly, "The Demons." Like Stendhal, he had to make a compromise with the powerful state that oppressed him, and his way was to end by supporting its policies devotedly. Such Byzantine submission to Leviathan—by no means discarded by the artists of latter-day Russia—was unthinkable to Stendhal, who, schooled in a more sophisticated Italian tradition, preferred to bite secretly the hand that fed him. Perhaps these two great novelists, whose works anticipated so many of our contemporary problems, also dramatized two basic responses to a bitter dilemma that still confronts the serious artist everywhere today. How is spirit to accommodate itself to power? It was Hamlet's question, and it is ours.

Stendhal had plenty of time to complete "Lucien Leuwen" but never got around to it. His notes suggest that he planned to have his hero marry his heroine—whom he woos with the most exquisite sensibility while engaged in suppressing early farm cooperatives—and permit the pair to withdraw romantically from the sordid world of ambition. A mere synopsis of his plot will show why such a conclusion could not be written by so good a writer; ends and means had been hopelessly snarled, Lucien hopelessly compromised, and to resurrect him from his unscrupulous quest of power would have called for a complete change of heart. Stendhal was a *bon-vivant* freethinker with no appetite for this variety of religious experience. That he entertained such a plan at all merely discloses his own unresolved ambivalence toward power. He could set his Machiavellian in motion, but since he lacked both the philosophical roundness of Goethe and the religious convictions of Dostoevsky, he could not finish him. His urbane technique was unequal to so large a task. Also, since he lacked the athletic cynicism of Maupassant, he could not find the success-story conclusion that sufficed the latter for a not unrelated character in the consummately finished "Bel Ami." His novel therefore remains a delightful might-have-been, a spirited and ingenious gripe, a window opening on its author's brain, which is of more interest to the littérateur than to the common reader and reveals a sneaking admiration for the diabolism it attacks.

GERALD SYKES

Inflation and Control

THE NINETEEN FIFTIES COME FIRST. By Edwin G. Nourse. Henry Holt and Company. $2.

INFLATION brings disaster to almost everyone who is seriously affected by it, and Dr. Nourse is quite possibly right in believing that the danger of inflation is even greater than you think. His current book is based on lectures, but it has been smoothly organized into a coherent whole and brought up to date, although of course it was completed before the imposition of price and wage controls. He did indicate that he was not very happy at the prospect of such controls, and in his recent testimony before the Congressional Committee on the Economic Report he said consistently both that the controls as first promulgated would not be too effective and that he thought the job could be done better by controls over materials and credit.

In analyzing the pressures from various groups which make for inflation, the book does a sound and convincing job. The blame is apportioned more or less equally to labor unions, organized farmers, and business executives, and the author tries very hard to be fair to all three groups. He is by no means as conservative as he was painted when he resigned from the chairmanship of the Council of Economic Advisers, but he is basically a classic liberal economist, even though he accepts a good many modern modifications of the classic pattern, and he is generally opposed both to the intervention of government for the benefit of any group and to organized group pressures on the government. His urgent plea, therefore, is for self-restraint by all groups. He seems to feel that democracy is almost hopeless unless labor, farmers, and business all act with "economic maturity" and enlightened self-interest.

It is true that maximum individual freedom is possible only in a society where all groups act with such intelligence and restraint that there is comparatively little need for government to play a strong role in economic relationships. The world of voluntary cooperation which Dr. Nourse would like is eminently to be desired, and he is realistic enough about it to state explicitly that perfect laissez faire never has existed and never could exist. He recognizes the desirability of government responsibility in such fields as education and public health, and is apparently not averse to the social-security program or even to public-power development. He believes that the 1946 act of Congress which set up the Council of Economic Advisers "may signalize the crowning of our centuries-old faith in private enterprise with a more adequate grasp of the nature and the complementary potentialities of public enterprise." He evidently feels, however, that we have already gone far enough in the direction of government intervention, and in some ways too far.

If he is right, the prospect for freedom is certainly dim, because the whole present tendency is obviously toward more rather than less economic action by

government. Very few of the opponents of the present Administration really want less government; what they want is a government which will do different things for the benefit of different groups. The hope that everyone will suddenly begin to act unselfishly is even less realistic than the hope that all threat of war will suddenly disappear.

Despite Dr. Nourse, this does not mean that freedom and democracy are doomed. Government intervention is not necessarily incompatible with a reasonable degree of individual liberty. Freedom can be maintained as long as there is a sufficiently workable balance of power between the various group interests in the population so that no one group can dominate the government, or even find it worth while to try. To this extent Americans have usually acted with at least enough restraint to avoid violent conflict, and there are signs, as Dr. Nourse points out, that they are becoming increasingly aware of the interdependence of their interests.

Warnings against the dangers of federal power, and against the group pressures which may lead to inflation because government officials find it hard to resist them, are wholesome when they do not serve merely to disguise a partisan attack on the party in power. The dangers which Dr. Nourse points to are real, and he has distributed his criticisms evenly enough to avoid a charge of narrow partisanship. It is to be feared, however, that reactionaries will applaud his attacks on strong government and ignore the admonitions directed at them. Any hope that the need for government action can be reduced by self-restraint on the part of pressure groups seems strictly utopian in the nineteen fifties.

CHARLES E. NOYES

Hero and Victim

STEPHEN CRANE. By John Berryman. American Men of Letters Series. William Sloane Associates. $3.75.

COMING twenty-seven years after Thomas Beer's memoir of 1923, Mr. Berryman's book marks a second quarter-century in the critical reputation and legend of Stephen Crane since his premature death in 1900, at the age of twenty-eight, brought his brief decade of creative life to an end. Beer's book, from which Mr. Berryman rescues several acute insights and a worthy purpose, was very much a book of its decade: extravagant, sentimental, almost comically stylized, stiflingly allusive, hampered by a queer combination of critical rashness and clumsy discretion, and heavily diluted with trumped-up period effects. In spite of its corrective sympathy it was symptomatic of the distortion and mystification that have bedeviled Crane's merit ever since he started publishing his work sixty years ago. Something of his own temperament seems bound to possess his devotees—his strenuous nerves, reckless conduct, stubborn probity and scorn of convention, the high-strung sensibility that makes him—remarkably like Scott Fitzgerald, whose biography by Arthur Mizener arrives opportunely for comparison—so notable an example of the exacerbated American type that has its classic ancestor in Poe.

Some of this influence gets into Mr. Berryman's book too. Its language and syntax offer some strained, not to say confusing, usages. Its patient recovery of facts misses certain accessible details. (Among the women in Crane's life, Amy Leslie, for instance, is incompletely identified; her bedizened figure was still familiar in Chicago as late as the 1920's, at the end of a barnstorming career as actress, newspaper woman, and drama critic.) The symbolic import of Crane's tales is sometimes rather desperately overshot. A share of Crane's work is misvalued, and the estimate of his verse seems to me basically unsound. And there accumulates an exaggeration of Crane's aesthetic claims which, though honestly and sensitively reasoned, may be injudicious. "We have had little genius in literature," says Mr. Berryman, and poses the question "whether we have not in Stephen Crane a genius very formidable indeed, an artist of absolute and high vision—the sort of writer before whom most of our imposing earlier authors utterly shrivel away—a national glory"; this being answered with the assertion that Crane is "by a margin . . . probably the greatest American storywriter, he stands as an artist not far below Hawthorne and James, he is one of our few poets, and one of the manifest geniuses the country has produced." The effect of this is to delay rather than advance the justice by which Crane's real share of genius will be recognized.

But that share is indisputable, and Mr. Berryman, whatever his excess of enthusiasm, deserves gratitude for the sensitive scholarship and critical acumen with which he illuminates it. What Crane achieved in his short life is as phenomenal for its conviction of vision and moral honesty as it is for the secure brilliance of its craftsmanship. His mastery exists in one "novel," "The Red Badge of Courage," and perhaps twenty tales. These set his standard, epitomize his courage as a creative and moral intelligence in a period of slack genteelism and public vulgarity, and condense the gifts that elsewhere dissipate into aimless journalism, into misguided efforts at popularity (the startling feebleness of the three novels "The Third Violet," "Active Service," and "The O'Ruddy" betrays a sentimentalism that undermines many of his lesser stories), and into an indeterminate style which only a radical concentration of sensibility, a basic integrity of vocation, brought to superb control in his greatest stories.

These defects must be admitted.

THE ROAD AHEAD
A PRIMER OF CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM
By Dr. Harry W. Laidler
has been included in the DEBATE HANDBOOKS as one of the reference books to be used in the high school debate this year on the subject of the WELFARE STATE.
If this book were made required reading for every boy and girl in the U. S. it would make the building of the GOOD SOCIETY of the future infinitely easier.
Cloth Bound $1.00 Paper Covered 50¢
THREE ARROWS PRESS
Room 510a 303 Fourth Avenue New York, N. Y.

Our other publications are:
DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM by Roger Payne and George W. Hartmann — Cloth Bound $1.50 Paper Covered $1.00
THE CASE FOR SOCIALISM by Fred Henderson — Cloth Bound 75¢ Paper Covered 35¢
WHY WORK? OR THE COMING "AGE OF LEISURE AND PLENTY" by Roger Payne — Cloth Bound $1.75 Paper Covered $1.00

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR
Just Arrived! ELMAR GREEN
Wind from the South
Stalin Prize Novel
In English — 292 pp. — 75¢
Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
1951 Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals
Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

if you're interested in
PSYCHIATRY
PSYCHOANALYSIS
SOCIAL STUDIES
Send for FREE Basic Books News and Bibliography listing the outstanding 1951 books of *all* publishers—U. S. and abroad in these fields.
Our MONEY SAVINGS plan enables you to save 40% on your book purchases.
BASIC BOOKS, Inc., Dept. N-F
357 Bleecker Street, New York 14, N. Y.

Crane is a hero of his time but its victim too. It is his distractions and concessions that define his true heroism, and here Mr. Berryman shows his real powers. He explains Crane in the full setting of his life: the Methodism of the family religion; his boyhood and school days in the American small-town life of which his picture is classic; his contacts with Bowery poverty, Broadway bohemianism, Tenderloin crime, scandal, and police corruption; his forays into Western prairies and wars in Cuba, Mexico, and Greece; his union with Cora Taylor, the mistress of the Hotel de Dream in Jacksonville, Florida; his part in the genteel literary circles of New York and finally in English literary life in London and at Brede Place, where Conrad, James, Wells, Hueffer, and Frederic gave him his really serious recognition. These are the circumstances that shaped his purpose and give him his almost legendary role in a decisive phase of American life and art.

They define the condition of his moral battle, his intense need for self-recognition and moral honesty. He distilled their personal as well as their historical meaning into tales—"The Monster," "The Blue Hotel," "The Open Boat," "The Red Badge," "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky," "An Experiment in Misery," as well as others like "The Clan of No-Name" and "The Upturned Face" or the lost works "Vashti in the Dark" and "The Cat's March," on which Mr. Berryman supplies the first intelligent discussion—which express powerfully the insights and passions that compelled him: a fear of cowardice, a hatred of cruelty and injustice, a burning sense of the guilt of society, a scathing irony in the face of moral dishonesty, an obsession with violence and treachery, and the intense sensory impressionism that saved his art as much from the inflexible methods of the naturalists as from the polite discretion he held in steady contempt. Mr. Berryman traces all these factors in Crane's work with great sympathy, and he goes beyond them into an exploration of the psychic character of Crane's personality which, however hazardous considering the inadequacy of the evidence, arrives at some highly searching findings and must tax the attention of anyone who attempts to understand the animus that not only produced some of the finest fiction America has seen but has left its mark on a major line of writing in this century.

To compare Crane with Fitzgerald—the excellent biographies of the two men make such comparison inevitable at the moment—is to see how persistently that animus has operated in recent American writing. The two men were unlike in many important respects; but their styles—the loaded phrase, the verbal intensity, the rich image, the severe realism underlying almost opulent sensory capacities—as well as their stubborn resistance to the power, selfishness, wealth, and lurking treachery of modern life, bring them, in the face of all the temptations of popularity and journalism, into a striking kinship. They define acutely two moments in the conscience of modern literature and tell us, as forcefully as any of their contemporaries and more forcefully than most, what that literature may count on for its survival. Mr. Berryman, like Mr. Mizener, has succeeded in writing more than a valuable critical biography. He has written a significant study in the morality of contemporary art.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

Hear . . .

The Mayor of West Berlin...ERNST REUTER

Hero of the Russian blockade • Survivor of Nazi concentration camps • No. 1 German on the Communist blacklist

Speak on . . .

"CAN DEMOCRACY SURVIVE IN EUROPE?"

Also: Brig. Gen. Telford Taylor, U. S. Prosecutor of Nuremberg Trials
Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, of Union Theological Seminary

HUNTER COLLEGE AUDITORIUM
69th Street between Park & Lexington

Monday, March 5th, 8:30 P.M.

Tickets: $1 (including tax) at the door
75 cents (including tax) in advance from

Americans for Democratic Action
New York Chapter
Nine East Forty-sixth Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Films

MANNY FARBER

THE crisp journalistic technique introduced in "Home of the Brave," which transformed a low-priced movie into a box-office hit, has become an official style for radical young crusaders. Specializing in candid emotions and views with the steely photography used in OWI films, this new approach differs from old-time journalism like "They Won't Forget" in its incessant emphasis on preaching and florid use of documentary ideas. Like a machine, the precision and intricacy of the recent "Teresa," "The Steel Helmet," "The Sound of Fury" put so much spin, phrenetic editing, and unending misery into life that the spectator can never relax.

"The Sound of Fury," an indignant, twisted parody of the 1933 San José, California, lynchings, leaves the audience as limp as its two strangled kidnappers. With a zest for pointing out the worst aspects of average folks, the script studies an unemployed worker (Lovejoy) who tries to provide for a poverty-scared wife and child by chauffeuring a vain hoodlum (Bridges). An amateurish abduction goes wrong and the captive's skull is bashed in; the last movie hour pounds through the crackup of the piteous Lovejoy, the mob-siege of the county jail, incited by a sensationalist reporter, with a housewife yelling, "We're going to save the taxpayers' money!"

The case of the Brooke Harte kidnappers and "those fine patriotic San José citizens"—Governor Rolph's description of the lynchers—warrants a less contrived reconstruction. It is commendable as a thoroughly angry work—no cute or chucklesome bit players, no inevitable rescue from evil—but in its determination to wreak havoc, tension effects are cruelly piled on by an ingeniously tricky mind.

Even before the listing of film credits, the theme is stated—"The world is going to the devil"—in a tempestuous prologue of Main Streeters fleeing a mysterious danger, while a blind sidewalk evangelist exhorts and the sound track makes like a bombing raid. Sound, camera, and actors settle down to an ominous snarl at American life. As Love-

joy careens home with a truck-driver, there is talk about burdensome wives in that loquacious vein that has gripped truck-drivers ever since talkies came in. Their headlights suddenly pick out an eerie image—the "inflammable" sign on the truck head, an unknown hitchhiker at the roadside. On the street a murmur of the grocer's wife—"Did you ask him about his bill?"—hits the sound track with a thud. At home Lovejoy's son nastily makes ratchet-like noises with a butcher knife. When the two murderers are seated in a cafe, heckling data—a raw steak being pounded, a girl too pretty to sling hash, the tedious ritual of deciding what to eat—emphasize the trying job of simply existing. The views mix figures and terrain in a tortuous bond where the décor obtrudes, slows down, and evaluates the characters so that they seem to carry a civilization on their shoulders.

Mercilessly lunging at small-townisms, the film finds the motive for the lynching everywhere, in everyone. Emulating the mad-dog journalism that it denounces, "Fury" raises audience emotion with shame-ridden maneuvers, twisted freakish sounds, relentless crowds, the murderers' frenzied terror, and wrings sentiment from farewell letters, pitiful kinfolk. However, in searching out odd tidbits of reality, the director (Endfield) deserves a TV set for trying valiantly. Like a slow ferret he hunts out human beings in private places, trysting sheds, a wallflower's bedroom, and fastens on them while they are hiding girdles, sparring with mirrors, buying sexy shoes for the wife. Although movies seldom stick with inane, irrelevant, everyday talk that reveals personality, Bridges tells Lovejoy about everything, from his girl friends in Germany to his collar size.

Much of the acting, which underlines pantomime with exaggerated psychology, should have cracked the camera lens. But midway in the film Katherine Locke sneaks in as a leaden manicurist on a blind date and by compressed understatement creates a new type of movie caricature. Packing silent, vacant, colorless qualities into a character who is sophisticatedly kept within the unsophisticated Bronx middle class, Miss Locke creates a feeling of hopelessness that overpowers the sloppy animation around her.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

"BILLY BUDD" a dramatization of Herman Melville's novel by Louis O. Coxe and Robert Chapman (Biltmore Theater), is consistently interesting and often moving, excellently acted, and very well mounted. The resolution is not convincing—for respectable reasons—and the whole third act is weak; but the play exercises the mind and engages the emotions on a mature level—which is mighty refreshing.

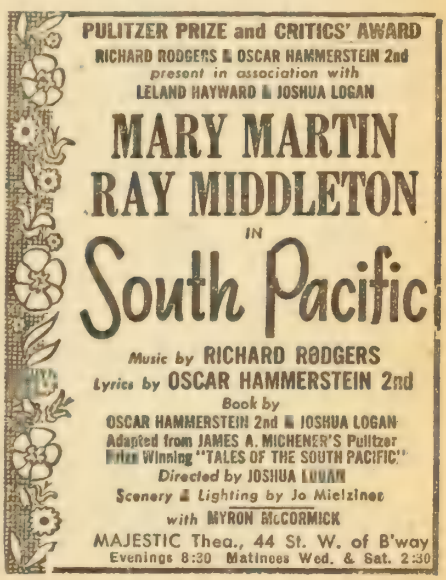
The scene is a British man-of-war; the time is 1798. It is the year after the naval mutinies of Spithead and the Nore, and the threat of mutiny is ever present: sparks from the French Revolution are still flying, and every forecastle, with its discipline, its bad food, its impressed men, is a powder keg.

As the play opens, a young sailor, Billy Budd, has just been impressed—from a merchant vessel called The Rights of Man—to service on H. M. S. Indomitable. He is the Handsome Sailor and as innocent and good and guileless as he is handsome. He has one defect—a stutter that overcomes him in moments of stress. Billy is Adam before the fall. The snake to his Adam is the master-at-arms, James Claggart, who recognizes Billy's innocence and is drawn to it, but also disdains it and works to bring about Billy's ruin. When he cannot tempt the boy to insubordination he frames him with lies, charging him with mutinous activities. The third principal is Captain Vere, wise, humane, intelligent—and also dedicated to duty. Fully recognizing Billy's innocence and Claggart's depravity, Vere forces the master-at-arms to make his charges in Billy's presence. The shock deprives Billy of speech; for answer he strikes Claggart with a blow that kills him. And the captain is faced with the dilemma of dealing with a boy he loves as a son who is innocent of mutiny but has killed an officer in war time. In a drum-head court martial, the captain feels bound to overrule the common impulse to save Billy, and the handsome sailor is condemned to be hanged. It is the captain who breaks the news to Billy, and such is the relation between them that when, at dawn, Billy goes to his death, the words on his lips are "God bless Captain Vere."

The session of the court martial and the conversation between the captain and Billy, it need hardly be said, are crucial to the credibility of Billy's last words. And unfortunately, these two scenes fail to carry the conviction that Melville was able to impart. It is an honorable failure but a failure, none the less, which greatly impairs the validity of the last scene.

And I think there is another reason why the resolution is not quite believable. In the air of 1951 this situation of 1798 is superficially so near to being topical that the spectator tends to lose sight of the deeper and timeless significance of the story as the struggle between good and evil and to demand, 150 years after the French Revolution, a kindlier and quite possible contemporary solution—though this, in a way, is ironic, since the story on one level is an arraignment of war, which forces even such a man as Captain Vere to kill the son he loves.

The dramatization as a whole is intelligent and sensitive and only rarely overblown. As for the acting: the part of Billy Budd is a difficult one—perhaps because all of us have enough of the old Claggart in us to resent simple goodness. But Charles Nolte makes it convincing and very sympathetic. Dennis King has the presence and the subtlety needed for the role of the captain, Torin Thatcher portrays vividly the ambivalent passions as well as the basic depravity of Claggart, and the supporting cast is good.



Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IT WAS a good thing for John Crosby to devote an article, a couple of months ago, to the kicking around that symphonic music has been getting from the broadcasting networks this year—though what he said needs amplification and correction at a few points.

He described what had happened since the time just a few years ago when "the air pulsated with symphony music, especially on Sunday afternoons," when "music lovers all over the country looked forward to Sunday afternoon for the New York Philharmonic on C. B. S. from 3 to 4:30 p.m. (E. S. T.) and for the N. B. C. Symphony from 5 to 6," and "symphony music on Sunday became an American tradition." First it was N. B. C. which in 1947 "moved its symphony out of its hallowed Sunday spot" (to Saturday at 6:30, he forgot to mention), and which last fall moved it to Monday night at 10 (E. S. T.); and Mr. Crosby thought this was late for a symphony concert and that the ear was in no condition for it after two and a half hours of the Symphonette, the Railroad Hour, the Voice of Firestone, the Telephone Hour, and Bands of America, which preceded it on N. B. C. He also mentioned that in some areas the concert was heard transcribed at a different time and different day. And this year C. B. S. moved the Philharmonic from 3 to 1 (E. S. T.) on Sunday, which on the west coast was 10 a.m.—"pretty darned early for symphony music"; this change necessitated the "added indignity" of the concert being transcribed and the recording broadcast a week after the concert; and a Houston, Texas, listener had written that the Philharmonic had been dropped locally and would be restored (if enough people protested) from 10:30 to midnight on Wednesdays, "a terrible hour for a symphony program."

But this is far from being the whole story. For one thing, while the Philharmonic and N. B. C. Symphony have merely been changed about, the rest of the symphonic music with which "the air pulsated" a few years ago has been dropped altogether. Mr. Crosby did mention the disappearance of the Boston and Detroit Symphonies; but A. B. C. in 1948 dropped not only the Boston Symphony but the spring and summer series of its own A. B. C. Symphony. N. B. C. in 1947 dropped its mid-week Story of Music, in 1949 took over the Boston Symphony at Tanglewood but dropped it in 1950, this year dropped its Orchestras on the Nation, and in 1949 changed the N. B. C. Symphony's summer concerts to a "pops" series. And C. B. S. in 1948 dropped its celebrated Invitation to Music and a couple of other mid-week half-hours, and last summer substituted recordings for the Sunday concerts of its C. B. S. Symphony, which it disbanded.

As for the kicking around of the Philharmonic and N. B. C. Symphony, some of it is not, as Mr. Crosby seemed to think, new; and not every change is for the worse. He seemed to have the idea that before they were moved from their Sunday spots the live concerts were broadcast at their time of origin by all the networks' stations throughout the country. But ten years ago, as I reported in this column at the time (and in my *Herald Tribune* column on November 3, 1946), when the N. B. C. Symphony was being broadcast Saturday nights at 10 an Arkansas reader wrote me that it was not carried by a single major radio station in the entire south; and from other readers I learned that there were parts of the south which did not get the longer-established Philharmonic broadcasts. And not only the distant south: a Pittsburgh reader once complained that the C. B. S. station there did not carry the Philharmonic; later I was told the station carried only forty-five minutes of the broadcast. As late as 1946 a Cincinnati reader could write me that WLW had sold the first fifteen minutes of the N. B. C. Symphony's Sunday afternoon hour for a news broadcast. As late as 1948 he could inform me that the Tuesday night broadcasts of the Boston Symphony had been rebroadcast in Cincinnati from recordings, often defective, on Wednesday nights at 11 until March, when they had been dropped; that the Philadelphia Orchestra had been carried only by the C. B. S. affiliate's FM station; that this affiliate had sold the last half-hour of the Philharmonic period, and, in response to protests, had promised to broadcast a recording of the entire program Tuesday nights at 9:30, but actually had rebroadcast only one hour of the program at 10, with the result that symphonies had been played with the first movement or last two movements missing. Nor should it be forgotten that C. B. S. itself, after Toscanini left the Philharmonic, sliced off the last half-hour of the original two-hour concerts to sell to an advertiser, causing insurmountable difficulties with the programs.

I cannot see that Sunday at 1 is a bad time for the Philharmonic; and the tape recording, the few times I have listened, has produced musical sound—to say nothing of the applause and coughs—which I would have thought was the original. Recordings of that caliber could be used at the former time on the west coast; but apparently they were not being used in Chicago when a reader wrote me the rebroadcasts there were so distorted as to be unbearable.

Nor can I see anything wrong with Monday night at 10 for the N. B. C. Symphony. I cannot see how an hour at which music lovers often listen to an orchestra in Carnegie Hall is too late for them to listen to it at home; and 10 in New York would be 9 in Kansas City and 8 further west. Also I cannot see why it is assumed that if they listen to the N. B. C. Symphony at 10 they must first listen to the Symphonette, the Railroad Hour, and the rest—why, that is, it is assumed they cannot turn on their radios at 10. I would assume that most of the people interested in the N. B. C.

GOOD NEWS for Music Lovers
Pocket-Sized, Low-Priced Editions
BACH: The Well-Temp. Clavier, 2 vols., each.. .98
BACH: 3 Cello Sonatas & 7 Flute Sonatas..... .98
BACH: 6 English Suites & 6 French Suites.... .98
BEETHOVEN: All Violin Sonatas, 2 vols., each .98
& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG
Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From
LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138 New York 32, N. Y.

25% Less than List on LP Records
Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:
DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB
DEPT. N-16
Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.
Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges (50¢ minimum). SAME-DAY SHIPMENT.

COUNTERATTACK
Against the Insanity of a Price War
40% off List Price
250 titles $5.95 — L. P. Records
Send 10¢ and self-addressed, stamped envelope for list.
DISCOPHILES, 1079 Lexington Ave., N.Y.C.
Hours 12 noon-10 p.m. daily REgent 7-8334

Symphony would do just that, and that most of those who turned on their radios at 7 for the Symphonette, the Railroad Hour, and so on would turn them off at 10.

Certainly Monday at 10 is more accessible than Saturday at 6:30, when people in the east are busy with their children or their dinners and people in the west, where it is 5:30 and 4:30 and 3:30, are still at work. But N. B. C., when it sold the Sunday-at-5 spot, got Toscanini to believe that more people listened Saturday at 6:30; hence he has moved his broadcasts from Monday at 10 back to Saturday at 6:30; and already a Kansas City reader has told me they are over by the time he gets home from work, a Buffalo reader has reported that the performance of Verdi's Requiem was defectively rebroadcast from 15-minute records a week later at 4:30, and so on.

Worse still, even the live broadcast of the Requiem, though it came now from Carnegie Hall, transmitted loud passages like the Dies Irae with the chorus sounding near and *fff* but the orchestra—e.g. those claps of thunder from the bass drums in the Dies Irae—sounding *p* a mile away. A week later the Beethoven program had to be broadcast from a tape recording which produced a muffled falsification of the beautiful performances. The program a week later came through with something like the sound that should come from Carnegie Hall, but still not what came the next day in the C. B. S. broadcast of the Philharmonic.

CONTRIBUTORS

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH is Brander Matthews Professor of Dramatic Literature at Columbia University.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ has published several books of poetry and fiction and is an editor of *Partisan Review.*

FRANCES KEENE, formerly with the OWI in Rome, edited "Neither Liberty Nor Bread," the only documented history of fascism as told by the opposition.

FREDERIC RAMSEY, JR., is joint author and editor of three books on American jazz music. He reviews music regularly for *Charm.*

GERALD SYKES will shortly publish a novel, "The Nice American."

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Politics and Clemency

Dear Sirs: I appreciated the ironic note in your comment on the clemency recently granted to Nazi war criminals when you stated that "it will not be long before mass murder ranks with overtime parking as a minor misdemeanor" (*The Nation*, February 10)

The New York *Times's* editorial appraisal of February 2 is equally ironic but for different reasons. Its writer points out that the reprieved prisoners "have had three years of mental suffering whose intensity it is hard to measure." He says, furthermore, that "it is difficult for civilized people to kill in cold blood long after the offense was committed." And, finally, he reminds us that "there is politics—or, if one likes, diplomacy—in these decisions. . . . They show a compromise between justice and expediency."

Is it expedient to hasten the rearmament of Germany? If so, the release of these criminals hardly seems the way to go about it. Perhaps McCloy's action indicates that we now trust these men or their henchmen, the former Nazis who are members of the Bundestag, to be our faithful allies. Or perhaps through our mercy and justice we hope to obtain the sincere support of those Germans who may have responded to our efforts at democratization.

General Eisenhower on February 1 cautioned Congress that it should consider the drawbacks of arming our former enemy. He warned that there has to be "an understanding that will contemplate an eventual and an earned equality on the part of that nation before we should talk about including units of Germans in any kind of army. Certainly I, for one commander, want no unwilling contingents, no soldier serving in the pattern of Hessions . . . in any army of my command. It would only be a source of weakness."

In the same speech Eisenhower praised the countries of Western Europe for submitting to increased austerity in order to rearm. These are the countries we have had to persuade to back the remilitarization of Germany, to convince that the brutality of Nazi arms need no longer be feared. If the "three years of mental suffering" have been a hard lesson to the Nazi prisoners, the terrifying years of occupation certainly must have taught Europeans that neither "politics" nor "diplomacy" should prompt clemency.

The *Times* stops short of condoning the actual crimes, but it fails to grasp what effects the release of their perpetrators may have both in Germany and in the rest of Europe.

LESTER MORGAN

New York, January 12

Jobless War Criminals

Dear Sirs: The release of a number of the condemned Nazi war criminals prompts me to refer to an incident indicating the kind of mentality which many Americans have brought to this particular problem.

Sometime in 1945, before V-E Day, a committee of men in the Research and Analysis Branch of the Office of Strategic Services sat down to discuss a report on German industrialists who had played leading roles in bringing the Nazis to power and in helping the Hitler government to wage war. The list, as I recall, was extensive.

The author of the report had not only named these men and described their activities but sought to determine what was criminal in their activities and to postulate a punishment. As I recall the report and the meeting, one of the mildest of his suggestions was summary dismal of these men from their positions.

At this point an army officer who was sitting in on the meeting asked: "What's the average age of these men that you suggest should be thrown out of their jobs?" The OSS man replied: "About sixty to sixty-five, I should guess." To this the army officer said: "Sixty to sixty-five, eh? How will men that old ever be able to earn a living if we throw them out of their jobs?"

FORMER OSS MAN

Detroit, Mich., February 9

BLUEBERRY JAM

Made from the finest cultivated blueberries and pure sugar—cooked in small batches in gleaming copper kettles—a real home-made delicacy. Unsurpassed for taste and freshness—makes a wonderful gift. 1 Box—Six 11-oz. Jars Pure Blueberry Jam—$3.75. Shipped prepaid anywhere in U. S. but add 25¢ west of the Mississippi. No COD's please. If not satisfied, money back immediately. Send your order now.

BLUEBERRY HILL PLANTATION
Dept. N-224, RR-2, Paw Paw, Michigan

Exhibition of Hypocrisy

Dear Sirs: The New York *Herald Tribune* on February 8 ran an item headed "Truman Links Foreign Policy to Moral Code," a release of the President's talk to a group of Illinois Methodist ministers. The essence of the speech is contained in the following excerpt:

The United States government has no ambitions as a colonial power or as an exploiter of other people or other races. Our only ambition is to see that the people in the world have the things that are necessary to make life worth while and that they have and live by the moral code in which we believe.

By comparison this exhibition of hypocrisy makes the "white man's burden" slogan of Great Britain's heyday an almost amateurish expression of imperialist cant. Can it be possible that none of these fifty Methodist divines was struck by the irony of such a statement made almost coincidentally with the legal lynchings of the Martinsville Seven, Eisenhower's invitation to the Nazis to "let bygones be bygones," the release of Krupp, and the celebration of this happy event with a champagne breakfast? Certainly if any moral revulsion stirred in the ministerial breasts it was prudently concealed from their host. In other circles the President's Pecksniffian announcement aroused the fear that if certain wrong-headed peoples are unwilling to adopt our "moral code" we may intend to drop the atom bomb as our contribution to their ethical education. MURIEL SYMINGTON

Brooklyn, N. Y., February 11

Chain of Influence

Dear Sirs: Week after week Willard Shelton, J. Alvarez del Vayo, Howard K. Smith report that our friends and allies in the United Nations have valid doubts about American policies which may prevent further negotiation with Red China and with Russia on German rearmament. There is one question I find myself asking as I read these disturbing accounts in *The Nation*:

Are these excellent and dispassionate articles ever read by the high officials who currently shape our policy? Would it not be possible for certain subscribers who may be close to these officials to set up a chain of influence and pass these comments on to those who need it most? CHRISTINE WISE

Appleton, Wis., February 6

Dangerous Phenomenon

Dear Sirs: In my article Pressures and Pictures II (*The Nation*, February 10) I referred to the phenomenon of "McCarthy-McCulloughism." Somehow this appeared as "McCarthy-McCarranism." I was referring to the lady in Connecticut who hounded Paul Draper, pointing up the danger in the parallel rise of the civilian blackmailer and the elected bloodhound. GILBERT SELDES

New York, February 13

Tax Solution

Dear Sirs: With our daily press and radio conditioning the average American to accept a federal sales tax, *must* you help by publishing Charles E. Noyes's article Taxes Versus Controls (January 13)? Noyes admits that a general manufacturers' sales tax "does bear most heavily on those who can least afford to pay it." But, he says, "it is a comparatively easy way to raise a lot of money, and it has some advantages over the very considerable rise in personal-income-tax rates which would be required to raise as much."

Shouldn't *The Nation* point out that the wage-earner group is the only group that pays all the income tax it should pay. Professional and small business people can always find ways to "chisel." And no Treasury Department field man can track down all the accounting ins and outs of our large corporations.

Better still, shouldn't *The Nation* point out that whenever we pass and enforce a tax law that will limit the incomes of individuals to $25,000 and business profits to 10 per cent after taxes, enough money and to spare will be available to meet the cost of defense, and the cost itself will be lowered?

ROBERT KARGER

Lakeside, Cal., January 31

Clothes for Refugees

Dear Sirs: Charles R. Joy's article (in *The Nation*, January 27) on the plight of the Spanish refugees in France confirms what I heard from Pablo Casals, the great cellist, when I visited him in Prades in southern France last September. Mr. Casals is deeply concerned to help his unfortunate compatriots. When I asked him if donations of clothes could be used, he said they would be greatly appreciated and he would see that they were distributed. Since then I have sent a number of boxes of clothing to him. If any of your readers would care to make similar donations, they may send their gifts to me at 119 West Fifty-seventh St., New York. Or if they wish, they may send their donations directly to Mr. Casals at 1 Route du Canigou, Prades (Pyrenées Orientales), France. Parcels should not measure more than seventy-two inches around or weigh over forty-four pounds. VIRGINIA DAVIS

New York, February 4

BOOKS

CONTOUR SERIES: editions of original movie librettos. First issue, **"The Old Easterday House."** Romance linking old Chicago with the new. Send one dollar to Hill Press, 1108 Madison, Maywood, Ill.

ALL LANGUAGES BY RECORDS

LEARN easily, inexpensively at home. ALL MAKES. Sold, bought, rented. ALIN, 475 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C. MU 3-1093.

IT'S EASY TO LEARN A LANGUAGE BY LINGUAPHONE

At home, in leisure time, quickly, easily, correctly master Russian, French, German, an Oriental language—any one of 29 languages through LINGUAPHONE World's Standard Conversational Method. Send for FREE book. State if veteran.

LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE
8102 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y.

TYPING SERVICE

MANUSCRIPT TYPING, theses, medical articles. Speed, intelligence, economy. AMBASSADOR OFFICE SERVICE, 17 East 48th Street. PLaza 5-1127.

PERSONAL

CAUGHT: student needs money, food, retain integrity and sanity against "Progress" and Nationalism. Box 346, Madison, Wisc.

THREE CHEERS TO CLEM FOR NATIONALIZING STEEL!
MANY CHEERS TO THE FABIAN SOCIETY!
MANY CHEERS TO THE LABOR PARTY OF ENGLAND!

¶ For the first time in the history of man a bloodless revolution has occurred by law! For the first time in the history of man has a huge transfer of economic power occurred by law! For the first time in the history of man has a ruling class dissolved by law for a better ruling class!

¶ What a magnificent achievement!

LONG LIVE THE DYNAMIC EVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF THE LABOR PARTY OF ENGLAND!
LONG LIVE CLEM!

G. Bourbaki

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 3, 1951 NUMBER 9

The Shape of Things

SENATOR FULBRIGHT'S COMMITTEE THAT IS investigating the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was correct in interpreting as a "counter-attack" President Truman's sudden request for the letters the RFC had received from Congressmen with respect to loans. If the committee carries out its implied promise to publish these letters, despite the White House admission that they reveal no "illegality," the ultimate effect should be to strengthen the hand of the investigators. Whether or not illegal acts have been committed, it is obvious from the committee's interim reports that the RFC has been subjected to political and personal pressures with regard to some of its loans, if not to its broad policies. It may be that the committee went out of its way to include in its most recent report the name of Donald S. Dawson, a White House administrative assistant, although it piously protested that it expressed "no opinion as to the propriety" of his alleged influence within the RFC. But enough has been revealed of the operations of professional influence peddlers to bring the lending agency into disrepute. The President did not help matters by first describing the Fulbright report as "asinine" and then proposing a reorganization of the RFC identical in its main outlines with that proposed by the committee. In the present circumstances a mere reorganization is no guaranty that the RFC will resume its proper function as an independent agency, operating without fear or favor. The farther the Fulbright committee can go in exposing political maneuvering and the use of pressure, whether by Congressmen or the Administration or lawyers close to the RFC management, the greater the chance that a reorganized agency can regain public confidence. Mr. Dawson would be wise to reconsider his earlier decision and voluntarily appear before the committee to reply to the inuendoes in its report. We hope that the committee, so anxious last week to obtain a duplicate of the file of Congressional letters collected for the President, will not falter in its decision to make the letters public. The more the people can learn about the RFC the better.

✶

MR. CHURCHILL'S LATEST DEPTH CHARGE may prove to be the most deadly of the series with which he has been trying to sink the half-submerged Labor government. His protest against the planned appointment of an American admiral to head the Atlantic Pact naval forces has as strong an appeal to left-wingers, who resent the way in which the United States is "throwing its weight around," as to the Blimps of the far right. The tradition of Britain's naval supremacy is still very potent, and even though in these days its fleet is admittedly inferior in size to that of the United States, every Briton is convinced that it is superior in all other respects. "To command the western waters," says the right-wing *Daily Mail* editorially, "is Britain's responsibility and right, won in blood sacrifice and sea superiority against all comers since the Normans." "Instinct as well as judgment rebels," echoes the liberal *News Chronicle*, "when it is proposed that a significant part of our naval strength should be controlled by a commander who is not British." Attempting to defend the appointment of Admiral William M. Fechteler, Prime Minister Attlee floundered rather unhappily, obviously aware that the sentiment of the Commons was against him. He explained that the matter had been discussed in the Atlantic Treaty Organization and that "no power has an absolute right to dictate its views as to any appointment." But he failed to dispose of the suspicion that the United States had in fact dictated this particular decision, and under heavy pressure he was forced to agree to "look into this matter again." If he is unable to get any satisfaction from Washington, Churchill may use the incident as a basis for another no-confidence vote. But that would involve the opposition leader in rather tricky waters, for he would have to avoid direct criticism of Washington while seeking to show that if he were in power, he would exert greater influence there than Mr. Attlee.

✶

BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY BASED ON THE idea of step-by-step progress toward self-government has just passed a test in the Gold Coast and now faces another and more difficult one. The Gold Coast is the wealthiest and most advanced of Britain's African possessions, and constant agitation for radical reform has gone on there since the war. The demand has been most effectively crystallized by the Convention People's Party, whose principal plank is "self-government now," and which has been held responsible for several serious outbreaks of rioting. Nevertheless, the Colonial Office persevered with its plans, and last year a new constitution was adopted in accordance with the recommendations of a committee composed entirely of Africans. This pro-

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 193
Return to Scholasticism? 195
Sulphuric Diplomacy 196

ARTICLES

Wilson's One-Man War *by Willard Shelton* 197
How Europe Looks at Asia *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 198
New Hope in Heart Failure *by Leonard Engel* 199
The Vatican Versus the Public Schools. III. Crisis in French Schools *by Paul Blanshard* 201
The "World": In Memoriam *by Howard Cushman* 204
Everybody's Business: DiSalle's Worst Headache *by Keith Hutchison* 206

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Koestler as Pedagogue *by Perry Miller* 207
Ingersoll, Folk Hero *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 207
"Yesterday's Enemy" *by Santha Rama Rau* 208
More Poems by Dr. Williams *by Hayden Carruth* 209
Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 210
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 210
LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 212
CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 402 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 212

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Contributing Editor: Robert Bendiner
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

vided for a large measure of parliamentary government, subject to some powers reserved to the British governor, and for adult manhood suffrage in the towns and the more advanced southern territories of the colony. Elections recently held show conclusively that fears of pressure or intimidation by the British administration were groundless. Thirty-four of the thirty-eight elected members of the new Parliament are adherents of the Convention People's Party whose leader, Kwami Nkrumah, with five of his cohorts, was in prison for sedition. This party can lay claim to a number of seats on the executive council. Kwami Nkrumah, who has now been released from prison, and his colleagues will therefore be in a position either to sabotage the new constitution or to use it as a stepping-stone to still greater measures of self-government. The British theory is that responsibility will soften militant nationalism. It is a bold experiment, especially in view of Nkrumah's demagogic tendencies, but the risk of attempting to maintain the status quo would be still greater.

✶

HOPES FOR A SOLUTION OF THE UNITED Nations labor difficulties increased over the week-end as a result of the attention given by the Secretariat chiefs to the complaints raised by the personnel. It will be recalled that the dispute started when a half-dozen employees were dismissed under disturbing circumstances. Three were officers of the U. N. Staff Association, and the question of the right of the personnel to act through the association in defense of their interests—in other words, to regard it as regular labor union—immediately became the predominant issue. At the same time it was suspected that political motives had played some part in the firings. Especially since the Korean war began, members of the Secretariat had become aware of a kind of political surveillance over those who were critical of the course followed by the United Nations under American pressure. Rumors of secret investigations, of telephones tapped, of mail interfered with had begun to create an uneasy atmosphere, which was intensified when three of the nine officers of the U. N. Staff Association were dismissed. At a meeting of the association last Thursday, attended by nine hundred members, a compromise proposal reconciling the views of the administration and of the staff was overwhelmingly approved. It is to be hoped that Secretary General Lie, if only to honor his past as a labor leader, will throw the weight of his authority behind the demands of the staff for greater independence and security.

✶

WITH DEFENSE PRODUCTION RISING AND the man-power pool shrinking, large-scale employers of farm labor are again on a mad man-hunting safari. As was forecast in *The Nation* more than a year ago, Cali-

fornia farmers want to import 6,000 Filipinos from Hawaii. They offer to lend these workers the price of one-way transportation to California and to pay wages at "the prevailing rate." The catch, of course, is that the prevailing rate will be whatever the employers decide to pay the Filipinos after they have arrived. If the monotonous history of such schemes is repeated, the rate will be considerably less than the wages paid resident farm workers. Reports from Texas and other areas indicate that, with the controls on cotton production removed, farmers this year will be "planting cotton from fence row to fence row." Spokesmen for the growers have already demanded that the government import 500,000 Puerto Rican, Hawaiian, and Mexican farm workers—almost exactly the number of Mexican nationals who were "deported" last year. The California Range Association, meanwhile, is extremely annoyed that the McCarran act has interfered with its plans to import 250 Basque shepherds, most of whom are members of the Spanish Falangist Party. It will be recalled that last year President Truman and Governor Earl Warren of California appointed commissions "to study and report on" the perennial problem of migratory farm labor. The reports of both commissions will now be shelved "for the duration of the emergency," as dozens of similar reports have been shelved since the turn of the century.

Return to Scholasticism?

EXCERPTS from a recently published report of the New York City Board of Education, bearing the dry-as-dust title "Source Materials in Curriculum Development," have been seized upon by Roman Catholic educators as one more bit of evidence to support their church's official stand that public education is godless, atheistic, and false. Specifically, a committee composed of members of the Education Department of Fordham University has protested against a passage that praises the "current philosophy of education, which has discarded scholastic philosophy and its concepts of complete knowledge and an unchangeable society in favor of a democratic and scientific view of man and society . . ." Dr. William H. Bristow, who supervised the publication of the pamphlet, denied that it was an attack on any religion, and referred the critics to a standard reference book which defines scholasticism as ". . . a general form of knowing divorced from any subject matter; it is logic-chopping without objective in experience; making distinctions definitions, divisions, and classifications for the mere sake of making them."

The good doctor may have thought that by supplying this unattractive description of medieval thinking he would terminate the incipient controversy, for surely not even a Catholic educator would wish to defend so archaic a theory. The response from the outraged seminarians was brief: "Scholastic philosophy is a system of principles subscribed to by the Roman Catholic church." Therefore, was the unmistakable implication, *any* criticism constitutes lèse majesté. At this writing, distribution of the booklet has been halted while the offending sentences are "restudied"; Dr. Bristow is sticking to his guns; press comment, for the time being, has ended.

It would be surprising indeed if this were to close the incident, for Catholic power in New York City, as this magazine can readily affirm, is very great, and the church's war against public education is unending. (See Paul Blanshard's article on page 201 of this issue.) Considering attendance at public schools sinful for Catholic children, the church has always pushed the building of parochial schools. But since many of its youthful communicants have no choice, Catholic teachers, principals, and supervisors in the public schools are exhorted to apply the tests of their religion in dealing with teaching materials and in preparing administrative procedures, and diocesan officials have never been reserved about attacking any technique of the public schools which differed in its approach from that approved by the church. As a result, the line between church and state, with regard to public education, has been all but obliterated in many communities where the number of Catholic students is sizable.

Perhaps the simplest solution would be to follow the suggestion made in these pages last week in discussing the question of censorship of movies. Rather than subject ourselves to recurring fights with the hierarchy over the curriculum and teaching methods of the public schools, why not submit all matters concerning education to the local bishop for his prior approval? We would, to be sure, be relinquishing the invaluable treasure of truly free education, but in the light of what is happening in a covert fashion, in too many places, it might inspire greater honesty. And then it might be pleasant to know in advance what to expect instead of being forced to wait until the district Chancellery has spoken.



[For answer see page 196]

Sulphuric Diplomacy

London, February 22

DIPLOMATIC correspondents had difficulty in explaining why the British delegation at the U. N. collapsed at the last moment and voted for branding Communist China an aggressor. On the previous Thursday anxious Britons, eager to see one more attempt at negotiations, were assured that this was also the government's desire. But when the resolution came up on Monday, the promised rearguard action against American insistence had evaporated.

"I smell sulphur," said one famous government economist cryptically. He would not explain at the time. Since then it has emerged that Britain's shortage of sulphur, cotton, and other raw materials greatly hampered its ability to maneuver against the United States.

The raw-materials shortage has already caused two important Cabinet Ministers to cross the Atlantic and may send a third. Hugh Gaitskell, Chancellor of the Exchequer, went to Washington to discuss it last September. The subject was high on Mr. Attlee's agenda when he flew to Washington in December. And Harold Wilson, President of the Board of Trade, would probably be on his knees in Washington now if the government's narrow margin in the House of Commons were larger.

The shortage of sulphur, above all, is forcing government experts to admit that the expansion of British productivity may be cut in half in 1951. As Hugh Gaitskell underlined in his revealing speech in the House of Commons on February 15, Britain's ability to obtain raw materials "is the most important factor in determining the success or failure of our effort to sustain a great defense program while preserving the basic strength of our economy. To the average citizen sulphur suggests old-style matches or the "brimstone and treacle" that used to be given for coughs. But as the industrial engineer knows, sulphur and its derivative, sulphuric acid, are widely used in the manufacture of iron and steel, rayon, paints, dyestuffs, chemicals, and in oil refining.

In his Commons speech Mr. Gaitskell made clear what the difficulty has been:

> Approximately 90 per cent of the world's export of sulphur comes from the United States. About two and a half years ago the American sulphur producer intimated that because of the way in which their reserves were running out, they could not see their way clear to provide more sulphur for acid manufacture than would be required for plants then operating or in course of erection. . . . But no suggestion was made until June, 1950, that they would be unable to meet requirements within the limit imposed. We imposed cuts accordingly. Unfortunately, in December last the American government felt that they had to institute export controls for sulphur in order to conserve their natural resources of this material.

By early December Britain's sulphur stocks had dropped 20,000 tons, and the Minister of Defense, Emanuel Shinwell, was saying that "it might not be possible to fulfil our commitments for the defenses in the West, and we might find ourselves in a situation where unemployment might emerge." In Mr. Attlee's December 14 report to Parliament on his Washington talks he made it clear that one of his chief reasons for going was to make Mr. Truman realize Britain's precarious raw-material situation.

> An aspect [of economic questions] to which we devoted much attention was the supply and utilization of our raw materials. There is already heavy pressure on certain raw materials, and we have been feeling a great deal of anxiety about our supplies. . . . In the course of our discussions we pointed out how vital this question was to the United Kingdom, whose economy is based on the import of raw materials and food and the export of finished goods to pay for them. . . . On the immediate position we stated that the United Kingdom was faced with critical shortages which were likely to interfere with our production at once, notably zinc and sulphur.

In response to Mr. Attlee's entreaties, the United States agreed to send an emergency shipment of 7,500 tons of sulphur in December and to deliver about 20,000 tons in January. Full consideration of Britain's needs was promised in 1951 allocations. But a recent article by the well-informed parliamentary correspondent of the *Financial Times* said that British officials feel the United States has not fulfilled the promises made by the "highest quarters"—presumably President Truman—in December. And Mr. Gaitskell declared in the Commons:

> The allocation made to us involved a cut of 25 per cent on the already reduced rate of consumption in force during the latter half of 1950 and on that planned for 1951. If we can obtain no increase in supplies, I must tell the House that we face very serious consequences in a number of essential industries. . . . I can only hope that as a result of the meeting of the [raw materials] committee in Washington it will be found possible to release to us, for the time being, and until alternative methods of production of sulphuric acid are available, a larger export allocation from the United States."

It is not suggested that Britain voted with the United States at the U. N. to get more sulphur. But certainly to have a considerable segment of Britain's industry dependent on allocations doled out by Washington is not conducive to even a semi-independent foreign policy. And Britain is not the only West European industrial nation dependent chiefly on America for sulphur.

ANDREW ROTH

Answer to Who's Who?—Henry Wallace, Andrei Vishinsky

Wilson's One-Man War

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, February 24

IN HIS letter of February 20 to the United Labor Policy Committee, Charles E. Wilson said that "charges, counter-charges, and recriminations" might obscure the objectives of the mobilization program and "dismay and alarm" the people. That is perfectly true, and the consequences could be grim. But one wonders whether Wilson realizes that his own dictatorial tactics provoked labor's revolt and that if labor had not felt it must protest, some other group would soon have challenged the way he has exercised his vast grant of power. It may, indeed, be asked whether his usefulness has not been destroyed.

Starting as a boy in the shipping room of General Electric, Wilson climbed to the presidency. He is recognized as a first-class production man, and obviously he made no serious mistakes which might have lost him the favor of corporation policy-makers. Yet in less than two months in Washington he has driven labor leaders to fury, incurred the enmity of able and experienced people in the old-line federal agencies, been rebuked by the farm organizations for pointedly ignoring them, and displayed such breezy self-confidence that careful reporters have written of his "bull-it through" attitude and his "arrogance."

When he was asked early in his regime who would handle man-power problems, he tapped himself on the chest and said, "I will." Asked what he planned to do about farm prices and the problems created by the parity formula, he said he would tackle them in a day or two, and gave the impression that he thought they could be settled by a decision in his office. After further questioning he admitted that Congressional action was required and that terrific conflicting pressures would make a solution difficult. When a small group of reporters asked whether he was really not planning to include a labor leader among his top advisers, he naively remarked that he would be glad to do so if someone would suggest a man of ability. Apparently he did not value the special skills a man needs to build a million-member union, administer its affairs, conduct its bargaining, calculate nicely the use of pressure, hold the union together against all the centrifugal forces threatening to split it apart. Men of ability, he seemed to assume, were the men he knew in banking and industry, men who had mastered the techniques described in Burnham's "The Managerial Revolution."

Presumably the labor dispute will eventually be patched up, although the union leaders received no assurance of a satisfactory compromise in conferences with Eric Johnston or in an angry meeting with Wilson. But even if a compromise is worked out, labor's confidence in Wilson will not be easily restored. The union leaders saw him tolerate an effort to freeze wages in advance of any promise of effective price controls, with no assurance that inequities would be considered, with no machinery set up to settle disputes. They saw the representatives of industry refuse to accept machinery comparable to that used in wage disputes during World War II. Moreover, General Electric's labor-relations staff, in a weekly news letter circulated to company foremen, has mocked labor's demand for recognition in the mobilization agencies, attacked federal statutes protecting workers, and complained that in 1942-45 the War Labor Board granted too many of the unions' demands. Mr. Wilson is no longer connected with G. E., but he appointed the labor-relations director, L. E. Boulware, who still runs things there. Last August, while Wilson was in control of the company, General Electric—according to the business magazine, *Forbes*, in its issue of January 1—"lost much of its standing in the labor-relations field" through "unfortunate handling" of a strike and a "haughty attitude which almost ruined years of work."

As much as specific acts it was a "haughty attitude" that provoked the labor revolt. If Wilson's manner toward the union leaders has not been openly contemptuous, it has at least been impatient and brusque. When he did appoint a labor advisory committee a month ago, he chose its members without consulting the unions, and revisions had to be made. When the committee suggested that it meet him twice a month, Wilson said he thought once a month was often enough. When he belatedly offered to appoint a labor leader to a high post in his agency—in a letter dated February 15 but not postmarked until 5 p. m. February 16, just before the union spokesmen quit the Wage Stabilization Board—his signature was rubber-stamped. These are trivia, perhaps, but together they caused anger to mount.

THE old-line agencies may be the next to rebel, or to join in a hostile cabal. In disregarding labor's protests against his direct operation of man-power controls, Wilson stepped on the toes of Secretary of Labor Tobin and Assistant Defense Secretary Anna Rosenberg. Other able and experienced people in the government—among them Leon Keyserling, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers—have been consulted only when Wilson has run into trouble.

He is now inviting the same kind of explosion in farm groups that he has already experienced from labor. He must either duck the issue of food prices, abandoning effective wage control, or try to develop an equitable farm program with the advice and consent of the farm-bloc leaders. Three organizations this week pointed out that there is no farmers' spokesman in the Defense Mobilization Office. Does Wilson think that he and his small coterie of specialists from the banking and in-

dustrial community can handle this political hot potato alone? If he recognizes the difficulties, why did he not move promptly to get the high-level and practical advisers who could help him?

As a private individual Wilson may be, as some say, a gentle and modest man. But in his official capacity he has lunged at every obstacle with hardfisted ruthlessness. He began by demanding, and getting, an unprecedented grant of power from the President, "including but not limited to" control of production, procurement, manpower, stabilization, and transport. He has acted in every instance as if he intended to stretch the terms of this mandate to the utmost. But in our democracy the clashes of interest between groups arise from deep-lying economic and political realities, and the necessary adjustments can be worked out only through mutual understanding and voluntary consent. A defense-mobilization chief who unnecessarily alienates the leaders of 15,000,000 wage-earners has made an extraordinarily bad start.

How Europe Looks at Asia

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

AMERICANS may think that Europe is old and decrepit, and compared with the United States like a Model-T Ford beside a gleaming 1951 Cadillac, that it has no industrial initiative, no will to work or fight. But they cannot deny that Europeans retain their power of analysis. Americans may be interested, therefore, in how Europeans specializing in Far Eastern problems look at Asia. The summary which follows reflects the views expressed in current articles and comments in the Continental press, both moderate and left.

Discussion has naturally focused on China, especially since the advance of the United Nations forces to the borders of Manchuria drew Communist China into the war in Korea. In a country like France, conscious of its mistakes and burdens in Indo-China, the attitude may be influenced by the government's position or by patriotic sentiment, but even in France, and much more in countries without colonial commitments, it is generally acknowledged that China has become a great power and must be treated as such.

To imagine that this immense country, freed of the overlordship of the West, full of confidence in its new-found strength, hardened by thirty years of continuous warfare, with the vigor and élan of a revolutionary regime recently come to power, could ever be reconquered for the colonial interests with the aid of Chiang Kai-shek and his Formosan army seems to the average European the height of madness. The progress of socialism in China is accepted, and no chance of stopping it is seen. The position of Mao Tse-tung is considered impregnable, his strength derived from three facts whose tremendous influence cannot be questioned. First, China, having become a great power, is not subject to the control of any other nation but is master of its own destiny. Second, China's rise to the status of a great power has coincided with its adoption of socialism and is being carried out with all the enthusiasm and energy that are engendered by a successful revolution. Third, everything that is happening in China conforms to the general trend in Asia. In the opinion of the best-informed Europeans, therefore, it is ridiculous to think that the Peking government can be overthrown by sending against it the 300,000 men that Chiang now commands or by contributing vast sums to what remains of the discredited Nationalist regime.

The old relationship between Europe and Asia was upset a long time ago. Historians differ about the precise moment when the new phase began. Some say it was inaugurated in 1905, with the first defeat of a European power, czarist Russia, by an Asiatic nation, Japan. Others place the turning point in 1929—and that is my view.

What happened in 1929 that had such an impact on Asia? In this year the Soviet Union launched its first Five-Year Plan. (I was in Moscow at the time and met there some of the leading personalities of present-day China.) In all parts of the world peoples which had depended for their subsistence on the crumbs from the table of the great powers that exploited them were aroused by Russia's example. They saw what a backward country could accomplish by organizing its own capacities and depending on its own resources; they saw that by making superhuman efforts such a country could get along without foreign aid. People outside America want their own, not the American, way of life—a fact too often forgotten in this country.

A new Asia is emerging, whose potentialities can be rightly assayed only in a long historical perspective. The process will be different in different places. In some parts of Asia the parallel aspirations for national and economic independence will manifest themselves more quickly than in others. But these temporary contradictions do not compromise the diagnosis. Nor should its accuracy be questioned because India—whose political structure is of course different from Communist China's—in a moment of distress must ask the West for wheat. Nor does the thesis of Asian self-dependence conflict with the proposed plan for economic cooperation, with comprehensive trade treaties, between East and West, along the lines advocated by Gunnar Myrdal. Such a plan, as I have often suggested, offers the best way to reduce the present tension and provide an outlet for Western capital.

When the idea of planning as a means of achieving independence is introduced into Asiatic thinking, it

comes into conflict—as Tibor Mende says in the liberal French monthly *Esprit*—with the principle of free enterprise, and thus with the dominant concept of America. M. Mende takes up the case of the Filipinos, and after a lengthy examination of the Bell Report, which in his opinion proves the failure of free enterprise as applied to an Asian country, concludes that "if the United States takes account [of what is happening] and acts accordingly, it will be forced to sanction in Asia the kind of socialist economic planning which in America is considered the supreme heresy." However, no evidence of any such intention is found in the decision to brand Communist China an aggressor or in the growing demand by a powerful section of the American right to reinstate the Chiang regime, which in the opinion of these European experts is dead for keeps.

New Hope in Heart Failure

BY LEONARD ENGEL

A GLANCE at the obituary page of a daily newspaper furnishes abundant evidence that coronary thrombosis—the formation of a blood clot in the arteries of the heart muscle—is one of the outstanding medical problems. Coronary thrombosis is responsible for more deaths in the United States than any other single cause, except perhaps high blood pressure, and while it occurs most frequently among men and women past sixty years of age, it also strikes down active men in their forties and fifties—for some unknown reason, women under sixty are not often affected. Since the average age of the population is increasing, coronary thrombosis is likely to remain a leading cause of death. Two recent developments, however, offer a measure of hope. The first, a new method of treatment, promises to save a third of those stricken. The second, the discovery of an unusual class of substances in the blood of persons with coronary thrombosis or with one of several other related disorders, may throw light on how the stage is set for the catastrophe.

The promising new method of treatment is the use of drugs which reduce the coagulating property of blood. These anti-coagulants do not dissolve thrombi (clots) once they have formed, but they minimize the formation of new ones and greatly reduce the tendency of thrombi to break up into emboli (daughter clots) which may be carried through the bloodstream to the arteries serving the lungs, where they can cause a fatal block. The drugs' effects are of great value, for the majority of people survive the first thrombus and are usually carried off by a subsequent one or a lung embolism.

Heparin, one of the anti-coagulants, was found in liver—it has since been extracted from other organs as well—in 1916 by a second-year medical student, Jay McLean, in the laboratory of the great Johns Hopkins physiologist, William H. Howell. It remained essentially a laboratory curiosity until the late 1930's, when a Canadian, C. H. Best, the co-discoverer of insulin, carried out a systematic study of its effects on animals and thus paved the way for its use in medicine. The second anti-coagulant, dicumarol, was discovered a short time later after some spectacular biochemical sleuthing. Agricultural researchers in Alberta and North Dakota had previously traced a costly hemorrhagic disease of cattle to spoiled sweet-clover hay. With the assistance of an enthusiastic group of graduate students and young instructors, Karl Paul Link of the University of Wisconsin finally identified the cause of the disease as an anti-coagulant substance formed during spoilage from coumarin, the chemical that gives new-mown sweet-clover hay its characteristic fragrance.

THE experience of the next several years demonstrated that both heparin and dicumarol could be extremely useful in a wide variety of serious disorders. Swedish physicians, who were the first to use anti-coagulants on a large scale, found, for example, that injections of heparin in the mother for several days after the delivery of a child almost entirely eliminated "milk leg"—the formation of a clot in a leg vein—one of the common hazards of childbirth. Heparin proved equally effective in minimizing venous thrombosis, which follows about one of every hundred major operations and is a big contributor to post-operative mortality rates. American doctors obtained similar results with dicumarol. With its aid the incidence of milk leg in the obstetrical wards of Mercy Hospital, Baltimore, was cut from .48 to .06 per cent. Another group of physicians at the Mayo Clinic used dicumarol in 1,686 surgical cases, and instead of the 58 deaths from the thrombo-embolic complications that might have been expected, there was only one.

Anti-coagulant therapy for coronary thrombosis received probably its most valuable test three years ago in a carefully controlled study carried on in sixteen leading hospitals under the sponsorship of the American Heart Association and the United States Public Health Service. Of 1,031 patients with coronary thrombosis, half were given the usual treatment and half the usual treatment

LEONARD ENGEL writes frequently for The Nation *on new developments in science.*

plus anti-coagulants. The death rate among those treated with anti-coagulants was only two-thirds as high as that among the others.

Despite their obvious power to save lives, anti-coagulants have still to come into general use, largely because of certain practical difficulties. Heparin is expensive; since its effects last only a few hours, injections have to be repeated frequently; painful sores may develop at the points of injection. Dicumarol is cheap enough and is given by mouth. Its effects, however, vary widely from patient to patient and, indeed, in the same patient from day to day; dosage schedules, consequently, cannot be standardized. In order to avoid provoking a hemorrhage, it is necessary to check the coagulability of the blood frequently. This involves a time-consuming procedure, "prothrombin time determination," which few hospitals are staffed to perform, and which few patients can pay for. One of the best hospitals in the country, Peter Bent Brigham Hospital of Boston, made the experiment of using its regular staff instead of specially trained personnel to administer anti-coagulants to several hundred coronary patients. There were no accidental hemorrhages, but—probably because doses were too small, through an excess of caution—there was no drop in the death rate either.

Some of these difficulties are being overcome. A number of improved anti-coagulants, including a longer effective heparin preparation and a new dicumarol derivative, tromexan, as well as several synthetics, have been developed and are being introduced into practice. Even more important, the prothrombin time test has been simplified by the preparation of ready-made test reagents. With their aid the test can now be performed by any properly trained laboratory technician, and hospital technicians are getting the needed training under a nation-wide Public Health Service program. In time most hospitals will be able to undertake routine use of anti-coagulants.

THE long-term effects of administering anti-coagulants in cases of coronary thrombosis will not be known for some years. The problem, however, does not permit holding back until all the answers are in. While it is doubtful that coronary thrombosis is becoming more frequent in younger age groups, as is widely supposed—the disease was first recognized less than forty years ago, and doctors are still learning to diagnose it—it claims some 200,000 lives annually in this country, and the toll is rising. Thus anti-coagulants may grant at least a temporary reprieve to 60,000 persons or more a year.

In the meantime a real clue toward an understanding of the disease has turned up in the laboratories of the University of California. The formation of coronary thrombi is almost always preceded by narrowing of the coronary arteries by a form of arteriosclerosis, known as atherosclerosis, in which plaques of fatty material are deposited in the arteries. The fatty deposits alone are capable of causing a fatal plugging of the heart arteries. Thrombi are found, however, in the coronary arteries of most persons who die of coronary-artery block and are doubtless the immediate cause of death. Atherosclerosis paves the way for clotting by impeding the blood flow.

It has been known for several decades that the fat-like substance in atherosclerotic deposits is cholesterol, a prominent element of the blood. A few years ago it was suggested that an excess of cholesterol in the blood was responsible for the fatty deposits in the arteries. The trouble with this thesis was that many people with a quite large amount of cholesterol in the blood lived to a ripe old age without developing atherosclerosis, and that many who evidenced marked degeneration of the arteries early in life had a normal or even less than normal amount. The contradiction was not resolved until last year, when John W. Gofman and his associates at the University of California found that the cholesterol in the fatty plaques is bound up with a special chemical configuration, and that molecules of the same type are present in the blood of virtually all persons with atherosclerosis. Thus it is not cholesterol but cholestrol in a special form that seems to be associated with atherosclerosis and its complications.

Dr. Gofman's discovery has led a number of doctors and other individuals to leap to large conclusions. None are warranted so far. For example, when Dr. Gofman also found his unusual molecules in the blood of persons with no sign of atherosclerosis, it was said that these persons would soon develop it and that Dr. Gofman had discovered a simple diagnostic test for disease of the arteries. This may be true, but no one will know for five or ten years. Of more immediate moment, we are being advised to eat less milk, butter, whole-milk cheese, egg yolks, organ meats, and other foods relatively high in cholesterol as a means of avoiding artery disease. Low-cholestrerol diets have been tried many times, however, without any evident effect on atherosclerosis beyond what might be expected, in a disease often associated with overweight, from reducing the food intake. In persons of normal weight, moreover, low-cholesterol diets may do some harm, for they are deficient in protein, calcium, and other important nutrients. In any case, cholesterol is produced in the body as well as obtained from food.

The chances are that the unusual molecules found by Dr. Gofman arise from a defect in body chemistry. At present the nature of the defect is unknown, although a link with the sex hormones is suspected because of the relative immunity of younger women to atherosclerosis. The cholesterol defect, in any event, is not the whole story in disease of the coronary arteries. Psychological and emotional factors certainly play a significant

part; the coronary arteries are supplied with nerves and are probably narrowed and widened by nervous influences. A third possible factor is the ceaseless bending and stretching to which the coronary arteries are subjected by the movements of the heart muscle; no other tissues in the body receive such wear and tear. Nevertheless, Dr. Gofman's work is hopeful and important, for it has revealed one of the elements in atherosclerotic deposits, a piece of information which is essential to finding out how they get into the coronary arteries.

The Vatican Versus the Public Schools

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

III. Crisis in French Schools

Paris

ALTHOUGH the European battle-line in the war between the Vatican and public education runs all the way from Dublin to Warsaw, the most interesting sectors are concentrated in the west, especially in France, where the Vatican is attempting to erase the defeat it met in 1905 when France adopted the separation of church and state as a national policy.

The struggle in France is significant for Americans because it affords so many parallels with the American experience. France is nominally a Catholic nation, but it is not certain that Frenchmen are in practice any more Catholic than Americans; some Catholic writers have estimated that not more than one Frenchman in five ever goes near his church except for baptism, marriage, and burial. The United States, with 18 per cent of its population nominally Catholic, is comparable to France with respect to Catholic power. And like the United States, France is still holding the line against public expenditures for Catholic schools. But the struggle in France has reached a more critical stage.

The issue of government support for Catholic schools is being revived at the present time in France partly because the hierarchy feels that the atmosphere is more favorable to the expansion of Catholic power than it has been for forty years. Before World War I French political leaders were usually anti-clerical. Anti-clericalism meant cultural freedom, respect for science, and intellectual integrity. Most Frenchmen were proud that they had achieved emancipation from Vatican control in the long struggle which had begun with the laws of 1881 and 1886 instituting neutral public schools and had culminated in the church-state legislation of 1905, which forbade the control of schools by religious orders and freed the public treasury from levies for priestly salaries.

PAUL BLANSHARD, author of "American Freedom and Catholic Power," recently returned from a year in Europe. In previous articles he has described the struggle between the Vatican and public education in Italy and the Netherlands. An account of the situation in Belgium will appear soon and conclude the series.

Since World War I the tide has swung gradually in the opposite direction. Today French political leaders avoid any criticism of Vatican policy. The downright anti-clericalism of Georges Clemenceau has given place to the pious conformity of such good Catholic leaders of the Popular Republican Movement (M. R. P.) as Robert Schuman and Georges Bidault. Among the explanations given for this shift in French opinion are the intense fear of communism and the traditional resurgence of religious faith in time of war, but probably the fundamental reason is that the Catholic church has stayed on the job year in and year out in every parish in France, whereas the anti-clerical crusaders have come and gone.

It should be remembered also that Vichy gave the Vatican a new lease on life in France from 1940 to 1944. Pétain, with Vatican encouragement, created in conquered France a virtual clerical-fascist state, and one of his most important innovations was the granting of public money to Catholic schools in defiance of the laws of the Third Republic. The Fourth Republic has returned to the principle of the separation of church and state, but its leaders are having a desperate time maintaining the purity of that principle.

FRANCE does not permit any church to teach religion in the public schools or to display religious symbols in classrooms. The public-school system offers free, neutral education to the children of all faiths. As in the United States, the government says to the Catholic hierarchy: "You are free to establish your own school system if it meets certain minimum requirements of the state, but if you establish a competing system of your own, you must not expect the French people to pay for it." As in the United States also, the government "inspection" of Catholic schools is farcical. Upper Catholic schools are not inspected at all, and elementary schools are under only nominal supervision.

The Vatican's formula for dealing with such a situation is rigid. French public schools are "godless" schools because they exclude Catholic religious teaching, and it is the duty of the French hierarchy to conduct a continuous campaign against them. The hierarchy is exerting all its political and religious power to keep Catholic children

out of the French schools and to win direct or indirect financial aid from the government for its own educational system. Its methods are similar to those used in the United States but more extreme. Mothers are directed, not advised, to keep their children away from public schools on pain of the denial of absolution in the confessional—a practice sanctioned by canon law and a special ruling of the Holy Office. In some of the most Catholic sections of France—Maine et Loire, Vendée, Deux Sèvres, Brittany, and Normandy—the priests are strong enough to obtain employment preferences for graduates of Catholic schools. In several Catholic districts the public schools are almost non-existent, and when they do exist, their classrooms are only half full.

The bishops and priests in these regions are very bold in appealing for legal or illegal action against the public school in behalf of their own school system. Discussing the 1948 school crisis in France in such centers as Vendée and Brittany, a writer of the National Catholic Welfare Conference of the United States described the "active protest by the Catholic people in these regions, manifesting itself in public demonstrations, refusal to pay taxes on entertainments and fairs held to support Christian schools, and finally by the strike of municipal authorities." Tax strikes have been encouraged by Catholic leaders to force government contributions to Catholic schools.

Last May, according to Michael Clark in the New York *Times*, Bishop Antoine Marie Cazaux of Lucon, speaking at a public meeting of his followers, "urged his listeners to suspend payment of taxes until their demands [for public money for Catholic schools] had been met." Such defiance of the French state is by no means exceptional here. The French clergy teach that the moral right of the church to control education is superior to that of the state, and it is a short step from this authoritarian principle to official defiance. The Bishop of Lucon was not openly rebuked by either the Vatican or any French cardinal. The government induced him to withdraw his order for a tax strike after a private conference with church leaders.

How successful has the church been in keeping its children out of public schools? It has been very successful in some regions, and much more successful in the upper than in the elementary schools. About 43 per cent of the students attending French upper schools today—seven to thirteen years old—are enrolled in private schools, and at least 80 per cent of these private schools are Catholic schools. In the elementary grades only about 18 per cent of the students are in private schools. There has been no great shift in the proportion in recent years. Assuming that all private schools are Catholic schools, an enrolment of 18 per cent of the population in private schools cannot be considered evidence of great clerical power in a nation where the priests consistently teach that it is a mortal sin to attend public schools. The figures seem to bear out the contention that not more than one-fifth of the French people are practicing Catholics. (These statistics do not include Alsace-Lorraine, which is almost wholly Catholic and by a special dispensation gets full government grants for Catholic schools.)

THE danger in the situation is not so much in the present extent of Catholic educational power as in the fact that the Catholic schools are in a position to gain at the expense of the public schools. Accommodations in the public schools are already inadequate, and the government, with its enormous military expenditures, cannot afford to build schools fast enough to meet the needs of the growing population. In consequence French children in many districts must go to a Catholic school or none at all. A few years ago France was held up as a frightful example of declining population; today the nation is growing by almost one million persons a year, and next year there will be an extra, supplementary demand for 150,000 new desks in public classrooms, beyond the normal increase. The government's 135-billion-franc educational budget looks large on paper, but it is far from being adequate to the national needs.

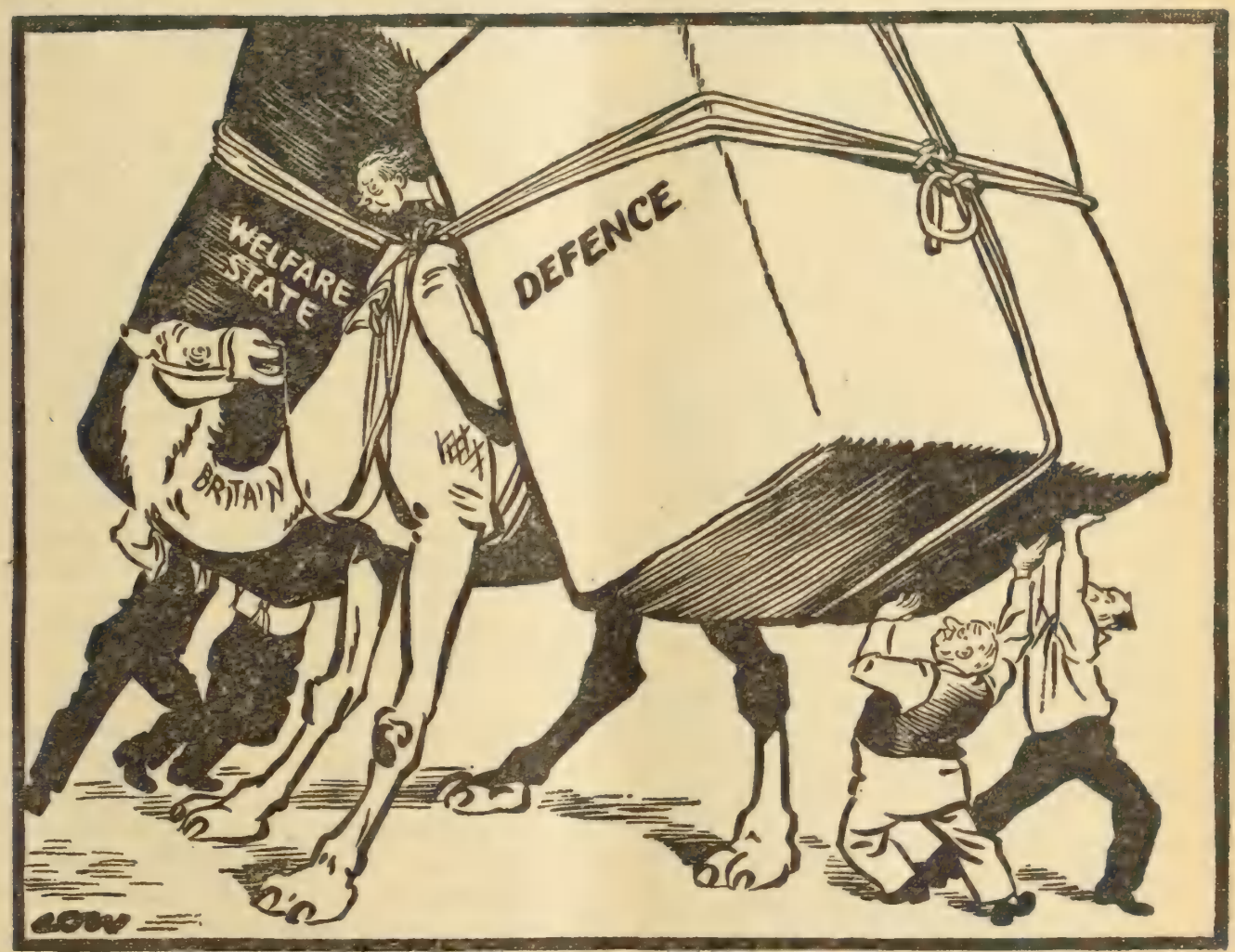
The Catholic hierarchy is taking full advantage of this emergency by bringing as many surplus children as possible into its own school system and by stressing the argument that the church is entitled to public contributions because it is meeting a national crisis. In its propaganda the Catholic school is described as *l'école libre* and the government school as the state school, with the implication that it is "controlled." Actually tuition in the French Catholic schools is not free, the teachers have very limited academic freedom, and their policies are completely controlled from above by the same kind of authoritarian machinery that has developed in the American parochial schools. Yet the power of suggestive language is such that the undemocratic features of the system are quite effectively masked by the constant use of the word "free." This verbal deceit should be a warning to defenders of public schools in the United States, where the phrase "freedom of education" is being successfully used by Catholic spokesmen to sanction special privileges for private schools.

The success of the Catholic hierarchy's drive for public funds for its own school system will depend on the composition of the next French Parliament—and the elections will be held this year. In the present Parliament, which was chosen before De Gaulle had organized his R. P. F. movement, the Communists, holding 32 per cent of the seats, the Socialists, with about 16 per cent, and the Radical Socialists, with 8 per cent, could be counted on to vote for measures limiting the use of public educational funds to public schools. That makes a total of 56 per cent of the National Assembly, and an

additional 4 per cent could be gathered from minor parties. Opposed to this hypothetical 60 per cent strength in Parliament is a loosely organized pro-Catholic bloc which includes the smaller right-wing parties and, most important of all, the party of Schuman and Bidault, the M. R. P. The Communists, Socialists, and Radical Socialists could save the public schools at any time if they would unite, but at present the Communists and Socialists have almost nothing in common except their refusal to submit to Vatican cultural control. On the other hand, a relatively small increase in the size of the pro-Catholic bloc might break the republican tradition of the separation of church and state.

THE crisis will come to a head within a year, and it seems fairly certain that the Vatican will not win an outright victory immediately. The principle of the separation of church and state is still strong among the people, and no French government in the near future is likely to challenge it directly. From the political point of view the safer course for the rightist elements in the government is to challenge the principle indirectly. Already the outline of a possible "compromise" is in view which would give the Catholic hierarchy what it demands without formally destroying church-state separation. The scheme was revealed in June, 1948, when the Minister of the Family in the Schuman government of that period, Mme Poinso-Chapuis, was authorized by decree to dispense government subsidies to needy families to compensate them for the cost of sending their children to Catholic schools. These subsidies fitted in neatly with the French system of allowances, under which the head of a family receives contributions from the government according to the number of his dependent children. And what could be more logical than such payments at a time when the public schools are overcrowded?

The Socialists realized the danger that the Poinso-Chapuis plan would be the entering wedge for a Catholic education-aid program and brought on a government crisis so that it would not be put into operation. Today the plan is being held on ice, ready for possible use if Catholic pressure becomes stronger. De Gaulle has gone farther and proposed that all French education be supported by a family-allowance system which would give educational grants to parents for their children and permit the parents to pass on the funds to Catholic as well



"ALL I ASK IS THAT YOU GET IT PROPERLY BALANCED"

London *Daily Herald*

as public schools. The result would be a system like that attained by the Catholic hierarchy in Ontario, where the educational taxes of Catholic parents can be diverted on request to the Catholic schools. While the French hierarchy would be delighted to see it set up in France, there does not seem to be any truth in the report that to gain that end the Vatican will shift its loyalties from the M. R. P. to De Gaulle.

In the meantime the present Pleven government is trying desperately to reach a solution of the school problem by discussion. It has appointed a Commission Scolaire, headed by M. Paul-Boncours and including some of the foremost intellectuals in the country, to examine the whole question of financial support for religious schools. The commission's proposals will probably be a major issue in the next national election. It is easy to guess that they will represent a slight concession to Catholic power, heavily sugar-coated with the verbiage of French freedom. But it is also easy to guess that such a compromise cannot satisfy either the Vatican or the left, since the ultimate issue is whether the Vatican or the French people will control the national culture.

The "World": In Memoriam

BY HOWARD CUSHMAN

TWENTY years ago this week a calamity occurred in New York journalism. It was recorded at first hand in the *World* of February 27, 1931, the last edition of a great newspaper—I have at hand a brittle, yellowed copy. The name is still carried on the triple-barreled masthead of the *World-Telegram and Sun*, but the tradition died when the presses ceased rolling in the early morning hours of that exceedingly black Friday midway in the Hoover Administration. After forty-eight years of fighting journalism the *World* had been scuttled by Scripps-Howard and the heirs of Joseph Pulitzer.

The shock of the newspaper's passing was deeply felt by the 2,867 employees of the *World*, the *Evening World*, and the *Sunday World*. It registered almost as intensely with working newspapermen throughout the nation and with all men and women of good-will concerned about the assaults of privilege and corruption and bigotry. Allan Nevins wrote later that old subscribers "admitted that they read that last issue, once they had overcome their sense of incredulity, with swimming eyes." Why was it that this newspaper's demise affected its readers as personally as the passing of a great national leader?

Surely one answer is that the *World*, of all American journals of our time, possessed a living personality which quickly identified itself with the peculiarly mixed audience it served. This personality, or perhaps "character" is a better word, had developed over the years to make the morning newspaper—the evening and Sunday editions were never in the same class—the champion of the plain people and the spokesman of liberal democratic thought and at the same time the darling of the intellectuals and sophisticates; it was not only the gadfly of politics and government but frequently a hilarious, impious sideshow. Deeper below the surface was the fact that the *World*, for all its mistakes and frailties, lived up to its profession as a newspaper engaged in a ceaseless war on privilege.

World readers will recall the familiar dedication that appeared in a box at the top of the editorial columns each morning. The words are Joseph Pulitzer's:

> An institution that should always fight for progress and reform, never tolerate injustice or corruption, always fight demagogues of all parties, never belong to any party, always oppose privileged classes and public plunderers, never lack sympathy with the poor, always remain devoted to the public welfare, never be satisfied with merely printing news, always be drastically independent, never be afraid to attack wrong, whether by predatory plutocracy or predatory poverty.

The family of *World* readers believed that the paper fulfilled the Pulitzer ideal as nearly as any daily paper could. And many observers of the journalistic scene today believe that in the two decades since 1931 no newspaper of influence has come anywhere near the *World's* achievement. There are journals of high purpose and integrity, of frequent leadership in a good cause, but none can match the old *World's* sure social instinct, its impatience with privilege and contempt of intolerance, its merciless digging, and its fearless if raucous presentation of the seamy facts of public life. The newspaper published beneath the gold dome on Park Row carried on one crusade after another. The reader, never quite certain that the *World* would this time come out on top, shared in the excitement.

There was harrowing uncertainty in the Pulitzer Building in the closing days of February, 1931. Rumors of the impending sale, credited by everyone but the staff,

HOWARD CUSHMAN was a reporter and feature writer on the morning World *during the newspaper's last year. He has since worked on various other New York papers.*

had been in the air for weeks. Nevertheless, the actual announcement of the hearing before Surrogate Foley, scheduled for Tuesday, February 24, came as a bombshell. The *World's* fate was settled in the peculiar surroundings of a surrogate's court because of the provisions of Joseph Pulitzer's will, which left the newspaper as a public trust to be administered by the Pulitzer sons as trustees but never to be sold by them. The sale to Scripps-Howard for $5,000,000, already in completed contract form on January 31, was conditioned upon the Surrogate's permission to break the Pulitzer will. The argument of Ralph, Joseph, and Herbert Pulitzer, which prevailed with Surrogate Foley, was simply that the *World* newspapers had lost substantial sums in the past several years and the downward trend was accelerating; continuance of the newspapers would dissipate the trust to the detriment of the Pulitzer estate.

Three days elapsed before the Foley decision was announced in the early hours of Friday morning, days during which an almost unbearable emotional tension was built up as frantic attempts were made to save the paper. Offers from Paul Block and from J. David Stern, the heroic effort of *World* employees to obtain backing for cooperative ownership, all were turned down perforce by the Pulitzer sons, already committed to the agreement with Roy Howard. For three days a bewildered, hopeless, sleepless staff got out the newspaper; then, after the last edition had been put to bed, they staged a maudlin wake in a Beekman Street speakeasy. (The drinks were on the house.)

JOSEPH PULITZER, who bought the *World* in 1883 from Jay Gould, died twenty years before the death of his papers. Stricken by blindness in 1887 and a prey to extreme bodily and nervous ills the remainder of his life, Pulitzer was an absentee editor and publisher, but he governed the *World's* policy, watched over its crusades, harried its editors, determined its very style and presentation, as directly as if he were enthroned in the gold dome of the Pulitzer Building—which he entered but a few times and never saw. From 1911 until his death in 1923, Frank I. Cobb, the brilliant Pulitzer-trained editor, carried the tradition along in all its vitality. Walter Lippmann was Cobb's successor. But the impetus of Pulitzer the founder was slackening in the hands of his sons. The dénouement was inevitable, whoever was responsible.

The achievements of the paper under Joseph Pulitzer are now largely forgotten, but they were mighty in their day. The *World* not only performed such diverting journalistic feats as completing a popular subscription to provide a base for the Statue of Liberty, sending Nellie Bly around the world in seventy-two days, and abolishing tolls on the new Brooklyn Bridge, but took up issues and causes in a way which made it a journal to be reckoned with. Less than a year after Pulitzer bought it the *World* proclaimed its championship of Grover Cleveland and grew to national stature by electing a President in the rowdy campaign against Blaine in 1884. Eleven years later it opposed Cleveland and a rising tide of jingoism in regard to the Venezuela-British Guiana boundary dispute, talking common sense and peace, averting almost certain war between the United States and Great Britain. The *World* again forced Cleveland's hand in the nineties when it prevented private handling of a government bond issue by a Morgan syndicate, urged the issue's flotation by popular subscription, and headed the list of subscribers by taking $1,000,000, thus instituting a democratic reform in federal financing.

Pulitzer's *World*, after publishing, exclusively, a startling array of secret documents, forced the legislative investigation of life-insurance companies that smashed a number of lofty reputations, procured the passage of laws to end insurance lobbying and legislative corruption, and sent Charles Evans Hughes to the Capitol in Albany. When the Panama Canal was built, the *World* exposed the dealings between the United States and Panama, including the sordid details of the creation of the republic. President Theodore Roosevelt struck back with a blistering libel suit which ended in a court victory for the *World* and a guaranty of freedom from federal prosecution for the American press.

In 1912 and 1916 the *World* beat the drums for the nomination and election of Woodrow Wilson, though it criticized him for lack of vigor in opposing the Eighteenth Amendment. It went all out for Al Smith in 1928 and for the wet plank in his platform that contributed to his defeat. It exposed conditions that brought reorganization of the New Haven Railroad, unmasked the Ku Klux Klan, smashed the peonage system in Florida. Always it was the bitter foe of Tammany. Right down to its last year the *World* made news, and initiated reform—by uncovering the receivership racket in federal courts, the City Trust Company scandal, the Cotter-Butte Mining Company bankruptcy, the tax-shark ring, bail-bond fixing, and, its last scoop, the disappearance of Judge Crater.

It was a great newspaper to the end—this *World* of F. P. A. and Deems Taylor and Frank Sullivan and Heywood Broun, of Hunneker and Balderston and Bolitho, of Stallings and Anderson, of the Spewacks, Ollie Garrett, Dudley Nichols, Mankiewicz, and Pringle, of Woollcott and Rollin Kirby, of Herbert Bayard Swope and Jim Barrett and Allan Nevins and James M. Cain. If you imagine the old *World* is not missed, think of the injustice, the discrimination, the bigotry, the corruption that have flourished in the twenty years since 1931 and of how few campaigns have been launched against them and fought through to a soul-stirring conclusion. New York still needs that *World*!

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

DiSalle's Worst Headache

THE price-control section of last year's Defense Production Act prohibited the setting of ceilings on farm products so long as they sold either below their parity price or below their top level between May 24 and June 24, 1950, whichever was higher. Since the majority of foods, high-priced as they seem to the housewife, are still below parity, this provision is responsible for a very mushy spot in the general freeze. Free from controls, prices of eggs, poultry, pork, wheat, vegetables, and other commodities are moving up steadily. If all farm products rise to parity, Price Stabilizer DiSalle has said, our food bills will go up another 5 per cent. That would boost the cost-of-living index about 2 per cent and certainly add to the pressure for wage adjustment.

Small wonder, then, that the special protection given to farmers by the Defense Production Act has been the subject of widespread criticism. Mr. DiSalle is evidently very much troubled and has indicated that he may ask Congress to untie his hands by revising the law. "Parity," he said to a group of farm leaders at Des Moines on February 16, "does not and cannot mean privileges. . . . If the concept interferes with efforts to secure economic stability, we shall have no other recourse than to recommend its modification."

Brave words! But I fear that if Mr. DiSalle tries to make them good he will bruise his knuckles on the granite of the farm bloc. The big agricultural organizations and their supporters on Capitol Hill are certain to fight to the bitter end any threat to the parity concept—the sacred myth of farm economics. What is more, they are likely to resist strongly the imposition of ceilings even on products which are way over parity. When the prices are rising, the farm bloc becomes a stout exponent of laissez faire: it believes in government interference only when the trend is downward.

Let us consider the case of cotton, for which the parity price on January 15 was 32.98 cents a pound, while the market price was over 45 cents, 50 per cent above a year ago and a record high since the cotton famine of Civil War days. Clearly cotton is legally subject to control, and it was, in fact, covered by the freezing order of January 25. However, the order exempted actual producers of cotton and applied only to the merchants and manufacturers, who were assigned temporary ceilings at the highest prices they had charged during the base period, December 19 to January 25. Since there are thousands of middlemen dealing in hundreds of grades of cotton, this led to considerable confusion. Moreover, the creation of innumerable different ceilings made for an impossible situation in the futures market, where everyone in the trade hedges his sales and purchases. Consequently, the various cotton exchanges suspended trading on January 26 and are still closed.

Meanwhile the Office of Price Stabilization has been considering fixed ceilings, applicable to all sellers, on each type and grade of baled cotton, averaging about 45 cents a pound. This plan was no sooner mooted than the cotton group in Congress appealed directly to the President to exempt baled cotton from any controls. All that is needed, they argued, is to introduce ceilings at the manufacturing level, the theory being that this will discourage mill-owners from bidding up the price of their raw material. Curiously enough, the textile industry supports this proposal, provided of course that it is protected by an escalator clause which will allow it to raise prices of yarn and cloth as raw-material costs increase.

Secretary of Agriculture Brannan experienced defeat at the hands of the cotton lobby last year when he sought to cut down exports sharply. Protesting that this step artificially restricted prices, the planters forced him to raise the export quota, originally fixed at 2,000,000 bales through March 31, 1951, to 3,496,000. With domestic consumption running at a very high level, this means that the carry-over will be close to the danger level when the new crop year starts on August 1. A bumper harvest is therefore an urgent necessity, and Mr. Brannan, who has set a 16,000,000-bale target—compared with an actual crop of under 10,000,000 last year—fears that price ceilings will check production.

OPS officials, on the other hand, claim that cotton men admit privately that anything over 38 cents will provide an adequate incentive. Certainly in California, which in the last decade has risen from eleventh to fourth place among the cotton-producing states, present prices have set off a wild boom. Irrigated land in the San Joaquin Valley which fetched $300 an acre last June is now commanding $500 and upward. Throughout the state, according to the *Wall Street Journal* of February 20, "the scramble to buy or lease cotton land is becoming semi-frantic," and planted acreage this year will probably be twice as large as last year.

No such expansion is likely in the Southeast, no matter how high the price goes, for there mixed farming is steadily displacing cotton. It is to the big producing states west of the Mississippi that we must look for the needed big crop, and probably they will provide it, given average luck with the weather. The question is: what price will they exact? It won't be a light one, and if cotton eludes controls, other farm products will follow. As one of DiSalle's aides said when he heard that the cotton Congressmen were marching on the White House, "This is the same fight that licked Chester Bowles."

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Koestler as Pedagogue

THE AGE OF LONGING. By Arthur Koestler. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

IN 1940 the Western world looked aghast at the confessional performances of accused Communists in Moscow trials. They were utterly baffling phenomena, seeming to call for a conception of psychology for which nothing in the tradition either of reason or of the laboratory could account. Arthur Koestler's "Darkness at Noon" had the clarifying and invigorating effect of an artistic capture of the inexplicable. One may say now that part of its effect was merely that it was opportune, but still it does remain one of the rare moments of self-recognition for our age.

Another element in its effectiveness, assuredly, was that it was not a "novel," not something constructed on a "plot." It did what a good, let alone a great, book should do: it did not expound; it exemplified. "The Age of Longing" is a novel with a plot: an American girl in Paris, in a year that is vaguely 1955 or '56, has an affair with a Russian "cultural attaché," discovers that she hates his philosophy, tries to shoot him, and is shipped home. Meanwhile she encounters a punctiliously selected array of people, each neatly embodying a precise aspect of the present intellectual and spiritual predicament.

There is the worldly, aristocratic old cynic, the liberal intellectual disillusioned with Stalinism, the existentialist, the American colonel on a mission, the Pole tortured into madness, the Soviet poet who tries to escape and fails, the Catholic cleric, the French resistant who prepares for again resisting. And of course there is the lover—the Neanderthal man, the man of the future, the product of the Revolution, the Russian.

Upon the heroine, at long last, nothing is lost, and on the final pages she conveniently rounds up the dramatis personae in a stream-of-consciousness inventory, ticking them off so that nothing will be lost on us. She sums them up: all are "sick with longing." In the last paragraph the sirens are blowing: "it could have meant the Last Judgment, or just another air-raid exercise." This, in short, is recognizable as Eliot's "Waste Land"—reduced to pedagogical prose. The reason for the desolation must be made explicit: "For the place of God had become vacant, and there was a draft blowing through the world as in an empty flat before the new tenants have arrived."

The difficulty is that we have met all these characters repeatedly in recent fiction, and that here they are wooden and mechanical, the Russian being the least convincing if only because he is made up so exactly like M. Malik on the television. The stage-managing is so crude that the wires creak. The American speech between the girl and her father is ludicrous ("When you began to be seen going places with that guy Nikitin"). Sex, the indispensable element, is judiciously ladled out. The plot develops "suspense," as would be taught in correspondence courses: the girl pulls the trigger, she has forgotten the safety-catch; then she fires, the Russian falls, and we race through the next pages until the artful author tells us that she merely wounded her target. Everyone speaks in character, and no cue is lost.

In order to play her part the girl must be represented as of an inconceivable stupidity. When at last it has dawned upon her what the Russian is up to, she goes to the French authorities and explains her motive in terms which we are obliged to interpret as the motive of the book: "I only thought that if the facts were made public, it would open people's eyes. . . . I thought if people were to read it in black and white maybe it would shake them up."

What then nags at one's mind is how the author of "Darkness at Noon" can have come after eleven years to making out of the agony of our time a novel so conventional and often tedious. You are bound to perceive that he is intelligent, in fact so much so that he anticipates your mood: when the two veterans of the Resistance are about to go underground again, to hiding, hunger, and torture, one of them yawns and the other says, "The funny thing is that I too feel more bored than anything else." The liberal focuses all his wisdom into the motto that the only solution is to comprehend everything and to forgive oneself nothing. But for all Koestler's undoubted ability to comprehend the panorama of viewpoints represented by his characters, they all seem to be attitudes we find in every daily newspaper. The boredom of a man about to go into battle is not the same thing as boredom communicated to a reader.

Throughout the book the various characters come to a sort of hunch that in a not too distant future a new spiritual ferment will arise, "as spontaneous and irresistible as early Christianity or the Renaissance." If the best that Koestler can preach in his literal tract is faith in a faith not yet disclosed, perhaps this accounts for the artificiality. Perhaps he has no other choice but to spell out in black and white the facts—aiming at a larger and, by implication, a vastly more stupid audience than greeted "Darkness at Noon." I suspect that the book will reach some such audience; the sex and the plot ought to pay off. If the characters are unreal, there is much more play of ideas than in most novels of the year. Still—one cannot help feeling that a writer of Koestler's stature just simply *ought* to write a better book.

PERRY MILLER

Ingersoll, Folk Hero

THE LETTERS OF ROBERT G. INGERSOLL. With a Biographical Introduction by Eva Ingersoll Wakefield. Philosophical Library. $7.50.

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL did for the English language what Isocrates did for the Greek: he was the first among English-speaking orators to perfect the prose rhythms of our native speech." With that opinion, quoted from a one-time Justice of the Supreme Court, not many literary critics are likely to agree. But when the Justice goes on, "He was popular as an orator primarily because he felt the unity of his own mind . . . with the average mind of the

average American community," he is probably right. Ingersoll was some kind of phenomenon of incalculable importance, and it is strange that a considerable body of his letters should have remained unpublished until now. Probably every age needs a Prince of Darkness who is obviously formidable, paradoxically identified with causes which the community recognizes as just, and the mouthpiece for blasphemies which the average citizen lacks the courage to utter for himself. Ingersoll filled the role and filled it in some ways better than, let us say, Tom Paine, Clarence Darrow, or H. L. Mencken did in their times. No wonder that he was a folk hero.

In this volume his granddaughter offers personal and business letters—most of them vigorous, straightforward, and unoratorical—with a fairly extended biographical sketch. Ingersoll was the son of a hell-fire preacher but revolted young. He taught school, studied law, attacked Christianity and slavery, fought in the Civil War, and then, for the rest of his life, combined the career of a crusader with a very lucrative law practice. To the masses he brought, in swelling, hypnotically rhythmic phrases, news of a world where splendor of thought and language went hand in hand with a bold defiance of the established gods. It was the Promethean fire in a form they could recognize. And whatever the defects of his style or the limitations of his thought, he was no mealy-mouthed mugwump. Of his father he could write, "He received the rudiments of ignorance at Middlebury College. After having received a certificate to the effect that he understood the mysteries of orthodoxy, and was able to show that the infinite love of God was perfectly consistent with the damnation of the whole human race, he started in search of employment." To an inquirer he replied, "I have many objections to the philosophy of Christ. I do not believe in returning good for evil. I believe in returning justice for evil. . . . Neither do I believe in decrying this world. . . . Christ is not my ideal."

Mark Twain said of him, "I hold him in as high honor as I have held any man living or dead." Georg Brandes wrote, "In Ingersoll common sense rose to genius." Why, then, has he been excluded from the canon? Is there any reason other than that literary style which contributed so much to his fame in his own day and which intrudes occasionally even into the letters, where, for example, a man who has recently died becomes inevitably one of "the dear ones 'who are no more,' who have fallen asleep"? An earlier biographer, setting out to prove that Ingersoll's gift was the same as that of "his immortal master," Shakespeare, gives the following specimens: "The withered leaves of time that strew the desert of the past"; moderation is "the golden path along that strip of verdure that lies between the deserts of extremes"; "the infantry of the snow and the cavalry of the wild blast." If this is what Isocrates did for the Greeks, then so much the worse for him and for them. But if any other reason for the general refusal to list Ingersoll among the major prophets is needed, it may be a less legitimate one. He seemed to ask for martyrdom but he never got it, and he was far too prosperous for a hero. He made a great deal of money himself, and after the fashion of his time but not of ours, he thought money-making something to be admired. He favored birth control, reasonable divorce laws, and free speech; he opposed prohibition and race prejudice. But he was also a "sound money" man, and he said, "Poverty is not a virtue, nor is wealth a crime." A corporation lawyer—and he was that among many other things—is not the stuff out of which heroes are commonly made today.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"Yesterday's Enemy"

TIME OF FALLEN BLOSSOMS. By Allan S. Clifton. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

THE foreigner who goes to any Asian country with a thorough knowledge of its language and a sympathetic interest in its people is a creature so rare that almost any book written by him is worthy of serious attention. Allan S. Clifton is just such a foreigner, and certainly his book, "Time of Fallen Blossoms," must be considered not only a charming introduction to post-war Japan but a challenge to the conscience of any Westerner.

Mr. Clifton, an Australian journalist, started to study Japanese as a hobby. During the war this knowledge qualified him as an interpreter for the Australian Army Intelligence Corps, and eventually took him to Japan as a member of the Occupation. He was stationed in the Kure area with the Commonwealth forces, still in his capacity as a language expert. His book covers the year of his stay there, 1946.

"Time of Fallen Blossoms" is a sort of personal guidebook to the humanity of the Japanese during one rather extraordinary year in their history, a year which found them defeated, poor, preyed on by black-marketeers, with no assurances for their future, but still maintaining their individual grace and their cultural strength which had, at one time, made them a great nation. By describing his experiences and reactions to the people and their country from the time of his arrival until the time he regretfully watches the receding shoreline, Mr. Clifton leads his reader very gently into his own attitude of sympathy and concern for the Japanese. Woven through his story is some valuable information on the day-to-day manners and customs of the Japanese with a smattering of their history, all presented in a form attractive enough not to overweight the book.

With great delicacy and considerable insight he tells the stories of Japanese families that became his friends, he describes the surprising beauty of the Japanese countryside, he writes of the geishas, of Japanese meals, of journeys to different cities and temples. There is great charm in the telling of all these incidents and especially in the strangely touching accounts of the young Japanese women who fell in love with members of the Occupation forces. Most appealing of all for the sensitivity and restraint with which it is handled is the tragic story of the Japanese girl, Terumi, who marries Mr. Clifton's friend Harry.

But the serious core of "Time of Fallen Blossoms" is not one of charm and ease. It is the horrifying story of the behavior of foreign conquerors, and of the deep corruption that sets in when a handful of troops has an entire population at its mercy. Mr. Clifton writes only of the Australian troops, whose normal standards of conduct were apparently entirely forgotten when they found themselves in the position of dominant Occupiers. While I was in

Japan certainly one heard of infinitely fewer abuses in the sectors controlled by other troops. However, "Time of Fallen Blossoms" remains the kind of book that the members of any victor nation should read, if for no other reason, at least to know that the Occupation was not all beer and skittles for the Japanese.

As part of his job as interpreter, Mr. Clifton had first-hand evidence that much of the Japanese war-time propaganda against the "hairy barbarians" was in peace time far from disproved. "In the last months of 1946," he writes, "crimes against the civil population had become so numerous that I was being called out almost every day and night by the Japanese police, so that I was becoming exhausted for lack of sleep." A little earlier he says, ". . . crimes against women were not the only offenses. Bashing of men and youths for the sheer joy of it, setting fire to brothels from pique at being refused entrance, which was forbidden, were others; but robbery, with and without violence, comprised the major number. It is an ugly sight to see a truckload of twenty or thirty of one's fellow-soldiers descend like ravening wolves on a row of market stalls, grabbing fistfuls of tawdry trifles, overturning counters, and punching anyone who looks as though he (or she) might resent it." One must commend the author's courage and fair-mindedness in presenting a side of the case that the West seldom hears.

Through such material comes perhaps the saddest lesson that Mr. Clifton has to teach—the far-reaching and deep misunderstandings engendered by propaganda and fostered prejudices of nation against nation. He arrived in Japan, exceptionally qualified certainly, but still with the hangover of antagonisms, suspicions, and withdrawals that most of us acquired—however liberal we liked to think ourselves—during the war. With many of the foreigners those prejudices remained even after they had lived in Japan. Mr. Clifton quotes a fellow-passenger on the boat which takes him back to Australia, a soldier who has been in the enemy country for a year and describes the Japanese as "those stinking, grinning bastards . . . I've had the whole rotten lot of them. Just animals!" (It might be well to remember that perhaps the bitterness and prejudice of the "other side" have not entirely died either.)

Mr. Clifton was one of the exceptions. He too had been subjected to "the accumulated influence of subtle war-time propaganda." But he had taken the trouble to go farther, and found the Japanese, like the ordinary people of any country when you approach them warmly, "industrious and alert, friendly and hospitable beyond measure to the stranger, and devoted to the welfare of their own family group. With all their practical talents went an artistic taste and a sense of the appropriate."

There are one or two minor points in Mr. Clifton's book with which I might quarrel. One instance is where he says that Japanese women, who had always been safe on their own streets after dark, had felt that with the arrival of the Occupation forces they would be safer still. My information was different. I learned that far from feeling safe, most of the Japanese women who could afford it had fled their towns and villages and gone into hiding in the mountains, and the ones that had to remain stayed behind locked doors as much as possible—they expected the very worst from the Allies. But such points do not destroy the value of the book, any more than its serious message detracts from the pleasure of sharing the author's discovery of the life of Japan and his delight in the people.

The Japanese have a very famous traditional saying, *"Sakujitsu no teki kyo no tomo"*—"Yesterday's enemy, today's friend"; certainly Mr. Clifton through "Time of Fallen Blossoms" has proved an outstanding example of its truth.

SANTHA RAMA RAU

More Poems by Dr. Williams

THE COLLECTED LATER POEMS of William Carlos Williams. New Directions. $3.

OF ALL the American writers who in the first half of the twentieth century have been known variously as "modern," "contemporary," "avant-garde," and the like, Dr. Williams has been the most prolific, the steadiest, the liveliest. He has never been a professional writer—either in the sense that some fortunate poets of other centuries have made a living from their work or in the sense that some poets of our own time have struggled to live by kindred chores, such as editing, anthologizing, lecturing, magazine writing. We know that he has been a physician all his life, a specialist in pediatrics, a distinguished worker in his field. It is conceivable that a human being has enough energy for two such difficult careers; it is almost inconceivable that he has enough time.

Dr. Williams has published fifteen books of poetry, a number of novels and plays, many short stories, several translations, an autobiography, a book of historical essays, and uncounted literary letters, reviews, prefaces, diatribes, panegyrics, jottings, and manifestoes. The publishers have scarcely been able to keep up with him. The present work is his third book of collected poems; yet the other two are out of print, and a newcomer to poetry could not buy all of Dr. Williams's poems.

For those who possess "The Complete Collected Poems, 1906-1938" (New Directions will reissue this work soon), the present volume will be an indispen-

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR
Just Arrived! BORIS GALIN
DONBAS SKETCHES
In English — 232 pp. — 85¢
Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
1951 Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals
Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 8th Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

Buy Your Books through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular list price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the list price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

sable addition. It collects the poems published since 1939. It contains, in other words, the poems that Dr. Williams wishes to preserve from two books, "The Wedge" and "The Clouds," and from two pamphlets, "The Broken Span" and "The Pink Church." This means that one can own in two volumes all the poems Dr. Williams has written so far except "Paterson," the long poem of which we now have only the first three parts.

A few poems have been omitted from this collection. Such obvious mistakes as Ol' Bunk's Band, which kept turning up during the forties, have at last been scotched. But there is no question that some of Dr. Williams's most remarkable poems are found in this volume—The Pink Church, Two Pendants: for the Ears, To Ford Madox Ford in Heaven, and others. These are all specimens of great poetic bravery, and many of them are beautiful. To attempt a comparison here, in a short review, between Dr. Williams's later and earlier work would be foolish, and all that can be said is that these poems are now available in one book for those who want to have them.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

Next Week

W. H. Auden reviews Rolfe Humphries' translation of Virgil's "Aeneid."

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

WE ALL know, but it is easy to forget, that Ireland has a strict censorship which really works. And if you care to see an example of the sort of play that is acceptable in a country where Irish Catholic censorship is absolute, take a look at "The King of Friday's Men" (The Playhouse), which ran for six months at the Abbey Theater in Dublin.

It is set in 1787—under censorship the period piece is likely to be safe. It has a foolish and highly factitious love story, its hero is devoutly religious, and it is filled with violence. These elements, especially the third, usually fill the vacuum that is created when writers are forbidden to deal freely with realities, ancient or contemporary. And we needn't, of course, go to Ireland for illustrations of this little law of compensation; its workings may be observed in almost any film from Hollywood, where the "moral" pressures of the League of Decency, the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, and the Production Code are ever present. But it is instructive if not elevating to sample the dramatic fare to which we might be reduced if these pressures became decisive on Broadway.

The hero of the play is Bartley Dowd, a great shillelagh fighter who comes from Tyrawley to take part in a local clubbing contest in Galway; he is terribly disfigured by earlier brawls, and in this particular sequence he is battered and bloody by the third round—I mean act. In the course of the evening he lays six men low with his club and kills the brutish landlord. When he finds that he has saved his beloved for another man, he avers that it must be God's will and is sure that he will have his reward in heaven. There are fleeting moments of poetry and humor in this simple-minded affair, but it is chiefly a curiosity, a warning, and a bore.

I quite enjoyed "The High Ground." It is a mystery with a religious infusion, and the sophisticated young woman whose conviction for murder is finally upset is an artist. All very fashionable, as you can see. It has its share of astounding coincidence and faulty motivation, but it is rather well written, all the characterizations seemed to me unusually convincing—which made the rather slow pace less noticeable than it might have been—and it is very well acted, not only by the principals, Margaret Webster, Tom Helmore, and Leueen MacGrath, but by every other member of the cast.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

IT'S LIKE reading the score," Toscanini once exclaimed in delight after listening to a recorded performance expressing in this way his basic belief that a performance should realize in sound the musical work that is indicated by the notations and directions on the printed page. And another observation of his—that Mozart could be boring if the conductor didn't know what to do between the *p* in the first measure and the *f* eight measures later—made it clear that realizing in sound what was on the printed page was not just a matter of producing the *p* here and the *f* eight measures later, but a process of enlivening the eight measures in between with subtle inflection. Together

For Your Convenience

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

The NATION

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine . . . . . $9.50 **You Save $2.50**

☐ *with* Consumer Reports . . . . . $10.75 **You Save $1.25**

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION BY ITSELF:

☐ **One Year $7** ☐ **Two Years $12** ☐ **Three Years $17**

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years. ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

_____

_____

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

8/8/51

the two statements define one type of performance, in which the performer's inflections of sonority and pace stay within the limits set by the composer's directions—whether the infrequent directions of Mozart or the frequent ones of Debussy—and fill out with precision the outlines which those directions indicate roughly.

That is the type of performance I prefer; but I am open to conviction by the type which does not defer to the composer's directions. I thought Webster Aitken's performance of Beethoven's Opus 111 three years ago very fine when I listened to it in Town Hall; a few weeks ago, listening to the broadcast of the performance from the Frick Collection with the music before me, I was aware of how much Aitken did that was different from what Beethoven directed—most obviously the changes of tempo in the succession of variations in the second movement, and even in the sections of the fourth variation; but except for a detail here and there the performance still made convincing and impressive sense for me as a statement of the work. It was in fact one of the high points of the two recitals, along with the performances of the slow movement and concluding movement of Opus 106, the last movement of Opus 109, the first and last movements of Opus 110. But it was impossible for me to accept what the first movement of Opus 101 became with all the fussing that Aitken did with it, or the last movement at a pace which made clear articulation of the music impossible; nor could I accept the first and second movements of Opus 109 and the second movement of Opus 110 as he rushed through them.

Moreover, I once wrote that although I felt the last movement of Schubert's Sonata Opus 78 to be relaxed and easy-going I could accept and enjoy it with the verve, the strength, and the humor Aitken put into it in accordance with his own feeling about it. But now it is impossible for me to accept what the Scherzo of the posthumous Sonata in B flat becomes when Aitken plays it with an iron-fingered lack of the delicacy, grace, and sensitiveness which the music itself would demand even without Schubert's directions of *pp* and *con delicatezza*. Nor is it possible for me to accept what the quietly meditative opening page of the first movement—with its implications of end-of-life illumination and resignation—and some other quiet passages are changed to by the emphatic pounding and distention of Aitken's playing of them. Nor can I accept what this treatment makes of the finale. But his realization of the slow movement is a superb achievement. The performance is well reproduced by the EMS record (112); but the surfaces of my copy are noisy.

A Westminister record (50-47) offers Schubert's beautiful Fantasy Opus 103 and three smaller pieces for piano four hands—the engaging Marche Caracteristique Opus 121 No. 1, and the Rondos Opus 107 and Opus 138 which are discursive but have lovely passages. They are played well by Paul Badura-Skoda and Joerg Demus, and the recorded sound is excellent; but one hears the noise of whatever records it was dubbed from.

On the other hand the Lili Kraus performances of Schubert's great Sonata Opus 143 and the Impromptus Opus 142 No. 3 and Opus 90 No. 2 dubbed from Parlophone 78's on a noisy Decca LP (8506) are something to skip.

Schumann's fine Sonata Opus 22 gets an excessively mannered performance by Kathleen Long on a London record (LLP-188) which offers also a flabby performance of the Novelette Opus 21 No. 2, a feverish performance of the Romanze Opus 28 No. 2, and the uninteresting Novelette Opus 21 No. 8. Surfaces are not quiet.

More engaging are Miss Long's fluent performances of a number of unfamiliar and charming Scarlatti Sonatas on a London record (LPS-314) which has a hum. But Soulima Stravinsky's performances of another group of these pieces on a noisy Allegro record (84) are mostly percussive and graceless.

A Columbia record (ML-4334) offers Beethoven's fine early Sonata Opus 26 played by Gieseking with his usual chiseled perfection in a delicate, sighing style that gives the music none of the strength it should have. Unsuitably coupled with it are Grieg's Lyric Pieces. The performances of Beethoven's Opus 111 and Andante favori by Jacob Lateiner on another Columbia record (ML-4335) are something to skip.

Books 1 and 2 of Debussy's "Images" are played by Arrau on still another Columbia record (ML-2162). Of the good pieces the best-played is "Reflets dan l'eau"—"Poissons d'or" and "Hommage à Rameau" suffering from too many pauses and too much rubato. The performances of the uninteresting pieces are accurate.

As for the uproar about Gina Bachauer, it turned out to be something like the uproar about Maryla Jonas. She began her second recital with a transcription of an orchestral work, the Vivaldi Concerto in D minor, which she used for a display of piano sonorities that murdered the piece. But these pianistic resources were unused in the performance of works for the piano—a Mozart Sonata, Beethoven's Opus 101, Chopin's Nocturne Opus 27 No. 1 and Polonaise Opus 53—which were meticulously precise in a minature scale and style.

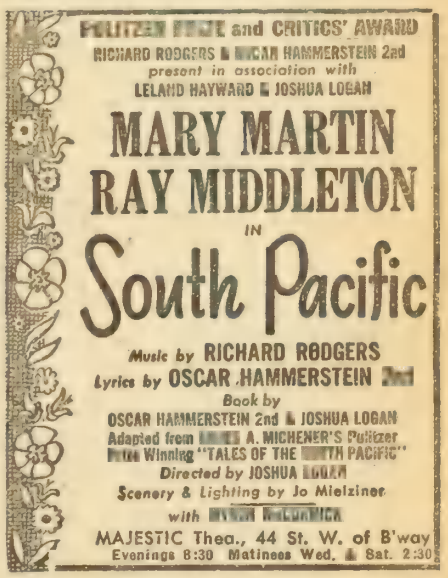
CONTRIBUTORS

PERRY MILLER, professor of history at Harvard University, is the author of "Jonathan Edwards" and other books.

SANTHA RAMA RAU has spent some time in Japan. She is the author of "Home to India" and "East of Home."

HAYDEN CARRUTH is associate editor of the University of Chicago Press.

JUST OUT
Schubert: SONATA IN B FLAT MAJOR
op. posth. 12-inch L. P.
Webster Aitken, piano
E. M. S. 112 $5.95
ELAINE MUSIC SHOP
9 EAST 44th STREET NEW YORK CITY 17
bet. Fifth & Madison MUrray Hill 2-6154



JOURNAL

YOU CAN BE WISE!

Learn about security, health, sex, money, opportunity, power, peace, freedom. Come to know science, religion, government, medicine. Find out more important facts of life. Get revealing, outspoken, stimulating paper. See THE OPEN EYE for yourself. Send 10¢ for your copy NOW.

The Open Eye, 45142 Box Canyon Road
Canoga Park, California

BOOKS

CONTOUR SERIES: editions of original movie librettos. First issue, "The Old Easterday House." Romance linking old Chicago with the new. Send one dollar to Hill Press, 1108 Madison, Maywood, Ill.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, $5.00.

TYPING SERVICE

MANUSCRIPT TYPING, theses, medical articles. Speed, intelligence, economy. AMBASSADOR OFFICE SERVICE, 17 East 48th Street. PLaza 5-1127.

FINANCING

FINANCING—
We will provide temporary or permanent financing of $500,000.00 or upwards for large, established industrial enterprises.
L. N. Rosenbaum & Son
Financing & Reorganizations
565 Fifth Avenue
New York 17

PERSONALS

B.A., M.A., Ph.B., DEGREES BY HOME STUDY

Previous credits recognized. Undergraduate and graduate studies. Fremont College. State Chartered. Non-profit.

COMMITTEE ON ADMISSIONS
San Acacio at Delora, Sante Fe, New Mexico

LIVE RENT FREE—Enjoy a rent-free vacation by exchanging homes with a family just like yours, anywhere in the U. S. No registration fee. Write for free Booklet N. VACATION RESIDENCE EXCHANGE, 100 W. 42nd Street, N. Y. 18.

COLUMBIA, M.A. Will accept free-lance assignments. Writing, Editing, Research, Proof-Reading, Publicity. Experienced. Phone: OR 3-6126.

WORKING girl desires room in private home with use of piano. Box 211, c/o The Nation.

Butcher... Baker... Candlestick Maker ?

Where will they spend their vacations this year?

Why not tell them about your resort in the pages of

THE *Nation*

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Justice Denied

Dear Sirs: The Virginia State Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People acknowledges with deep appreciation the moral and financial support given to its efforts in the Martinsville case.

The N. A. A. C. P. entered the case when it appeared that these men were being electrocuted because of their race rather than because they were guilty of the crime of rape. The question of their guilt or innocence was not raised by us, for under the law a person is presumed to be innocent until proved guilty beyond all reasonable doubt after having had a fair trial. The N. A. A. C. P. has maintained that these men did not get a fair trial and that therefore the presumption of their innocence remains.

Practice, policy, and custom in Virginia and other Southern states give tacit approval to different and more severe punishments for Negroes charged with crimes against white persons. This dual system of justice is a continuation of the vicious pattern that first appeared in the slave codes. It must be abolished if the United States is to retain its leadership in world affairs.

MARTIN A. MARTIN
J. M. TINSLEY
OLIVER W. HILL
W. LESTER BANKS

Martinsville, Va., February 20

On Dr. Powdermaker's Book

Dear Sirs: The sour grapes which Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., foists off in *The Nation* of December 30 as a review of Dr. Hortense Powdermaker's book, "Hollywood, the Dream Factory," cannot go unchallenged. Neither the historian nor the economist has furnished the world any effective solutions of its problems. The anthropologist, at least, records the total picture, not chance fragments such as the historian works with.

Journals such as *The Nation* might better educate the public to a more scientific attitude of mind, so it can appreciate and utilize intelligently the valid findings of social scientists. What could be more phony, more portentous and utterly useless than a historian of the Gibbon type wasting foundation funds in our tension-torn world, which needs nothing more than sound knowledge of itself as it exists *now?*

As to the use of anthropological methods applicable to simpler societies to understand our more complex one, which Dr. Schlesinger decries, nothing is more valid. It has led to one of the few real advances in labor-management relations in this country. The anthropologist Warner found that the social system characteristic of the simplest Australian society existed in United States factories. Using these observations, firms such as Western Electric have made great strides in management of personnel. No historian could have established these principles without going into the factories with the anthropologist's methods.

To any and all who question the role of social scientists in our society, I would recommend a thoughtful and thorough reading of Stuart Chase's "The Proper Study of Mankind." And to those who are not occupational historians, I recommend Alexander Leighton's "Human Relations in a Changing World."

To *The Nation* I give a laurel wreath for recognizing the significance of anthropological literature sufficiently to review it. But I also include a few thorns for sending a book to a reviewer who is not qualified to pass on the merits of the writing in its field. It would have been better for a competent social scientist to evaluate Dr. Powdermaker's book than for a historian to use his review as an excuse to attack a whole field of science.

HENRY F. DOBYNS

Tucson, Ariz., January 30

Reviewer Replies

Dear Sirs: Mr. Dobyns was obviously too excited to look at what I actually said in the review of the Powdermaker book. I did not say that anthropology had no role in increasing our understanding of contemporary culture; obviously it has an important role. All I said was that Dr. Powdermaker's book, through its abuse of the anthropological method, did not increase our understanding of anything—except of the pretensions of certain anthropologists. It is perhaps worth noting that, for all his vast indignation, Mr. Dobyns does not venture to answer any of the specific criticisms I made of "Hollywood, the Dream Factory."

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

Cambridge, Mass., February 17

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 10, 1951 NUMBER 10

The Shape of Things

THE MOST HOPEFUL DEVELOPMENT ON THE price front in the past two weeks has been a minor but significant victory won by the embattled housewives who by reducing meat purchases brought down prices at the butchers' counters by a few cents. We trust they will extend their operations, for the meat trade is not the only one susceptible to this kind of pressure. Swollen inventories bought on credit are to be found in many lines of business, while production for civilian consumption remains very high. Much of the talk of shortages therefore is unjustified, and if consumers would refuse to be scared by the "buy now" tactics many merchants are using they might stimulate a healthy move to liquidate stocks. Certainly consumers need to take what action they can in this direction, since it is clear they cannot expect very much help from the Office of Price Stabilization, which seems more ready to sanctify *faits accomplis* than to tackle the problem of rolling prices back. In the past week the OPS has authorized a 3½ per cent increase in car prices and has set a ceiling on raw cotton of 45.76 cents a pound, the highest quotation in the five weeks preceding January 25, and incidentally the highest price since Civil War days. The OPS has also issued an order intended to freeze retailers' margins at their present levels, which in most cases are higher than before Korea. This order seems unlikely to please either the merchants, who fear they will be "squeezed" as wholesale prices rise, or their customers, who, as the United Labor Policy Committee has pointed out, will be unable to discover whether prices charged conform to the regulation.

✳

PRESIDENT TRUMAN HAS NOW EXPRESSED HIS unabated confidence in Charles E. Wilson's demonstrated incapacity to understand the human complexities of a democracy's mobilization. This was either double-talk or a compounding of the President's original blunder in turning over to Wilson greater powers than should be given to any appointed official. A man with less blind faith in techniques successful in corporation management would have avoided many of Wilson's mistakes. A more carefully selected person would have invited spokesmen of farm, labor, and consumer groups, to advise him, knowing that to place such men in his office was in effect to disarm them. The fundamental trouble, however, derives from Mr. Truman's grant to him, on demand, of blanket authority over production, manpower, stabilization, and transport. The control of these matters at the top level is the President's job, it cannot ever be abdicated. Charles E. Wilson is a corporation executive who rose from the ranks and learned how to produce and sell electrical equipment at a profit. But the mobilization of a free people is not a production problem; it is a political problem. It is a task for men skilled in human relationships and sensitive to social forces—in short for politicians. If Mr. Wilson has contempt for the politicians—a matter that is not yet clear—so much the worse for him and for the country. We have embarked on a program for making our democracy strong. Democracy can be strengthened by the way its mobilization is carried out as much by its production of war tools. It is strengthened by the constant, expanding use of our traditional political forms under the guidance of elected officials responsible to the people, not by subjection to an appointed czar. The burden is Mr. Truman's, and he must take it back on his shoulders.

✳

PRESIDENT AURIOL WAS STILL TRYING HARD as the week began to patch together some kind of Cabinet so that the conference of the Big Four deputies in Paris need not carry on its deliberations in the absence of a French government. It was not surprising that Georges Bidault and Henri Queuille, the latter famous for his skill in "mending broken china," should have failed to assemble a team to fill the vacuum created by René Pleven's fall. President Auriol finally turned to Guy Mollet, secretary general of the Socialist Party, whose modest personality particularly fits him to preside over a government with the limited mission of remaining in power until the President of the Republic has paid his announced visit to Washington. Certainly it is unlikely, even if he manages to form a Cabinet, that M. Mollet will be able to iron out the differences which have developed over the electoral reform. At the bottom of the present crisis are the coming elections and at the bottom of the dispute about the electoral reform is the fear of all parties in the governing coalition of being overrun at the polls by the Gaullists or the Communists or both. Electoral reform in France now means just one thing: to find a way of preventing these two groups from winning the number of seats in the new Assembly to which their voting strength is likely to entitle them—a rather ironical aim for a parliamentary democracy. In

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 213
Liberation by Death *by Freda Kirchwey* 215
The Two-Term Limit 216

ARTICLES

Labor and the Democrats *by Willard Shelton* 217
The Big Four Meet *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 218
The New Phase—Undeclared War *by Edgar Snow* 220
British Thoughts on War *by Alexander Werth* 223
France Rearmed? *by Robert P. Martin* 224
Dangerous Thoughts: "A Guy's Gotta Be Dead" *by The Observer* 227
Looking Backward 227
The Case of David Hawkins *by Carey McWilliams* 228
Hungry India *by Jean Lyon* 230

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

"Aeneid" for Our Time *by W. H. Auden* 231
A Matter of Perspective *by Milton R. Sapirstein* 232
Genius as Windbag *by Irving Howe* 233
Behind the Gold and Diamond Curtain *by Rayford W. Logan* 233
Our Imperial Past *by Richard D. Heffner* 234
A Philosophical Critique of Traditional Psychology *by Ernest Nagel* 235
The New World *by Eliezer Greenberg* 236
Books in Brief 237
Films *by Manny Farber* 237
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 238

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 239

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 403 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 240

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Contributing Editor: Robert Bendiner
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Italy also the government is in difficulty, for one section of the Christian Democrats, of whom Prime Minister De Gasperi is the leader, is in open revolt against him. As can be seen, the political stabilization of Western Europe takes on different aspects when it is discussed in official speeches and when it is tested on the shaky ground of practical politics.

*

LA PRENSA OF BUENOS AIRES SUDDENLY became an international issue when a gang of thugs, unimpeded by the Argentine police, shot and killed one of its employees, wounded fourteen others, and created a street riot which brought the arrest of two foreign newspapermen, one of them an American, the correspondent of *Time*. Intervention by the United States and British embassies obtained a "pardon" for these men. Meanwhile protests against Dictator Perón's continuing attack on the great Argentine daily have poured into Buenos Aires from all parts of the continent. The staff of *The Nation* sent a cable to Señor Paz, publisher of *La Prensa*, assuring him of their "deepest sympathy and solidarity in his courageous fight to secure freedom of the press in the Western Hemisphere." It would be excellent if similar messages were sent by other publications and groups in this country interested in the defense of civil liberties. Irritated by the growing support that *La Prensa* is receiving from the most diverse elements in Argentine political and social life, Perón hesitates between completing the destruction of independent journalism and trying to discover some "honorable" compromise. If the volume of protest from this country reached dimensions appropriate to the issue it is possible that *La Prensa* would be allowed to renew publication. But action must be immediate.

London, March 1

THE request of the British Trade Union Congress that the government rescind the anti-strike enactments is an attempt to take the lid off labor discontent in order to prevent the mounting pressure from escaping through the spout of Communist-influenced wildcat strikes. Anger is mounting because living costs have already increased by approximately 15 per cent during the past year, according to university statisticians, while wages—largely tied to a somewhat unreal official cost-of-living index—have advanced only about 4 per cent. This trend will certainly continue, since British devaluation and the Korean war have increased the cost of imported foods and raw materials considerably more than the price of British manufacturers. On top of this come the burdens of rearmament. Chancellor of the Exchequer Hugh Gaitskell has been telling intimates that the new budget, due in April, will be "Draconian" and that rearmament will in effect have to be financed largely by depressing real wages. The Trade Union Congress resolution asks

the government to help it keep real wages steady by making it easier to strike legally. It also asks higher taxes on profits.

Trade unionists fear that although Communist influence is at a record low in the movement, it may make a comeback via a wave of "illegal" strikes. The government's recent effort to curb Communist activity among the dockers by indicting a Communist for conspiracy has boomeranged and brought eight thousand London longshoremen out on strike in defense of the Communist right to agitate—this after the Communists had failed to pull the same men off their jobs for economic purposes. Britain's orthodox labor spokesmen see a need to reassert their leadership in order to retain the initiative in the long winter of conservative rule which they accept as inevitable. Labor can recover its popular support only by reversing the present inflation. It can do this only if the armament race is brought to halt. A. R.

OUR Paris correspondent writes: The event of the week was, of course, the death of André Gide. Frenchmen were surprised at the wailing abroad, especially in Britain, where the event was treated as if Gide had been a sort of French equivalent of G. B. S.—the Grand Old Man of French literature. To the young generation of French intellectuals and university students, Gide was, above all, the D. O. M.—the Dirty Old Man—of French literature. This was not because he had been for years the best alibi for every Gide-reading and non-Gide-reading homosexual, but because his precious "sincerity" and "intellectual integrity" had an exhibitionist and narcissistic quality that was odious to the entire generation, regardless of their politics.

Two years ago, when Gide was eighty, dozens of young French writers were asked by *Combat* what they felt and thought about Gide, and the replies expressed almost unanimous hostility. To them Gide was the personification of all that was rotten, anti-social, feebly contemplative, and, in the last analysis, cowardly, in the French character, a poisonous plant of the between-the-wars period. As was to be expected, he had been out of sympathy with the Resistance, and his "intellectual integrity" had led him, in 1941, to accept the Nazi occupation with placid cheerfulness as something that "might prove a good thing in the end"—so long as he could go on publishing odds and ends in collaborationist journals and playing Chopin undisturbed. The most vital elements in France had more respect for all-out Vichyites than for Gide, and they felt that when he got the Nobel Prize, France was slapped in the face.

In the obituaries tribute was paid to Gide as a stylist, but no French critic even remotely suggested that he was "France's greatest writer." As a man, he was most unlovable, with his monumental vanity and thin-lipped meanness. A. W.

Liberation by Death

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

SOME day soon the American mind, mercurial and impulsive, tough and tender, is going to react against the horrors of mechanized warfare in Korea. It will take time. We were all hardened by the methods of mass-slaughter practiced first by the Germans and Japanese and then, in self-defense, adopted and developed to the pitch of perfection illustrated at Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the Western allies and, particularly, the Americans. We became accustomed to "area" bombing, "saturation" bombing, all the hideous forms of strategic air war aimed at wiping out not only military and industrial installations but whole populations. By the time the first atom bomb burst over Hiroshima it was possible to still the sharp voice of warning, and even the anxious whisper of conscience, by calculating the greater numbers that would have died if the bomb had not been dropped. The calculations, as it turned out, were probably wrong; but even if they were not, something else was. A deep scar was left on the mind of Western man, and, again, particularly on the American mind, by the repression of pity and the attempt to off-load all responsibility onto the enemy.

The damage remains. It accounts for the current matter-of-fact weighing of military advantage against possible kick-back in the future use of the atom bomb. It partly accounts for the fatalism with which so many Americans anticipate a general war which would, so certainly, destroy for all concerned all the objectives for which they pretended to fight. More immediately it explains the absence of protest against the orgy of agony and destruction now in progress in Korea. "They started it." Blame Moscow—or the Northern Koreans—or the Chinese Communists—or blame all three. Off-load the guilt.

But it cannot be done, if only because Americans are decent as well as hard-boiled, and subject to sudden revulsions of feelings that confound logicians. For while it is true that the aggression was begun by the Northern Koreans, and that the Chinese marched in when their border was approached, and that Russia may be behind it all, none of this excuses the terrible shambles created up and down the Korean peninsula by the American-led forces, by American planes raining down napalm and fire bombs, and by heavy land and naval artillery.

The facts are only beginning to be told in the United States press. I have written before about this, but it still remains a mystery why the British and French papers have so consistently told a franker and more detailed story of the destruction of Korea. The censorship, presumably, is the same, but American correspondents devote relatively little attention to civilian horrors that have

been freely reported abroad. The suffering of civilian refugees has, it is true, been honestly described in our papers, and some figures as to over-all destruction have been published. Only the other day J. Donald Kingsley, United Nations agent general for Korean reconstruction, reported that Korea was the most devastated land and its people the most destitute in the history of modern warfare. He described the 3,500,000 refugees, lacking clothing and food as well as shelter, for whom no adequate provision can now be made. But figures do little to awaken the minds of war-hardened newspaper readers. They respond only when the human anguish behind the generalities is made concrete.

This has been done only a little and here and there. I have before me a handful of clippings of recent months. They make nasty reading, but few of them question the necessity for the vast slaughter of civilians, the burning of whole villages because a few Communist guerrillas were suspected to be hiding there, the systematic destruction of factories and water systems and transportation facilities—down, almost to the last ox-cart. And still fewer ask the further questions: What does this undifferentiated warfare, this blasting of an entire country, do to the idea of "collective security"? What does it do to the concept of "liberation"?

These questions are being asked in Europe and Asia. They are being asked also in Korea. One of the few plain-spoken accounts of the effect of American methods of warfare on the Korean people appeared in a dispatch by George Barrett in the New York *Times* last Saturday. This story deserves quotation:

> As Korean civilians return to the north now in the wake of the advancing forces of the United Nations and see what has happened in their villages, they stare in numb disbelief at the ghostly piles of ashes that were once homes, schools, and shops. With no homes left for them to put back their meager belongings . . . , many of them are losing all heart in the seesaw war and are asking bitterly just to be let alone to rebuild their bamboo and straw huts. . . .
>
> The danger to the good-will relationship between most Koreans and the United Nations is being heightened by a growing feeling among the Koreans that much of the destruction has been unnecessary. From the time that the allied armies began their withdrawal from Pyongyang, the Communist capital in the north, many units . . . have been leaving blackened paths of their own whenever they have been forced to withdraw along their sectors. . . .
>
> Generally a soldier on the alert in the fighting sector cannot hesitate to squeeze the trigger when there is a sudden movement beyond his position, and he cannot be blamed if the figure darting behind a distant barn turns out later to be a woman carrying her child. But there are cases of infantrymen, resting for a short break, putting matches to a straw hut to get warmth.

No one can read such a story without realizing that liberation through total destruction cannot be the answer to the world's dilemma. Korea, blotted out in the name of collective security, blames the people who drop the fire bombs, touch the match to the straw, blow up the precious industrial facilities. This may seem unfair to the military mind. But it is inevitable and perhaps not as unfair as it looks. For a force which subordinates everything to the job of killing the enemy becomes an enemy itself, no more tolerable to those who watch their country die under its attack. And after a while plain horror displaces a sense of righteousness even among the defenders of righteousness, and thus the cause itself becomes hateful. This has happened in Korea. Soon, as we learn the facts, it will overtake us here in America.

And in Europe and the rest of Asia? There people know the cost of a modern war of liberation. They know that the devastation of Korea has been limited by the fact that only one side possesses efficient machines of destruction and that the use of the atom bomb has been considered impractical. A global war fought with the weapons now available to both sides, not to mention those beginning to be poured out in an ever-mounting stream, would make Korea, by comparison, a summer-day picnic. Knowing this, Asians and Europeans hang on for their life to the possibility of continued negotiation between West and East and regard with dismay and fear political personages who substitute abuse and defiance for diplomacy or assume that attempts to reach a settlement—such as the four-power talks—are doomed in advance to failure.

The Two-Term Limit

IT TURNS out that the "do-nothing Eightieth Congress" did something after all—and did it to Harry S. Truman, of all people. It passed the Twenty-second Amendment to the Constitution, which has just been ratified by three-fourths of the state legislatures and become the law of the land. In an extraordinarily frank statement Guy Gabrielson, chairman of the Republican National Committee, has made perfectly plain the political purpose, as far as his party is concerned, of the amendment that limits future Presidents to two elected terms and no more than ten years in any case. Technically Mr. Truman is exempt from the provisions of the amendment, but, Mr. Gabrielson told the press, "if he should have the audacity to seek another term in 1952, I am confident that the voters—certainly in their present mood—will see to it that the spirit of the amendment is observed."

This ulterior consideration, and the even shabbier purpose of administering a posthumous rebuke to Franklin D. Roosevelt, tend to cloud the issue, but it would

be grossly unfair to suggest that no issue exists or that the constitutional change has lacked the support of principled people whose motivations are of the highest. Their argument, basically, is the Jeffersonian fear that the power of a President can become self-perpetuating. Beyond this, they say, the bar to a third term may have one of two subsidiary effects on a second-term President, both politically healthful. Unaffected by further ambition, he will tend to govern with more detachment than might otherwise be the case, or he will give subordinates an opportunity to demonstrate their capacities, build them up, as it were, in a manner that Roosevelt conspicuously failed to do.

Respecting these arguments as theory, we feel, nevertheless, that they are not too substantial. What Jefferson feared was that the country might succumb to monarchy, that "perpetual eligibility of the President would make the office one for life first and then hereditary." But between the people of the United States and autocratic rule in this century are not the mechanics of election but the degree of vitality left in the Bill of Rights. As long as these rights remain in force—and among the supporters of the Twenty-second Amendment are some who would stifle them—we shall have no dictatorship, whatever a President's tenure of office; once they are gone, the whole Constitution will be meaningless, and such an amendment as this will be a ludicrously feeble reed for democrats to lean on.

If this were the only argument against the Twenty-second Amendment, the case would be wholly negative. More serious by far is the fact that the change weakens our democracy in principle and may prove positively harmful in practice. It prohibits the people from acting in what they may at a given time believe to be their best interests. Gabrielson and others have invoked "the time-honored tradition set by George Washington" on the subject, but nothing could be more palpably dishonest. Washington rejected a third term for himself, but not as a matter of principle. On the contrary, he had written while the government was being established: "I can see no propriety in precluding ourselves from the services of any man who in some great emergency shall be deemed universally most capable of serving the public." Only the public can decide when such a circumstance exists, and any absolute prohibition is an infringement of their sovereign right.

Clearly the public had this feeling in 1940. The third term was the key issue of the Republican campaign in that year, and it is a matter of record that many Democrats, as well as Republicans, were seriously disturbed by the prospect of having the tradition violated. Yet the people as a whole decided that the impending war crisis called for the trained hand of Roosevelt and that this need outweighed the general desirability of the two-term limit.

Against this clear plebiscite the champions of the new amendment pose the fact of its ratification and challenge the President to fly in the face of the national decision. In terms of democracy the two verdicts are not even comparable. Roosevelt won by a direct vote of the people. The amendment, on the other hand, glided through legislatures in a fog of silence—passed by men whose election in no way involved their stand on the question—without hearings, without publicity, without any of that popular participation that should have accompanied a change in the organic law of the country.

Representative Joseph W. Martin, Republican leader in the House, can call this a "victory for the people," but if it is a victory at all, it is for the Republican Party, which has perhaps succeeded in embarrassing Mr. Truman, and for some Southern Democrats who shared in that purpose. But even in these crass terms the triumph is a doubtful one. The day may conceivably come when a crisis calls for the third election of a Republican President, though this may be hard even for G. O. P. partisans to realize inasmuch as only three of their number ever won two terms and only one actually served out a full eight years. In a more immediate sense the victory will seem a hollow one to the Martins and Gabrielsons if by eliminating Truman it produces a fresh and vigorous Democratic nominee in 1952, unburdened by Truman's mistakes and more appealing than any of the Republican aspirants now in sight.

Labor and the Democrats

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, March 2

PRESIDENT TRUMAN departed happily today for a vacation in Key West, leaving behind the revolt of union leaders against Mobilization Czar Charles E. Wilson—which suggests that he understands neither the motives of the union leaders nor the justice of their complaints. One is driven to speculate whether a chain of events has not been set in motion that will ruin the long and generally beneficial alliance between labor and the Democratic Party. No one on the White House staff at present appears capable of repairing the damage, as Clark Clifford did after the President, in May, 1946, in a moment of temper and bad judgment proposed a draft-strikers law of unprecedented severity.

It can be assumed that the Wage Stabilization Board will be "reconstituted" soon by Stabilization Director Eric Johnston and that the union spokesmen will return to it even if their fundamental quarrel with Wilson has not been settled. Johnston did not give labor everything it demanded when he attempted at the last moment to avert the union walkout, but he suggested—on his own initiative and without the formal approval of Wilson—

basic changes in the abortive wage freeze worked out by the public and industry members of the original board. He acted on his own initiative again last night in ordering that cost-of-living escalator clauses in existing contracts should be honored even if their effect was to raise wages for particular groups of workers above the 10 per cent ceiling. Johnston understands the elementary fact that in a democracy the wages paid people working for private employers can be frozen only with their consent.

The union leaders are not incapable of sacrificing for the good of the country what they consider the valid interests and rights of union members—within tolerable limits and by mutual agreement. The editorial writers and Congressmen who roared imprecations at labor for "striking" against the government should refresh their memories of World War II. In 1941 union leaders quit a mediation board which denied workers a union shop and the right to strike for it, but they joined the War Labor Board, which then worked out a compromise formula providing for maintenance-of-membership clauses in contracts. The United Labor Policy Committee, in its statement assailing Wilson, deliberately left open a door through which Johnston could invite them back to a revamped wage board. Aware that the unions believed much of the trouble was caused by the ineptness of the public members, Johnston talked of bringing back William H. Davis, the patient, able chairman of the old War Labor Board, and former Senator Frank P. Graham, who was one of its members.

THE relationship between Wilson and Johnston is a fascinating question. When Johnston was made Stabilization Director, replacing Alan Valentine, it was announced that an executive order would outline his powers; the order has never been issued. Johnston was expected to be allotted space in the Executive Offices Building, across the street from the White House, where the powerful lieutenants directly under Mr. Truman are almost automatically housed. Instead, he and a small staff are located several blocks away in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation building. No one in either Wilson's or Johnston's office will discuss in any great detail Johnston's attempt to settle the wage dispute on his own authority. Both men are Republicans—it is difficult to find a Democrat in the mobilization machine—but Johnston urged many months ago that workers should be given greater responsibility in government, because the battle for the world is now being fought at the workers' level. That is language which Wilson has shown he does not understand.

The United Labor Policy Committee, in its running war with Wilson, has been careful to avoid direct attacks on Mr. Truman. Although James B. Carey, secretary of the C. I. O., publicly read in Boston a letter criticizing the President for turning over mobilization to a corporation and banking clique, the letter was never sent to the White House. The independent Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, whose leaders were recently denounced by the President for acting like a bunch of Russians, regularly refers to his "subservience to big business," but A. F. of L. and C. I. O. spokesmen have been cautious about burning their bridges. The question is how long this can continue and whether the union leaders' assault on Wilson will not cause labor's rank and file to lose confidence in the Truman Administration.

How can union members trust Mr. Truman for a fair deal when their own press repeatedly charges him with having turned over supreme economic power to a coterie of Wilson men who treat labor with contempt? What will happen if Wilson's policies, rammed down labor's throat, result in wildcat strikes against an unrealistic wage freeze imposed while price control remains a joke? Wildcat strikes were checked in World War II by the union leaders themselves; but these men knew that they had fair representation in the mobilization and stabilization agencies.

Mr. Truman, in one of his heart-warming moments of utter sincerity, wistfully murmured yesterday that he wished he could return to the Senate, which he had left to get into "more trouble than any man in the world has ever gotten into." Increasingly one has the impression that he does not want to run for President in 1952. But labor's loss of confidence in the Democratic Party affects more than Mr. Truman's private fortunes. It raises the question whether organized labor in America, as in Britain during the past half-century, will feel driven by the hostility and lack of understanding in both traditional parties to seek its political salvation in a third party.

The Big Four Meet

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

AFTER several months of exchanging notes, the Big Four are actually going to meet. It is true that their representatives in Paris are only laying the groundwork for a conference of the four Foreign Ministers, but after this first step has been taken it is hardly conceivable that anything will be allowed to block such a supremely important attempt to ease the international tension.

To understand the difficulties and the chances of success one must bear in mind the reactions of the powers to the series of events that have marked the conference's long period of gestation. There has been a perceptible change in the West's reception of Moscow's direct communications and also in its attitude toward such collateral manifestations of Russian views as the Soviet reply to the British note of February 17 regarding

the treaty of friendship between the two countries and the *Pravda* interview with Stalin. Even when the Kremlin launched a violent attack on Prime Minister Attlee and the Labor government, the atmosphere in London and Paris remained favorable to negotiation.

Washington has been less enthusiastic. In his *Pravda* interview Stalin did not mention four-power talks or the German issue, but the question of course arose whether his remarks smoothed the way to a meeting or would effectively prevent one. Some French and British commentators heard in them, especially in his reference to the quality of the American soldier, "a tone of esteem and almost of friendship," as *L'Observateur* put it. Roger Massip, who is as moderate in his views as he is well-informed on foreign affairs, wrote in the conservative *Figaro* that it "would be a mistake to think Marshal Stalin wanted to torpedo the conference which Moscow, it should not be forgotten, had taken the initiative in proposing." On this side of the Atlantic, however, the interview was dismissed as "pure propaganda," likely to destroy any hope of successful negotiation.

No other reaction could have been expected. For years the American people have been told by their government and by their Russian experts, first, that it was impossible to talk with the Russians; second, that even if negotiations were undertaken no agreement could be reached; third, that no agreement would be worth anything, since the Russians would not respect it.

Ever since Acting Foreign Minister Gromyko handed his first request for a conference to the ambassadors of the United States, Great Britain, and France, the Russians have been accused of trying to sow disunity in the Western coalition—which would hardly be surprising inasmuch as the coalition is directed against Russia. But it often seems as if Moscow had only to wait and let the Western powers find their own grounds for disagreement. One has been provided by Adenauer's shrewd attempts to obtain assurances from the Allied High Commissioners in West Germany that the four-power conference would take no decisions inacceptable to Bonn; this would in effect fulfil Bernard Baruch's famous prophecy: "Germany will dictate the peace in Europe." The French High Commissioner, M. François-Poncet, refused; the British High Commissioner, Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, consented but his government called him to order. Mr. McCloy amiably assured the Chancellor, according to the New York *Times*, that the "investment of their resources in Western Germany gives evidence of their [the Allies'] good faith that there would be no betrayal of the Germans."

Adenauer's maneuvering has now been checked by the increasing clamor for the unification of Germany, which has pushed all other problems into the background, even rearmament. Under the pressure of the demands for unity issuing constantly from the eastern zone, West Germany appears suddenly to have reached agreement on a policy toward the east and, according to a statement by Dr. Schumacher, the Social Democratic leader, at a press conference in Berlin on February 28, will "take the initiative in the campaign for German unity." Smart politician that he is, the Chancellor has climbed on the bandwagon and in a coming address to Parliament is expected to urge unification even more vigorously than Grötewohl himself, the Minister President of East Germany.

THE impatience with which the people of Europe await the four-power conference and their insistence that everything possible be done to make it a success have penetrated even to conservative American circles. *Business Week* of January 6 reported that "some American observers in Paris feel a refusal to talk with Moscow will now completely shake Western Europe's faith in American leadership." In the words of the *Wall Street Journal* of January 4, such a refusal would leave the United States "open to the charge that it is unwilling to negotiate with the Russians. This country should always be willing to talk as long as it is possible to talk."

The official American view remains skeptical. In announcing the American decision to take part in the preliminary Paris meeting, Michael J. McDermott, State Department press official, warned that the Soviet note "does not suggest any real change of attitude on their part which would encourage the hope that the four ministers would be able to reach useful agreements." To use the conference for propaganda is the purpose officially attributed to the Russians. But Stewart Alsop, writing from Washington in the New York *Herald Tribune* of March 2, revealed that what the government fears even more is that the Russians will come to Paris with very concrete proposals. "A nightmare," he wrote, "is beginning to haunt those principally responsible for American foreign policy. For it is now about as certain as such things can be that the Kremlin will soon formally propose a German settlement based on the unity of a 'neutralized' Germany, after the staggered withdrawal of all occupation troops." He even indicated that the Russians might "ostensibly accept the principle of a free, secret, unsupervised vote to elect a single all-German government." The thing most to be feared, apparently, is a reasonable Russia.

Except for the few remaining "merchants of death," even high finance in Western Europe is afraid of war. Its attitude was defined in the February issue of the liberal monthly *Esprit*: "At the time of Munich the financial élite feared a war [against Hitler] which it did not want; today it fears the consequences of a war of which it approves in principle . . . but which will destroy, equally, communism and capitalism." I know positively that in the critical weeks after the U. N. forces

crossed the Thirty-eighth Parallel, when a general war with China, and perhaps with Russia, seemed imminent, some French multimillionaires turned their wealth into forms which could be readily taken out of France, bought houses in North Africa, and anchored their yachts in the harbor of St. Jean-de-Luz, ready to sail.

For the present the most important thing is the progress of the preparatory meeting in Paris. It is to be hoped that Great Britain and France can regain the initiative and exercise a moderating influence so that when the agenda for the main conference is decided on, Russia and the United States will not clash again. The thing to be avoided above all is having every Russian proposal countered by an American proposal, or the other way round, so that a deadlock becomes inevitable. For example, if the Americans demand that Russia induce the other countries of Eastern Europe to adjust the size of their armies in conformity with the peace treaties, Russia may demand the inspection of American atomic production, and then the old bitter controversy over atomic control will be revived, ruining any prospect of the conference's success. If Mr. Acheson tries to put Russia in the wrong by denouncing its violation of international agreements, Mr. Vishinsky will not lack the means of counter-attack. He might, for instance, introduce the Spanish issue, for the Western powers have violated the Potsdam declaration by their policy toward Franco. The sharp statement of the British Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Ernest Davies, against admitting Franco to the Atlantic coalition, which raised such a storm in Madrid, would indicate that if this controversial subject is put on the agenda by the Russians, it will not find the Western powers united.

The Russians must realize that the conference offers a unique opportunity to settle the differences between East and West without war. Its failure would give tremendous impetus to the accumulation of more and more atomic bombs, leaving it to them to finish the diplomatic dialogue. Russia can and should be intransigent on the question of German rearmament, but on other points it can and should yield, since the price of a limited agreement, which is all that can be expected in the present circumstances, can never be too high. A successful outcome of the conference will enable the forces of peace everywhere to keep the war hysteria under control for some time.

The New Phase—Undeclared War

BY EDGAR SNOW

WITH Mr. Truman's declaration of an American protectorate in Formosa and the use of American troops against Communists on the continent of Asia, the cold war merged into a state of undeclared war. The new phase is somewhat analogous to the 1931-39 period, when Japan seized Manchuria and North China, while Italy and Germany knocked off some victims in Africa and Europe, and Russia grabbed parts of Poland, Finland, and Rumania in the brief twilight before the Nazi invasion.

We can now observe some interesting things about this undeclared world war. Probably the most important fact is that Russia seeks to avoid involvement in a general catastrophe as long as possible. There is unanswerable proof of that. Because of fear of a head-on clash with the United States, Russia has refused to intervene with its armed forces in behalf of a Communist nation—North Korea—standing on a frontier of the utmost strategic importance. Second, it follows that at no time since 1945 has Russia intended to initiate a general war with the United States and its allies.

EDGAR SNOW is the author of "Red Star Over China," "The Pattern of Soviet Power," and other books.

Third, having rejected the great "opportunity" of 1950, when the Red Army could have occupied all Europe, and moved down to the Persian Gulf, while Russia's Chinese allies were sweeping to Singapore and the Bay of Bengal, it is entirely unlikely that the Kremlin will launch a major war under the less favorable circumstances of 1951. Fourth, large-scale militarization of the anti-Communist bloc is nevertheless proceeding rapidly, on the assumption that just such a Russian attack is imminent.

Fifth, this all-out rearmament in the United States and Western Europe raises before Russian eyes the old frightful specter of massive "encirclement," of such a nature as to threaten its great industrial and military bases with obliteration by surprise attack. Russia has forgotten nothing it learned from Hitler's invasion and cannot for a moment trust assurances of peaceful intentions. Sixth, Russia must therefore quickly find an answer to this deadly peril, in addition to heavier armament—and short of general war.

The announced aim of the Allied strategy of building up "positions of strength" around Russia is to change the existing balance of power. It is intended to eliminate even the temptation, which the West's present lack of mili-

tary power presents, for Russia to overrun the non-Communist countries by force. To do this, superiority in arms must be attained. And there is no doubt that if the war potential of the United States and Western Europe is mobilized, Russia and its friends can be "outarmed." It is known, however, that not the present 40 billion dollars, or double that, but from 120 to 150 billion dollars, of current value, will be the annual American military investment required to surpass, decisively, the war-production potential of the Eurasian Communist axis.

What is expected to happen when that has been attained? None of the Atlantic allies has ever explained, beyond the vague promise that communism would then be "contained." But it is hardly conceivable that such gigantic military burdens will be tolerated indefinitely, or even for a few years, by the American and Western European peoples for purely passive or defensive slogans. A seventh feature of the age, therefore, is that we must expect a "dynamic" ideology to be found to justify this costly activity—one with positive political aims which promise to eradicate for all time the basic conditions requiring the sacrifice of so many vital human needs.

Congress is already groping in this direction. It is clearly disposed to extend American anti-Communist intervention in Asia. It is ready to begin by rearming Chiang Kai-shek and helping him to invade China—a quixotic project, incidentally, which Mao Tse-tung would doubtless welcome as a new source of arms. Anyway, MacArthur has made it clear that he is ready to support Chiang's "liberation" effort by bombing Manchurian industry. Allied intelligence agencies have long been agitating for serious arming of anti-Communist underground movements in the Balkans and Russia. Thus the "positive political aims" of the mobilization may soon be openly defined as the liberations of *all* countries under the Kremlin's yoke—including, eventually, Russia itself.

If such developments by now seem logical enough for us to anticipate, it is likely that in Moscow they have long since been taken as much for granted as the "inevitability" of American rearmament. As for its own major contributions to that "inevitability," the Kremlin is probably blind to and unaware of them. But we may be sure of one thing, on the basis of past Communist "formulations" and of the facts now in being—that the Russian leaders will not sit idly by until new "positions of strength" embolden the Allies to announce more far-reaching and aggressive political aims.

Russia may now resort to greatly intensified promotion of civil war and revolution, without directly engaging Soviet forces. In this effort Communist China has emerged as an invaluable instrument, on a quite different level from the Soviet satellites in Europe. For events in Korea have made it clear that a kind of relationship new to the history of Stalinism now exists between Moscow and Peking. In China, unlike Eastern Europe, the apparatus of direct Kremlin control could not, in the nature of things, be established—even if Russia were inclined to assume economic responsibility for 400,000,000 people with a standard of living much lower than its own. Because Stalin did not have direct police power in China he had to recognize the Chinese Communist Party's independence in reality as well as in form and to rely upon Soviet moral, political, and economic prestige to retain the loyal support of the Chinese party. In this he seems to have been rewarded beyond his own reasonable dreams.

The first duty of Communists, in all times and places, is to pursue policies which enhance the security and power of the Soviet Union. In Korea it was demonstrated that the Kremlin could depend upon the Chinese party to live up to that obligation—all the more so because Chinese leaders now see no impressive contradictions between the Kremlin's purposes and their own. And this fact—the reverse of the notion that China is an unwilling slave of Russia—is the eighth important feature of the new undeclared world war. It is quite enough to give the Kremlin an enormously expanded field of maneuver.

While Russia cautiously avoids direct war with the United States or its allies, it has the means of embroiling them in a dozen widely scattered areas. China is the key to such a strategy in the East; Germany, in the West. Korea was a grave disappointment to Communists who expected a pushover victory, but it showed the Kremlin how costly a task suppressing Communists abroad can be made for the United States.

BARRING a settlement by compromise, there is no visible prospect of a lasting decision in Korea for months or perhaps years. Even if the Chinese were driven out, or voluntarily withdrew, leaving the main towns, roads, and railways in Allied hands, a second "people's war" would probably begin before the ruins could cool. The minimum objectives of Chinese intervention certainly include organizing guerrilla bases and training and arming the Korean peasantry on a mass scale for prolonged partisan warfare. There is little reason to suppose that any Syngman Rhee regime would be able to survive against native Communist opposition if American police power were withdrawn.

In addition to Formosa, General Wu Hsiu-chan, Peking's spokesman at Lake Success, mentioned the Philippines and Indo-China as countries to which China would extend a "brotherly hand" in the struggle for "liberation." If he did not include Hongkong it was purely for tactical reasons. The same doubtless applies to Burma, Malaya, Siam, Indonesia, and perhaps even India. In all these places civil war, or national revolution combined with civil war, either already rages or could be promoted with Chinese Communist help.

Right now Indo-China, on the periphery of the Soviet

empire, is the most vulnerable objective in the Communist conception of protracted class wars of attrition fought by armed peasant masses. With only negligible aid from China, Ho Chi Minh's forces are able to confine the French to a few cities and strong points. France's five-year attempt to reconquer the colony has already cost it roughly the equivalent of all the Marshall Plan aid it has received. Yet the Vietnam revolutionary army is now a more formidable military-political problem than the Chinese Soviet republic of Kiangsi presented to Chiang Kai-shek. It took the Generalissimo five years, and five major campaigns—the last involving the use of 900,000 troops at the peak of Kuomintang morale—to drive the Chinese red army out of Kiangsi by a strategy of encirclement and depopulation of the infected districts. Even so, his victory proved to be a Pyrrhic one.

If the Chinese gave Ho Chi Minh major help, including tanks and artillery, he would doubtless be able to push the French army of 150,000 men down to Saigon and perhaps into the sea. But the United States is now committed to intervention in Indo-China, too. Here an army of occupation even larger than that engaged in Korea may be needed, ultimately, to cope with a throng of guerrillas secure among a people almost undivided in its demand for complete independence. Moreover, American intervention in behalf of French colonial power and a monarch most Asian nations regard as a puppet would probably get no sanction in the U. N. Even Britain could take part only at the risk of provoking immediate retaliation in Hongkong.

The Hongkong-Kowloon colony might be held against direct assault, but the Chinese could make its defense extremely costly. The population is almost entirely Chinese. Very likely the Communists would not make an overt move there until a powerful underground movement had been organized and armed, reinforced by secret infiltration of regular troops. With control of the sea and air, 50,000 Anglo-American troops could perhaps retain the main island. But it would be a heavy economic liability, a fortress cut off from the continent and from the trade which was its life blood, and entirely dependent on American supplies.

In Burma civil war has been going on for four years, led by native Communists who regard Mao Tse-tung as their mentor. A major rebellion of the Shan people in the north could probably be instigated by Chinese promises of independence, and armed help. With Chinese backing the Burmese red army could doubtless overthrow the weak government at Rangoon, unless that government got support from Allied armies. Another 75,000 foreign troops might be needed to reconquer and pacify Burma—and several billion dollars in aid to rebuild it at the end of a protracted partisan war.

Similar possibilities may tempt Peking in Thailand and Malaya, where large indigenous Chinese populations, predominantly working class, almost outnumber the natives. The Burmese, Thai, Cambodian, Vietnamese, Malayan, Japanese, Indonesian, and Filipino Communist parties are all represented in China by military and political delegations and liaison officers. Though China could not supply all their needs as insurgents without Russian help, Moscow may provide more abundant aid as it seeks to divert the Western power now being mobilized against it. Respectable quantities of arms have already been smuggled to the Hukbalahaps in the Philippines.

Conceivably, by exploiting all the political-military opportunities in Southeast Asia and in Korea and Japan, the Chinese might tie down half a million Allied troops. Of course there would soon be a hue and cry to carry the undeclared war directly to China. That must certainly be included in the calculations of Moscow and Peking. While not welcoming the risk, it seems likely that the Chinese Communists loyally reconciled themselves to it before they intervened in Korea. Though China might suffer terrible wounds from an invasion or an air war, two million American troops would be required to hold just the main cities and communications. That would mean a tremendous diversion of strength from the chief objective, Russia, the "center of the world revolution."

THE Kremlin's maneuvering ground for undeclared war in Europe is narrower but still impressive. Russia could withdraw its own troops from Germany and retain only police power there. A civil war could break out in West Germany and receive support from East German "volunteers"; this would impose heavy military exertions on the Allies. A similar situation might be created by armed uprising in Yugoslavia—with the Balkan Communists offering "volunteer" support to the insurgents.

In Iran the Russians have in the Kurds a people capable of launching a war of "liberation" against the effete Shah and the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. Given sufficient across-the-border help, a Kurdish rebellion, in alliance with the followers of the old Tudeh Party, might readily win victory, without direct Soviet involvement. Again, suppression could mean the diversion of a hundred thousand Allied troops, who might be lucky to arrive in time to save the oil wells.

Now until all these and still other political and military means of "exploiting the contradictions within the enemy camp" have been exhausted, the Red Army, unless the U. S. S. R. is itself invaded, is not likely to commit its troops in direct intervention anywhere. Russia needs much more time, preferably another ten years, before it can risk any general offensive. As the momentum of Western rearmament grows, the Kremlin may try to buy time by offering plausible peace proposals, covering the questions of land, air, and sea parity, atomic

weapons, Germany and Japan, and even withdrawal of armed forces from Eastern Europe. Meanwhile the Politburo probably hopes that in every country in which America intervenes it will continue to support the status quo and combat social-revolutionary movements, that such countries will become, like Korea, economic, political, and military liabilities in any scheme of grand encirclement or ultimate attempt to demolish the "center of the world revolution."

Such are the things which Stalin no doubt had in mind when, in his recent "interview" with *Pravda*, he promised the American "interventionists" "ultimate defeat" if they did not now accept the Chinese terms for a settlement in Korea.

British Thoughts on War

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

London, February 16

GEOGRAPHICALLY, economically, and psychologically Britain lends itself far less easily than France to any kind of "neutralism." For better or worse, England is destined to be an outpost of "English-speaking" defense. But the very fact that it is America's "unsinkable aircraft carrier" and therefore the most obvious target for either Russian attack or Russian retaliation has made public opinion here extremely distrustful of the more hotheaded elements in the United States. A phrase one hears constantly in conversations with people in every walk of life is: "if only the Yanks don't drag us into it." This sentiment, incidentally, is scarcely reflected at all in the daily press, whose pro-American conformism is the joint creation of the newspaper proprietors and the Foreign Office. In November, at the height of MacArthur's "Home by Christmas" offensive, the most pro-American papers showed some alarm, but it was only a pale shadow of the feeling sweeping the country, a feeling which was also evident in Parliament and which in the end compelled Mr. Attlee to fly to Washington.

The sense of disquiet, though less intense now, is nevertheless ever present, and is likely to continue as long as any kind of war goes on in the Far East. The "Peace with China" movement, which has developed in Britain with great speed, despite a total lack of encouragement from either the government or the press, is an expression of the profound British desire to warn America against committing Britain to war against its wishes. The movement was started by an *ad hoc* group under the wing of the National Peace Council, a non-party organization of long standing which originally showed "pacifist" tendencies. The "Peace with China" group is not itself pacifist, though no doubt it appeals to some old-fashioned pacifist elements. Its aim is to coordinate the efforts of all those who seek a constructive British initiative for peace. Broadly speaking, it follows the Nehru line on Asian questions, and is essentially non-Communist, non-pacifist, and not even "neutralist."

The Kingsway Hall meeting at which the National Council for Peace with China was created, though ignored and boycotted by almost the entire press, had an immediate and nation-wide response. Local "Peace with China" councils began to spring up all over the country; there are already thirty in the London area. Others are in Glasgow, Birmingham, Bristol, Hull, Newcastle, Hastings, Wolverhampton, Nottingham, Boulton, and Warrington. In Birmingham all the local Labor M. P.'s have joined. Among the members of the National Council are Lord Boyd Orr, Lord Lindsay, Lady Selwyn Clarke, Professor Blackett, Mrs. Harold Laski, Lady Parmoor, more than twenty Labor M. P.'s, including Elwyn Jones, Seymour Cocks, and Tom Driberg, and prominent Liberals like Wilfred Roberts, M. P., and Sir Richard Acland. Numerous Conservatives also promote the council's policy.

In its manifesto, "The Peril of World War," the council set down its principal objectives:

> We should emphasize our conviction that the Cairo and Potsdam decisions on Formosa are binding on the signatories.
>
> We should, in concert with the Commonwealth and other members of U. N., press for the admission of China to the Security Council.
>
> We should explictly oppose any extension of the Korean conflict.
>
> We should seek an early and equitable settlement in Korea . . . and make proposals for the creation of a united independent Korea.
>
> We should press for the fullest collaboration with India, Pakistan, and other Asian countries in a renewed effort by the U. N. peaceably to solve outstanding political problems and to consider comprehensive means for the economic rehabilitation of Korea.

The huge meeting in Glasgow on February 9, which almost entirely filled the city's largest hall, St. Andrew's, showed what a strong intellectual and emotional appeal the movement is making. Kingsley Martin, editor of the *New Statesman and Nation*, its real intellectual leader, made a deep impression on the audience by saying that the application of military sanctions to China would inevitably bring the Soviet air force into the war and, most

likely, extend the war to Europe and to the British Isles. He strongly emphasized the point that the Peace with China Council was not anti-American, and that it was expressing the innermost thoughts not only of millions of Britons but also of millions of Americans whose opinions were never voiced in a conformist press and radio. In England, he said, most of the press was still misrepresenting the war in Korea as a police action in defense of collective security and democracy. He defended China's intervention in Korea on the ground that it had every reason to suspect MacArthur and other American leaders of the most sinister designs. MacArthur, with his avowed desire to "free" Asia, was the champion of colonialism and the oppression of the peoples of Asia. British audiences, with a bad conscience about Britain's own record in the past, are deeply sensitive to such arguments. There is a genuine feeling of friendship for China, and if Soviet communism is sufficiently disliked not to make Mao Tse-tung a hero, the revulsion against Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee is intense.

The audience at the Glasgow meeting was a typically mixed one. It contained a high proportion of working-class people but also many teachers, clergymen, business men, and others. There were a good number of "Z" reservists, for whom the danger of war is a matter of immediate personal interest. While the movement is ignored by the Communist Party, it may well include among its supporters some diehard pacifists and some emotional and intellectual anti-Americans, but in general, it is a crystallization of a deep-seated feeling against war and of the current discontent with the sometimes unduly timid policy of the British government in its dealings with America.

Because the council has been "tactless" in denouncing the American extremists, it has been frowned upon not only by the Foreign Office but also by Mr. Attlee; Transport House (the Labor Party headquarters), while not *forbidding* Labor members to speak at its meetings, has decided not to *encourage* them. But perhaps at heart Mr. Attlee knows that the movement is being duly noticed by Washington and is serving a useful purpose. If Sir Gladwyn Jebb has been doing his best to restrain the American generals in his tactful diplomatic way, the Peace with China Council, often in tactless and undiplomatic language, is telling America that the British public stands behind him.

Japan Rearmed?

BY ROBERT P. MARTIN

Tokyo, February 15

IN JAPAN it is considered ironical that 1951 is the Year of the Rabbit. According to the zodiacal calendar, the Year of the Rabbit should be a year of peace and successful accomplishment. Instead, to many Japanese 1951 promises continued fear and uncertainty, with the obstacles to peace and comfort seemingly insurmountable. The Japanese are being told by Americans and their own leaders that they may have to take up arms again, although five years of peace have not erased either the fear of war and devastation from the air or the secret dread that Japan may go back to being a nation ruled by militarists.

The following incidents may be taken as typical:

In A-bombed Hiroshima a Socialist candidate for mayor won election with the argument: "If you are willing to sign a pledge that you will gladly pay five to ten times the taxes you are already paying and that you are ready to be drafted into military service, then vote for my opponent, the man chosen by the Liberals [Premier Yoshida's party], who are plotting to involve the nation in rearmament and war."

In the debate on whether Japan should rephrase the "no war" clauses of the constitution, a statement made by General MacArthur a year ago is often quoted: "Japan should be the Switzerland of the Far East and neutral for the same reason that Switzerland is neutral: no matter which side she might join she would inevitably be destroyed."

A famous Japanese general, still bitter over MacArthur's purge of regular officers, "almost as if they were criminals," declared: "We are not so simple and forgetful as to join the new army, which is going to be set up mostly for America's needs."

Many Americans, fearful that a rearmed Japan might turn into a Frankenstein monster, find small comfort in the bland assurance that United States control of Japanese imports and Japan's dependence on United States financial aid will be enough to prevent any resurgence of militarism. They remember that Premier Yoshida told a prominent diplomat he was "frightened at the prospect of reviving the army because the militarists might stage a coup d'état to seize power."

The inevitability of rearmament is generally accepted. The question is no longer whether Japan will be permitted to rearm, but when, how fast, and to what extent. Communist aggression in Korea and even more

ROBERT P. MARTIN is a correspondent in Tokyo for the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Communist China's subsequent intervention profoundly impressed those Japanese who had fondly imagined that their country could become Asia's "Switzerland." They began to realize that neutrality would not protect them and that the United States would not guarantee their safety from aggression unless they carried a share of the defense load. A major reason for the widespread passivity about rearmament is that no political group, other than the Communists and the left-wing Socialists, has taken a position against it. The Communists have been more or less driven underground, and the split in the Socialist Party decreases the effectiveness of the left wing's demand for a general peace, permanent neutrality, and no American bases. Non-Communist labor unions, however, still say Japan must remain neutral and disarmed in a world preparing for war. And many of Japan's intellectuals, while admitting that rearming is the best way to ward off aggression at the moment, are disturbed by the long-range implications of rearmament and alliance with the United States. The Peace Study Group, an association of prominent educators and intellectuals, has warned of the danger that Japan will remain a permanent "ward" of the United States and on semi-war terms with China and Russia.

When John Foster Dulles visited Japan, he frankly confessed that the United States had only a temporary interest in Japan. When industrialists questioned him about Japan's future prospects, he replied: "If the country is destroyed in five years, what does it matter what happens ten years from now?"

FOUR assets commend Japan to Americans who think in terms of global strategy. First, in a revolutionary Asia, Japan is one of the few countries in which order rather than chaos appears to be the natural state of affairs. Second, Japan is close enough to the centers of Communist power on the Asiatic mainland to have strategic value for the United States in a war fought with air power and atomic bombs; it is also big enough to be difficult to invade. Third, in Japan's vast population of more than 84,000,000 are experienced hands for factories and sturdy peasants with a century-old tradition of military service. And finally, Japan alone of all the Asiatic nations has the industrial capacity to support a large land army.

There are nearly 5,000,000 veterans of World War II in Japan, many of them still in their twenties. Each year between 800,000 and 1,000,000 youths come on the employment market and, theoretically, are available for military service. Japan's problem obviously is not man-power but a continuous supply of the weapons, ammunition, and equipment that a modern army consumes in prodigious quantities.

In a rearmament program Japan would be starting from scratch. The huge stores of arms and equipment surrendered after V-J Day were burned or dumped in the sea. Arsenals were destroyed or converted to peace-time use. The basic needs of a Japanese army, therefore, must at first be supplied by America. A long-range rearmament program, however, must depend on domestic production, on partial conversion of peace-time industries to war purposes. Far more than retooling and expansion of industry will be required. Rearmament, even on a small scale, will affect the country's still shaky financial structure, undermine the delicate balance between export and import trade, and probably prevent the extensive trade with Communist China that Japan has hoped would bring economic stability.

Japan has a large industrial potential. Steel production, now at an annual rate of three million tons, could probably be increased to five or six million tons. Plants manufacturing automobiles, locomotives, communications and electrical equipment, and machinery are not running at full capacity. A number of former ordnance and tank factories are reconditioning American equipment and vehicles needed for the war in Korea. Within a few months many large former war plants could be producing artillery, shells, tanks, and other matériel.

But Japan has two weaknesses: it is a have-not nation in terms of raw materials; and its normal source of supply is Communist China. Its steel industry was developed with materials obtained from the exploitation of Manchuria and China. This dependence on mainland sources still exists. The Japanese had planned to import this year more than a million tons of coking coal from North China's Kailan mines and between two and three million tons of iron ore from Hainan and central China —that is, more than 50 per cent of the raw materials required to produce four million tons of finished steel. The United States is a substitute source for coking coal, but the cost is considerably higher.

It is doubtful whether the United States, now engaged on its own rearmament and committed to massive support of the North Atlantic powers, has a sufficient surplus of basic raw materials to make large amounts available to Japan. During the 1951 fiscal year Japan needed 3,236,000 tons of food but by the end of the first half (December) had been able to get only 928,000 tons, or 28.7 per cent of its needs. It obtained only 8 per cent of its industrial-salt and 26 per cent of its coking-coal requirements during the same period. Meanwhile prices in the world market have risen, drastically affecting import plans. Wool prices, for instance, have nearly trebled in the last six months.

Many American and Japanese economists believe that Japan's recovery is too shallow to support any large rearmament program. The living standard of the people is still between 20 and 30 per cent lower than it was before the war. Diversion of production to armaments would reduce exports, force the government to increase

taxes, and in the end lower the living standard. That would be dangerous from the political and social point of view. Most Japanese economists insist that a reasonable living standard can be maintained only through extensive trade with China. This trade was on the increase, reaching $10,000,000 a month despite handicaps imposed by both the Americans and Chinese, until the United States declared a flat embargo on trade with the Peking government. Certainly the Chinese Communists would not trade with Japan, even if Washington permitted it, if their coking coal and iron ore were to be used for the manufacture of arms. In the absence of this trade the United States must not only supply equipment and raw materials during the early stages of rearmament but continue to do so on an increasing scale.

ONE of Japan's leading economists has given me the outline of a plan by which his country, with American aid, could rearm to a limited extent. He assumed an army of 500,000 men, costing about 300 billion yen a year. This would be nearly half of the present national budget of 650 billion yen and approximately 10 per cent of the national income. The cost of an enlarged naval force, or coast guard, which Japan would need to control illegal trade and entry, was not considered. A volunteer army would be more expensive than a conscript army because good pay would be the major attraction.

This economist believes Japan can afford the 300 billion yen under certain circumstances. The government, for instance, now spends about 100 billion yen a year for occupation costs. The United States supplies about $200,000,000 a year (72 billion yen) in aid to Japan, primarily wheat, cotton, and other raw materials. If Japan were not required to bear the costs of the occupation and if the United States provided arms and equipment for the new army and continued its aid on the present scale for at least three more years, Japan might be in a position to assume the burden of supporting the army.

The core of a new Japanese army would be found in the 75,000-man National Police Reserve that General MacArthur authorized last summer when he began stripping the country of occupation troops for the war in Korea. MacArthur's directive said that the establishment of this force was a step in "the progressive development of law-enforcing agencies adequate to the maintenance of internal security and order." The N. P. R. can in fact develop in one of two directions—as a law-enforcing police body or as the cadre for a larger defensive army.

Creation of the National Police Reserve and the subsequent training program brought a rash of rumors which revealed the widespread anxiety over the prospect of rearmament. A census official was reported to have declined to accept a preliminary summary of the size of the population because it did not include the census of the new police force. This official, according to the popular version of the story, said the N. P. R. contained 75,000 men plus *x*, and since *x* was an unknown quantity he could not certify the accuracy of the population count. One definitely false rumor was that the N. P. R. was being trained in the use of tanks, bazookas, mortars, and heavy weapons. Another that caused quite a stir was that trainees received basic instructions in English. This was cited as proof that American officers would some day be in command of Japanese soldiers. At first the recruits did march singing "one, two, three, four," but they soon reverted to "ichi, ni, san, shi." Although American carbines and field manuals are used, American officers and enlisted men act only as supervisors; the Japanese are in charge of training.

Nearly half of the reservists are veterans; six thousand are former officers. No difficulty was encountered in recruiting the number desired. The minimum pay for an unmarried regular policeman is 3,991 yen (about $11) a month, whereas his equivalent in the N. P. R. is paid 4,500 yen a month and is fed and housed. At the end of the two-year enlistment each non-commissioned reservist is given 60,000 yen cash as a retirement bonus. In the rush to enlist some of the most eager, to show their "sincerity," wrote their applications in blood: one was reminded of the "kamikaze" philosophy of World War II.

For months after the creation of the N. P. R., MacArthur's subordinates heatedly denied that it would ever become the nucleus of a new army. Now, with SCAP admitting that Japan may need an army to oppose aggression, they say, in substance, that "Japan has the right to defend itself." Thousands of experienced ex-officers are available for the new army if and when it comes into being. MacArthur has already exempted 3,200 from the purge, and theoretically they are now free to join any police or future military establishment. MacArthur's intelligence chief, Major General Charles A. Willoughby, has a complete file giving the experience, capabilities, and whereabouts of all demobilized Japanese officers. He also keeps on his pay roll, in the historical section of G-2, a group of former colonels who were the "brains" of the planning and operations sections of the Imperial General Staff. If these men are "de-purged," as seems likely to happen after a peace treaty is signed, they will provide a ready-made staff.

Mr. Dulles said the word "rearmament" was not mentioned in any of his official talks here. He did, however, tell a number of Japanese leaders that they could never again have a "national" army. The Japanese got the impression that any military force they organized in the future would be part of a United Nations force. But they also believe that once a peace treaty is signed and Japan regains its sovereignty, they will be more or less free to determine how far and how fast their rearmament shall go.

DANGEROUS THOUGHTS

"A Guy's Gotta Be Dead"

THE Columbia Broadcasting System, which is great for minding other people's business, approves of freedom of the press. It took this firm, forthright position by putting on the air in January a dramatization of the trial of John Peter Zenger. But John Peter Zenger is long dead. On a more immediate question—that of the right of CBS employees to hold private opinions—this great network is less approving. Its employees, including those who worked on the Zenger broadcast, have had orders to fill out and sign a loyalty questionnaire or take the consequences.

Even the lowest echelon of network vice-presidents knows that all radio and television material is carefully screened before it is let loose on the public air. Contamination of public morals is impossible. But egged on by the pressure groups before which it has always shaken like jelly, CBS decided screening of content was not enough. It took as its excuse the national emergency, talked about sabotage and subversion, about making safe the vital communications industry. CBS sent the questionnaire, a replica of that used by governmental civil-service agencies, to its entire staff, 2,500 in all from coast to coast.

The Hearst press was enthusiastic. The Scripps-Howard press was enthusiastic. *Counterattack* applauded. And by the purest coincidence William S. Paley, chairman of the board of CBS, got a government job for which he had long been angling.

The victims were not so enthusiastic. Many of them grabbed a more primitive means of communication and called their unions. The Radio Writers' Guild, the Authors' League, and the Radio and Television Directors' Guild protested vehemently. On the sacrosanct twentieth floor at CBS, where sit the top brass in air-conditioned offices (they screen what they breathe, too), the unions met with CBS. So far no union member has been fired.

But at least one individual has not been so lucky. In January a twenty-two-year-old stenographer named Joan Clapp had scruples about signing. She was called up to the twentieth floor and asked why. She was not a Communist; she had never belonged to any organizations on the Attorney General's list; she was non-union—in fact, she was nothing, so why?

Miss Clapp's sole reason, as given in a newspaper report, was that she didn't consider her personal affairs any of CBS's business. Miss Clapp was fired. A Mr. Joseph Ream, executive vice-president of the network, who handled this minor chore, felt it was too bad. But it had to be done, he told the newspapers—not to fire her would vitiate the entire loyalty program. No exceptions, said Mr. Ream.

Two weeks later there was an exception. Another employee refused to sign. He too was not a Communist; he too had never belonged to any organizations on the list. His reason for refusing was like Joan Clapp's: CBS had no right to pry into his personal beliefs. Unlike Miss Clapp, this employee was kept on. A letter to him from the same Mr. Ream read, in part: ". . . . to insist upon your signing the questionnaire would be a sterile insistence upon form rather than substance. Accordingly I am happy to tell you . . . that your failure to sign the printed questionnaire is immaterial."

Why did CBS reverse its position? Because this time the employee was not a stenographer who sat below the salt. He was John K. M. McCaffery, master of ceremonies of a program called "We Take Your Word." You've got to be sensible about these things. A stenographer can be picked up easy these days—but a master of ceremonies?

What shocks the Observer deeply is the impetus this mass violation of freedom of opinion gives to the forces of reaction. CBS stated it would keep the results of its questionnaire confidential, but it won't be able to. The ex-FBI agents will come running to pry and search. The House Un-American Activities Committee will get more active. Those who hate because of religion or race will find new victims. CBS, the network which dreamed up the iniquitous "morals" clause, which fired a competent director when she stood on her constitutional rights and refused to answer an improper question, which paid slavish attention to listings in "Red Channels," has now given itself over completely to blacklist.

What can be done about it? There is time—many employees are still holding out, refusing to sign. The Radio Writers' Guild, the Authors' League, and the Radio and Television Directors' Guild are fighting. The American Civil Liberties Union is eager to take up Joan Clapp's defense. Letters of protest have poured in on CBS.

Perhaps CBS may be forced to retract. With what little mind a network has, the one voice it listens to is the voice of public opinion. It may find that the voice of the lunatic fringe is not the true index—that more abhor what CBS is trying to do than approve. Perhaps.

And perhaps John Peter Zenger was fortunate to live when he did. In his day there was no network like CBS.

THE OBSERVER

Looking Backward

DE ARROGANTIA

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the "United States" volume of Lord Acton's Cambridge Modern History series I observe that one Woodrow Wilson refers to "one John Brown," meaning the Man of Harper's Ferry. Can you tell me who Mr. Wilson may be? From his arguing for state rights in the Confederate sense, and from his palliation of slavery, I conclude that he is a Southerner, and that a pedigree of two centuries of man-stealing, woman-flogging, baby-snatching, and lustful and thrifty miscegenation is the possible pinnacle from which he affects to look down on the historic figure, descended from the Mayflower, whose soul is marching on. Can you give me any reasons for thinking that Mr. Wilson will be remembered, or will deserve to be remembered, as long as John Brown?

A WHITE MAN

[We cannot answer for the future of the President of Princeton University.—ED. NATION]

From the correspondence columns of The Nation *for July 23, 1903.*

The Case of David Hawkins

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, February 27

THE facts of the David Hawkins case may be simply stated. Hawkins has been teaching philosophy at the University of Colorado since 1947. He now has tenure and the rank of full professor. In testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities he admitted recently that he had been a member of the Communist Party from 1938 to about 1943. Past membership in the Communist Party was one of the issues in the University of Washington cases; in the Hawkins case the issue is raised in a way that is likely to make the decision a major precedent.

Nowadays most Americans have been led to think that no one ever joined the Communist Party except as an eager conspirator or wilful saboteur. David Hawkins simply believed, for reasons that appeared valid to him, that he should become a Communist. So he sought out the officials of the local branch of the party on the campus of the University of California, where he was a graduate student, and signed up as a member. The intervention of the fascist powers in the Spanish civil war had convinced him of the danger of a second world war; he was revolted by the policies of Chamberlain and Daladier; and he felt that collective sanctions of the type then being urged by the Communist Party might prevent a war. The rest of his testimony on the subject should serve to remind a forgetful nation of the political mood and temper of the 1930's:

> At this particular time [1938], at least in California, there was a kind of feeling of crisis in the air. This was the time of terrific strife in the valleys of California, labor strife, and on the waterfront. There was a general feeling that society was not all in one piece, that people were not participating together in the democratic process but were separating into warring camps; and that may have influenced persons like myself who had sympathies for people coming out of the depression. My wife was a kindergarten teacher and saw real suffering. Children would come to school with nothing to eat or bloated stomachs because they were eating only starch. I think I never had any particular romantic illusions about the Soviet Union. I understood they had decided to follow a path that was going to be very hard on any internal democratic process, but it was true that in this period the Soviet Union, in international affairs, seemed to stand for the things that would seem to lead to peace.

CAREY McWILLIAMS, a staff contributor, is the author of "Witch Hunt: the Revival of Heresy" and other books.

For many people this statement will revive memories of the EPIC campaign of 1934, the San Francisco general strike, and a succession of farm-labor strikes which aroused great excitement at the time. Since then, in most quarters, these events have been discreetly forgotten or the memory of them discredited and defamed. Thus the attack on Hawkins's political testament will have the larger purpose of making those of his generation who were moved by the same experiences feel ashamed of their anti-fascism. The current witch hunt has, in fact, already induced various survivors of the liberal movement of the 1930's to repudiate an important and meaningful phase of their political development.

If many Americans find it incredible that a brilliant graduate student should have joined the Communist Party on his own initiative—the fact that it was then a lawful party has been almost completely forgotten—the process by which he ceased to be a member, as he relates it, seems as unconvincing to those who have chosen to forget the political temper of the period from 1941 to 1945. It was not the Nazi-Russian pact of 1939 so much as the behavior of American Communists at the time of the invasion of Norway and France that first aroused Hawkins's distrust of the party. Once the Nazis had invaded the Soviet Union, these difficulties ceased to be troublesome, for the time being, but Hawkins's feeling about the party was obviously never the same, and over a period of time he simply dropped out of membership.

His prosecutors will contend, of course, that he got out only after he had been offered a position at Los Alamos as Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer's administrative assistant. But the lack of any precisely dated resignation or dramatic denunciation or ideological recantation indicates that affiliation and "disaffiliation" were for Hawkins points in a process and not sudden revelations. The trouble is that the behavior of the "ex-Communist" has become so thoroughly stereotyped that one who does not behave like Budenz is regarded as psychologically improbable. Asked, "What evidence do you have that you actually did resign?" Hawkins could only reply, "No evidence of that sort, and I think no evidence except my life since then." Political realists will agree that there is much less reason to be skeptical about his assertion than about elaborate, self-serving, rhetorical declarations, but the heresy-hunters will not be impressed.

Hawkins testified before the House Committee on un-American Activities on December 20, 1950, but the Denver newspapers first reported his testimony on Janu-

ary 28, and the entire transcript was not published until February 4. (Mention should be made of the fact that the House Committee carefully emphasized that Hawkins is a brother-in-law of William Sloane, publisher of Max Lowenthal's book on the FBI.) A day or so before the first stories about Hawkins appeared, the University of Colorado celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary. In the major address of the day Howard Mumford Jones pointed out that "the eighteenth century of Voltaire has yielded to the twentieth century of Senator McCarthy. Ours is an age which is proud of machines that think and suspicious of any man who tries to do so."

IN THE wake of the excitement caused by the release of Hawkins's testimony the regents of the university discovered that since 1921 every teacher "in any private or parochial school or in any academy, college, university, or other institution of learning" in Colorado had been required to take an oath to support and defend the Constitution and "to teach, by precept and example, respect for the flags of the United States and the state of Colorado, reverence for law and order and undivided allegiance to the government of one country, the United States of America." A forgotten by-product of the witch hunt which came after World War I, this statute had been ignored for more than a quarter of a century.

The regents also ordered that an investigation of "possible communistic influence among faculty members" be made by two former FBI agents. Although it is currently assumed that FBI agents are competent to investigate anything from the quantum theory to the politics of Tibet, their use in this case raises the question whether only the methods of a political police were considered adequate for the task. Both investigators, moreover, are now practicing law in Colorado, one in Boulder, the other in Ft. Collins, and thus some doubt may be felt about their ability to rise above local pressures and prejudices. In other state-supported Colorado institutions similar investigations have been undertaken by faculty committees, a procedure which at least preserves the illusion of faculty autonomy.

At the same time the regents directed President Robert L. Stearns to file charges against Hawkins, which will be heard by a six-member faculty committee on privilege and tenure. The charges are (1) past membership in the Communist Party; (2) failure to disclose this fact in applying for a position at the university; (3) the same charge as related to his employment at Los Alamos; (4) "evasiveness" in answering certain questions before the House committee; (5) refusal to answer certain questions; (6) sponsorship of a Marxist Study Group on the campus; and (7) that his eventual separation from the Communist Party was "never clearly defined by formal resignation."

Charges 4, 5, and 6, are not impressive. Sponsorship of the Marxist Study Group—which published a mimeographed paper called the *Pink Buffalo*—did not imply ideological indorsement. Hawkins's testimony was "evasive" only in the sense that he declined, on principle, to name former associates in the Communist Party who had not already admitted membership.

Persons interested in our new-fangled "heresy trials" will be struck by the fact that the scope of the hearing and the nature of the charges were defined long after the commission of the act of heresy. They will note also that the charges emphasize the duty of disclosure rather than the significance of former membership. As a result, conclusions which are essentially political are likely to be based ostensibly on ethical principles. If it is the duty of an applicant for a job to disclose all facts which might be of possible concern to his employer, including acts made meaningful by *future* developments, then the employer seems to be warranted in making specific inquiry about the applicant's political beliefs. It is apparent that the regents would today regard a philosophical belief in communism or non-Stalinist Marxim as tantamount to membership in the Communist Party. And if universities are to insist that applicants for teaching positions disclose political activities and affiliations ranging back over a period of years, the effect will be to punish as more or less "criminal" acts which were perfectly lawful when committed. Albert Guérard states the consequences of such a rule in terms which will seem melodramatic only to those who make a practice of ignoring individual injustices in their passion for conformity: "To take away a man's chance of earning a living is to threaten him with torture and death."

Just how far does this duty of disclosure go? Does it embrace all those political beliefs and activities and organizations which have been denounced by the House Committee on Un-American Activities? It should be noted that Hawkins did not conceal his former membership; he simply failed to disclose a fact concerning which he was never questioned. If he can be discharged for failure to make disclosure of former membership under these circumstances, then the case for loyalty oaths would seem to be conceded. Since the case against Hawkins is not based on specific, stated grounds for dismissal, the "trial" will be long drawn out and will poison the atmosphere of free inquiry at Boulder as surely as the loyalty inquisitions have poisoned the atmosphere at Berkeley and Seattle.

"Outside of science and technology," Howard Mumford Jones told his Boulder audience on January 26, "one is hard put to name a single really great creative idea which has originated in American democracy since the death of William James in 1910. For our creative belief in progress we have substituted the sterile and negative notion of survival." One can only wonder whether Dr. Jones would be invited to repeat this speech today.

Hungry India

BY JEAN LYON

Madras, February 20

THE food shortage in India is real, abnormal, and frightening. In Madras, which is in one of the worst-hit areas, the city dweller has watched his grain ration dwindle from twenty ounces a day to nine, with only four and a half for his children.

In practically every part of the country the crops have been destroyed by drought or some other calamity. Assam, normally a surplus grain area, had the greatest earthquake in its history, followed by terrific landslides and floods. Uttar Pradesh has had both floods and drought. Bihar has had drought. A tempest in Bombay at the end of the season damaged the rice just as it was being harvested. Locusts ate everything green in Gujerat. Here in Madras State the northeast monsoon, which normally brings rain, has failed for the fourth successive year, and wells and irrigation ponds are drying up.

Hunger can be seen wherever one looks. I was told by an American traveler that only a few hundred miles south of Madras she visited a village where the women were mixing sawdust with their *ragi*, the local millet, in order to give their families enough bulk to stop their hunger pangs. I know a village near here which usually has 250 acres planted in rice; now 200 of these acres are as dry as the dusty road and not a sprig grows in them. The main lake from which irrigation canals used to be fed would make a good baseball field. The fifty remaining acres of paddy are being irrigated from wells which now have between one and three feet of water left in them. Many families in the village are eating grain for one meal a day—on those days when their men are able to pick up odd jobs—and drinking the water in which the grain was boiled for their other meal.

Under normal conditions India has to import between one and a half and two million tons of grain. This year, although figures are not to be trusted, it will probably need four times as much. The ugly truth is that India is on the brink of widespread famine. The worst period will come sometime between now and next fall. Here in South India it will begin in April, when last year's meager harvest has been consumed.

What this means in terms of human lives needs no elaboration. What it means in terms of politics is less certain. If one could say definitely that famine will mean revolution here, and that two million tons of American wheat would prevent a slowly developing democratic India from tobogganing into communism, people at home would act. But one cannot honestly make such a statement. The issue is not that unclouded.

Anger and resentment against the government will increase as hunger spreads. Food riots are likely to occur. Such events will play into the hands of Communist agitators, but according to present indications the Communists will not be able to capture the country or any part of it. Their best leaders are behind bars. Their supporters, it is generally believed, are split into factions and not sufficiently well organized to make a serious attempt at revolution. Nevertheless, the government's position will become shaky under famine conditions. It will be attacked by dissatisfied splinters of the Congress Party as well as by opposition groups.

The 25 per cent cut in grain rations came as a shock to many people. Before that, Food Minister Munshi had lulled the mounting anxiety with his slogans about "self-sufficiency" and "growing more food." India was to become self-sufficient in food by the end of 1952, he said, and nearly so by the end of 1951. Everyone was to grow more food. A one-tenth increase in yield per acre would do the trick. Since the cut was announced, the government has been hotly criticized, in the press and in the coffee shops and around the village wells. It has been accused of mishandling food distribution, of inefficiency, corruption, and lack of foresight. The creeping paralysis which has attacked its long-range agricultural programs—its irrigation projects, and its efforts to improve seeds and fertilizers—is being exposed by amateurs and experts alike. Many ardent Indian nationalists are restlessly calling for action rather than words. Whether famine will bring revolution or not, it is already clear that it may postpone political stability for years.

With respect to Indo-American relations, the question now is how much we can be disliked by the Indian people and still call them friends. From this end it looks as if we had almost reached the limit. Indians have deeply resented the suggestion that their country's vote in the United Nations could be bought with American wheat. Indian national pride may perhaps be over-sensitive, but the arrogance of some loud-spoken Americans has been hard to bear. In any case, if the two million tons of American grain which India requested do not arrive in time to save the lives of at least some of the people threatened with starvation, India's resentment against what it will interpret as American callousness will take a long time to cool.

This does not mean that if the grain is sent, and quickly, America will win India's lasting gratitude. But it will enable us to hold our present position in India's estimation, such as it is. Nor will two million tons of American wheat solve India's chronic food problem and thus insure its stability. It will simply tide the country over the current emergency.

JEAN LYON, a newspaperwoman now living in India, frequently sends The Nation *first-hand reports on conditions there.*

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

"Aeneid" for Our Time

THE AENEID OF VIRGIL. A Verse Translation by Rolfe Humphries. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.50.

VIRGIL'S reputation, like Milton's, has for some time been rather under a cloud. The prevailing opinion regards Catullus, Horace, Propertius as the true Latin poets and Virgil as little more than a skilful rhetorician, capable of some admirable effects but really an academic old bore, "a Tennysonized Homer," as Ezra Pound once called him.

Unjust as, of course, this is, it is perhaps understandable, for we live in an age where the notion of official art has such repugnant connotations that it is difficult for us to believe that a State Bard, which Virgil was, could possibly be any good. In a world where

> The best lack all conviction and the worst
> Are full of passionate intensity

a poet like Lucretius, who preaches salvation through knowledge, is easier for us to take than a poet like Virgil, who preaches salvation through will-power and whose hero is a man with a political mission.

If, however, we are not completely pessimistic about the human enterprise, if we have any faith that historical decisions are meaningful, that we are not merely the puppets of chance and immediate self-interest, that a just and peaceful world is a possibility, admittedly remote, which it is our duty to try to realize, we owe that faith as much to Virgil as to anyone or anything else.

To imagine a world in which that hope has not yet been born, one has only to go back to Homer and hear, for instance, Achilles speaking to Priam, who has come to beg the body of Hector.

> Here, far from home, I sit in Troy,
> afflicting you and your children.

Why? For no reason. That is how things are. Does it matter if the Trojans win the war or the Greeks? Not in the least. One can be brave, one can be cowardly, but one can't change anything.

Virgil's conscious imitation of Homer is, of course, not due to a lack of invention; indeed, it is often precisely when he copies most closely that the novelty of his vision is clearest. Odysseus and Aeneas are both wanderers who are driven off their course. But while the goal of Odysseus is fixed by the past—he knows exactly what he wants, to get home—the goal of Aeneas is set by a future of which he is only dimly cognizant. His experiences in Crete and Carthage have a moral as well as an adventure interest; he is not only delayed by forces outside his control but also he delays when he should not. Odysseus has bad luck, Aeneas makes mistakes. Again, Hephaestus fashions a shield for Achilles, so does Vulcan for Aeneas. The figures on the former represent life as it always is, the earth, the besieged city, the dancing floor, the plow, and so on: the figures on the latter portray

> the stock to come
> The wars, each one in order, all the tale
> Of Italy and Roman triumphs. . . .
> All this Aeneas
> Sees on his mother's gift, the shield of Vulcan,
> And, without understanding, is proud and happy
> As he lifts to his shoulder all that fortune,
> The fame and glory of his children's children.

The "Iliad" is poetry of the highest order, but it is the poetry of barbarians, of a tribal culture; the "Aeneid" is the poetry of civilization, of world history. A child can enjoy Homer; anyone who has come to appreciate Virgil has already grown up.

Mr. Humphries writes that it has become the practice in American schools to read only Books, I, II, IV, and VI. To read snippets of great poems is always bad, but in the case of the "Aeneid" it is fatal. It is possible to read selected passages from the "Iliad" and gain a fairly accurate picture of what is going on, but unless one reads the whole of the "Aeneid" one completely misses the point. In the vast stretch of time which elapses between the moment when Aeneas carries Anchises on his shoulders out of blazing Troy to the moment when the Fury, disguised as a little owl, is beating its wings against the shield of Turuus, everything that happens, happens in a definite order, so that the meaning of any event depends upon what precedes it and what follows it.

The first problem of the verse translator is the choice of an equivalent meter. The length of a line is a matter not only of the number of syllables or accents it contains but also of the number of verbal notions it expresses: thus twelve syllables of an inflected tongue like Latin will often sound shorter than twelve syllables of an uninflected tongue like English. Further, it is impossible to ignore the position occupied by any given meter in the poetic tradition of a given language. The hexameter was the conventional meter in Latin for a long poem; in English, even in the rare cases where successful hexameters have been written, they sound eccentric. The same holds good for other formal questions, such as the choice between rhymed and unrhymed verse. If Gavain Douglas and Dryden chose the rhymed couplet as the metrical form for their translations of the "Aeneid," this was not because they were unaware of the compulsion to alter and pad the original which rhyme would involve but because they felt that in their times and for their readers the rhymed couplet held a position analogous to that held by the hexameter for the Romans and that this fact more than compensated for its drawbacks.

Today, when our ears are accustomed to unrhymed verse and irregular feet, the balance is the other way, and it is unlikely that a contemporary translator would consider using either rhyme or regular iambics.

Indeed, there would seem to be virtually only two sensible choices—either a loose six-beat line as used by Mr. Day Lewis in his translation of the "Georgics":

> And now, the time when a vineyard puts
> off its reluctant leaves
> And a bitter north wind has blown away
> the pride of the woodland,
> Even now the countryman actively pushes
> on the coming
> Year and its tasks, attacking the naked
> vine with a curved
> Pruning-knife he shears and trims it into
> shape.

or a loose blank-verse pentameter such as Mr. Humphries has chosen for the "Aeneid."

They reach the mountain height, the hiding places
Where no trail runs; wild goats from the rocks are started,
Run down ridges; elsewhere, in the open
Deer cross the dusty plain, away from the mountains.

The second problem, which today, in the case of an epic like the "Aeneid," is even harder to solve, is that of style and diction. The epic poem is a solemn rite and written in an elevated liturgical style, but in modern society the sense of ceremony and rite has atrophied—that is why verse epics can no longer be written.

This difficulty had already begun to arise even in Milton's time, so that the elevated style of "Paradise Lost" seems already peculiar and removed from normal sensibility in a way that the Virgilian style does not. Mr. Humphries has decided, very wisely in my opinion, to cut our losses and make no attempt to reproduce the pomp of the epic manner but to concentrate instead on its matter and movement; we do inevitably lose something by this, particularly, I feel, in the speeches, but the loss is infinitely preferable to the pseudo-Miltonic pomposity of some translations.

Nothing is easier than to pick on some particular line and find fault with the translator for his rendering: I would prefer, for instance, a more literal translation of *hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat* than "I must not call you husband any longer," but a translation must be judged in the large, and, so considered, Mr. Humphries' version is an extraordinarily fine achievement. Further I am amazed, on checking passages here and there, at his skill in detail. Thus, for the famous onomatopoeic lines

libravit dextra media inter cornua caestus,
arduus, effractoque inlisit in ossa cerebro:
sternitur exanimisque tremens procumbit humi bos,

he has

Drew back his right hand, poised it, sent it smashing
Between the horns, shattering the skull, and splashing
Brains on the bones, as the great beast came down, lifeless

and I cannot imagine a happier transliteration of

tum vero exarsit iuveni dolor ossibus ingens,
nec lacrimis caruere genas, segnemque Menoeten,
oblitus decorisque sui sociumque salutis,
in mare praecipitem puppi deturbat ab alta;

than

Then Gyas really was burnt-up; he was crying
In rage; to hell with pride, to hell with safety!
He grabbed that cautious pilot of his, and heaved him
Over the stern.

In making it not only possible but also agreeable for those who cannot read Latin to read straight through the "Aeneid," Mr. Humphries has done this generation and, I hope and believe, several generations to come a service for which no public reward could be too great.

W. H. AUDEN

A Matter of Perspective

NEUROSIS AND HUMAN GROWTH. By Karen Horney. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.75.

KAREN HORNEY'S latest volume of psychoanalytic concepts is in many ways an extension and amplification of her earlier ideas as expressed in "Our Inner Conflicts," published in 1945. Since she emphasizes once again the conception of the idealized image and the inner destructiveness of neurotic perfectionistic goals, it is questionable whether the sophisticated analytic reader will find anything new here. To quote from her introduction, "Under inner stress, however, a person may become alienated from his real self. He will then shift the major part of his energies to the task of molding himself, by a rigid system of inner dictates, with a being of absolute perfection. For nothing short of Godlike perfection can fulfil his idealized image of himself and satisfy his pride in the exalted attributes which (so he feels) he has, could have, or should have."

The author also expands her description of character defenses along the lines of the three patterns of moving toward people, moving against people, and moving away from people. There are many vivid clinical illustrations to illustrate her basic conceptions, and the book as a whole, like all of her other works, carries with it a workmanlike literary quality which makes it very easy reading. From a professional as well as from a social and educational point of view, there is little that can be questioned about her concepts. They reveal a keen clinical mind and a capacity for description which have made her previous works so popular.

The technical reader, however, must raise certain questions. Granting the validity of the ideas, why does she feel the necessity to exclude so much of the larger body of generally accepted psychiatric ideas? This exclusion of so much important psychoanalytic knowledge would be legitimate literary license if Horney did not, at the same time present her own ideas as Psychoanalysis. Her works give the impression to the lay reader that this is psychoanalysis in its entirety, rather than one segment of a much larger system. Why are so few other workers mentioned, many of whom have similar doubts about some of the more debatable aspects of classical psychoanalytic theory? Why does she feel the necessity constantly to exclude and simplify, constantly to challenge or disregard the efficacy of the works of others? Is she so convinced that there is only one relatively simple road to mental health, only one technique of mental therapy which works?

Without challenging the ideas and formulations of Horney, which the body of serious workers are prepared to accept, with minor reservations, one is still startled by the repetitious need of so many authors in psychiatry—and the social sciences in general—to present their works out of perspective or even out of context. Their quarrels with other workers go beyond the scope of "lovers' quarrels" and lead to complete divorce, with all the disastrous consequences and the defensiveness which are inevitable.

The problem of man's relationship to man is much too complex, much too important, to be oversimplified at this stage of our development, sociologically or scientifically. The crystallization of new ideas is now as important as it ever was, but only within the framework of self-discipline and respect for group and historical continuity.

MILTON R. SAPIRSTEIN

Genius as Windbag

NOTES ON A HORSETHIEF. By William Faulkner. Levee Press.

THOUGH it comes from the one living American who can lay claim to greatness as a novelist, this privately printed and fabulously priced story is a bad piece of writing. Faulkner is cultivating a literary paunch: he has become impossibly garrulous and preposterously oracular. To anyone who admires "The Sound and the Fury," "The Bear," and "The Hamlet" for the superb things they are, it is extremely irritating to see not a decline in Faulkner's powers but something almost worse, a cavalier abuse of them.

In conception "Notes on a Horsethief" is marvelous. An English race horse is brought to America and wins every contest in sight. It is a proud animal, which responds, in "no mere rapport but affinity," only to the word of its groom, a grimy little Englishman. One day the horse is badly hurt in an accident, and the groom, fearful that some meddlesome authorities may have it shot, spirits it away with the help of some Negroes and then nurses it back to life. Though it now has only three legs, the horse can still run faster than any mere four-legged creature, and the groom, together with a stubborn old Negro preacher and his twelve-year-old grandson who doubles as jockey, tours the South and Midwest cleaning up on the races. The horse soon becomes a popular legend and, for the groom and the Negro, an object of passion. When its wealthy owner sends detectives to hunt it out, no one will inform on the horse thieves, and when the old Negro surrenders himself, a mob insists that he be freed. The American public insists on "man's serene and inalienable right to his folly."

Until the full work of which "Notes" is part becomes available, it will be difficult to make out the deeper intentions behind this fable, but it obviously raises memories of Sherwood Anderson's horse stories and is certainly the sort of thing Anderson would have loved. Loved, that is, if Faulkner took the trouble to tell it. As it is, he throws up a thick screen of rhetoric which is forever getting in the way of the story: the "not only . . . but" construction, extremely effective in previous stories, is here greatly overdone, and the writing is strained beyond any need of the fable itself. There are fine bits of observation about Negroes—toward whom, by the way, Faulkner is fundamentally shy—but there is no thematic need for the kind of anguished and magniloquent rhetoric that might be justified in "Intruder in the Dust." Instead of the economy this humorous story obviously demands, Faulkner has allowed himself to ramble along about matters that have little relation to the horse, the groom, or the Negro.

One wonders whether this self-indulgence is partly due to the fact that Faulkner's critics have recently been rolling over and playing delightedly dead each time he publishes something. And one can only hope that when "Notes" appears in final form it will be ruthlessly pared of home-made rant. The talent is still there in all its fabulous luxuriance, and so is the capacity for inventing situations no one else would even dream of; but Faulkner badly needs some ordinary self-discipline. And if his critics, at whatever risk of seeming presumptuous, don't tell him so, who will?

IRVING HOWE

Behind the Gold and Diamond Curtain

TWILIGHT IN SOUTH AFRICA. By Henry Gibbs. Philosophical Library. $4.50.

THE forces of democracy face the direst threat in their existence. So grave is the danger to the free world that it feels compelled to embrace as its allies some of the most undemocratic governments in modern times. Not the least unsavory of these is the Union of South Africa. Now that Smuts is dead, the outside world may expect to receive a truer picture of this "puzzled, frightened country" than it did during his lifetime. Readers of "Twilight in South Africa" will fail, however, to learn the extent to which Smuts helped to bring the Union to the brink of disaster. Indeed, the gentle manner in which Gibbs, an Englishman, treats Smuts will lead some readers to conclude that the author's devastating portrayal of the present plight of the country stems from an animus against the Boers, whose increasingly anti-English policies may lead to their defection from the British Commonwealth. Historians may eventually chart with accuracy Smuts's role in paving the way for the racist policies of Malan. The diplomats of the free world, meanwhile, must be considerably embarrassed by this exposé of the neo-Nazi-fascist policies and practices of one of their most indispensable allies. The unlovely story is based upon a survey made by Gibbs in 1949 that covered 14,000 miles and that included conversations with representatives of the various peoples of the Union. The author deemed it wise to give the assurance that none of the persons he had interviewed were in any way responsible for his conclusions.

To be sure, the equitable adjustment of conflicts resulting almost inevitably from the clash of widely different races, cultures, and religions is no easy task. Nor has the bloody history of the conquest and settlement of the country simplified the problem. For three centuries, but most particularly during the last half of the nineteenth century, Boers, Hottentots, Bushmen, Englishmen, Bantu and Zulus fought for the possession of Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, and the Orange Free State. The English emerged the victors after the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1901, but every Prime Minister since the formation of the Union in 1910 has been a Boer. To war and rapine were added slavery and, about one hundred years ago, the importation of indentured servants from India.

Brotherly love could hardly be compounded from this tale of strife. Some degree of tolerance might none the less have been achieved if South Africa had not possessed a climate suitable for large-scale permanent European settlement and some of the richest gold and diamond mines in the world. The Europeans have taken for themselves so much land that the approximately 15 per cent allocated to the natives, who outnumber them almost four to one, is woefully inadequate to the natives' needs. As a consequence, they have been virtually compelled to work in the mines and as domestic servants in the cities. Despite the enormous wealth of the country these mine workers and domestics receive wages that force most of them to live in slums. The deplorable social conditions are nevertheless at-

tributed by many white South Africans to traits "inherent in an inferior people."

Hatred, contempt, greed, and fear are by no means confined to the feelings of Europeans for non-Europeans. The Durban riots of two years ago stemmed, at least in part, from the resentment of the natives against discrimination and exploitation by Indians. Most of the 300,000 Indians wish to attain equality with the whites. So do most of the almost one million colored people, some 500,000 of whom had already "escaped" into the ranks of Europeans by 1936. The 8,000,000 natives have little more reason to look for help from Indians and colored people than from the 2,300,000 Europeans.

English South Africans who know the history of Nazi Germany must have concluded by now that the successive repression of natives, colored people, and Indians presages their own doom. Indeed, the most important contribution of Gibbs's book is the revelation—revelation for most Americans—of the neo-Nazi-fascist Broederbond. This organization, which was probably founded during World War I, is pledged to promote the interests of all true Afrikaners, that is, the "loyal" descendants of the Boers defeated in the Anglo-Boer War. Its slogans sound ominously like the *Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Führer* of Nazi Germany. According to the author, Malan and all but one member of his Cabinet are "generally assumed" to be members of the Broederbond, as are some sixty members of the legislature.

Despite the lengthening shadows Gibbs hopes that the "twilight" may mean dawn rather than eventide. This reviewer sees little justification for the hope. If hope there be, it must rest with the voice of real democracy, which condemns with complete impartiality totalitarianism wherever it exists.

RAYFORD W. LOGAN

Our Imperial Past

AMERICA'S COLONIAL EXPERIMENT. By Julius W. Pratt. Prentice-Hall. $6.

CRISIS times find men of science rallied to the defense of their nation's future; too often sustained crises find historians rallying to the defense of their nation's past. So in this volume Professor Pratt defends America's imperial past. He assures us that Americans have no cause to "feel ashamed of their experiment in imperialism"; our intentions were pure and our actions benevolent. This is historical revisionism with a vengeance. And one can hardly rejoice in the thought that the indiscriminately belligerent and sweeping historical judgments of the disillusioned twenties and thirties against American imperial policies are finally to be revised, only to be replaced by equally sweeping defenses of those policies.

The author is not here concerned with the long epic of American expansion into contiguous territory; that expansion had been marked by the admission of new land into the Union with rights equal to those of older states. Rather he is concerned with American overseas expansion, a story not of equals but of ruler and ruled, of colonialism. "Imperialism began," Professor Pratt points out, "when American sovereignty was extended over lands already thickly settled . . . [whose] assimilation into the American state system was impossible or of dubious feasibility."

Plans for overseas expansion had been frequently put before the American public. But not until the late 1890's did most Americans eagerly maintain that their nation's destiny was inextricably bound up in securing, humanizing, sanitizing, Christianizing, and maintaining overseas possessions. Then large navies were needed to protect those possessions, and more bases were needed to service those navies; and so the imperial circle went, ever widening. As in his classic "The Expansionists of 1898," the author explains America's then new willingness—or need—to assert itself imperially in terms, not of economic interests forcing a pliant government's hand, but of intellectual and emotional forces that gripped the whole nation.

Professor Pratt indicates that not until an American empire had been all but realized did most American business men believe that colonial possessions would be economically advantageous. He would also have us believe that not even when popular enthusiasm had pushed America well along the road to empire, and business men were already profiting handsomely from ventures they once had opposed, did economic interests vitally influence imperial plans. In the Caribbean, indeed, where charges of Yankee economic imperialism are most frequently made, these charges are "not sustained by the facts. The dominant motive [for imperialism] was clearly political and strategic rather than economic." To the author it seems that the dollar followed the flag rather than vice versa. This is his guiding assumption and rightly will be challenged by many to whom the converse is more nearly correct.

Colonial administration, Professor Pratt finds, has been primarily concerned —after political and strategic points have well been made—with the well-being of native populations. He does not claim perfection for American colonial policy, yet maintains that it has "aimed steadily at the material and educational advancement of the colonial peoples and the development of their capacity for self-government. American imperialism has, on the whole, been benevolent, and it has been so accepted by those living under it." This last is hardly the case. One thinks at this point of Aguinaldo in the Philippines, of Puerto Rican would-be assassins, of rioting students in Panama, and of many other instances in which natives have considered the American imperium as something less than benevolent. And one wonders if, under pressures of cold wars and hot, and in the guise of "realism," such apologies are to become the new order of the historical day.

Details of the acquisition, step by step, of the American empire are familiar: the colonial bequest of the Spanish-American War, T. R.'s "I took Panama," and the landing of marines in Central American protectorates. Familiar too is the story of America's reversal of policy: the Clark Memorandum, the abrogation of the Platt Amendment, and the development of the Good Neighbor policy. The primary value of this volume lies in its presenting, clearly and in brief compass, the story of the changing governmental and administrative status of different segments of the American empire. Besides, we are provided here with an intelligible survey of American efforts, before, during, and after World War II, to gain security through the establishment and maintenance of military bases abroad. To find this a useful volume one need not agree with the author's final appraisal of American imperialism

or with his unhappy statement that "only the naive assume that a relationship of ruled and rulers is necessarily and always bad."

RICHARD D. HEFFNER

A Philosophical Critique of Traditional Psychology

THE CONCEPT OF MIND. By Gilbert Ryle. Barnes and Noble. $3.

FIRST-RATE books in philosophy that break fresh ground, are clearly and responsibly argued, and yet are the products of literary skill, are extremely rare. The present work by the Waynfleete Professor of Metaphysical Philosophy in the University of Oxford is such a book. It is one of the most stimulating essays in philosophy published during the past quarter of the century; and it is also one which is wholly free of technical jargon and which can be understood and enjoyed by readers without a professional philosophical training. Mr. Ryle's argument may not carry complete conviction to everyone. But the method of analysis he employs, as well as the substance of his thesis, is bound to leave a mark on the future course of philosophical discussion.

The question to which Mr. Ryle addresses himself is the perennial one of the relation of mind to body. The problem is generated by the customary way of construing the truism that men have both a body and a mind. For it is usually assumed that while bodies are in space, are open to public inspection, and illustrate the laws of physics, minds have no spatial dimensions, though they reside in bodies, are inaccessible to observation by all but their owners, and act in accordance with laws that are peculiar to themselves. On this view, therefore, there is a radical disparity between the inner and the outer, between the mental and the physical; and the overt behaviors of men which are normally characterized by predicates such as "intelligent," "courageous," "moody," and the like are required to be explained in terms of the operation of hidden agents called "minds." Mr. Ryle baptizes this view as the "Ghost in the Machine theory" and attributes it to Descartes—though in point of fact some such view has been in currency at least since classical antiquity. In any case, anyone who adopts it falls heir to a nest of difficult if not insuperable problems. How can two substances, one of which is material while the other is not, interact with one another? How can one know that a mind other than one's own exists—indeed, how can one know that anything but one's own private data of sense exists? How is the apparent universality of law in the domain of physical nature compatible with human freedom? And so on through an interminable series of similar queries that are the stock in trade of philosophical psychology.

It is Mr. Ryle's explicit objective to show that the Ghost in the Machine theory is mistaken, in principle as well as in detail. His positive view is that "when we characterize people by mental predicates, we are not making untestable inferences to any ghostly processes occurring in streams of consciousness which we are debarred from visiting; we are describing the ways in which those people conduct parts of their predominantly public behavior." This alternative to the traditional dualistic conception is obviously not novel. Something like it was part of the teaching of Aristotle; and in more recent years it has long been vigorously championed by behavioristic psychologists, as well as by certain varieties of philosophical naturalism in this country. What is fresh and exciting in Mr. Ryle's book is the method employed for exorcising the Cartesian Ghost. The argument is not built on the methodological maxim, frequently invoked by behaviorists, that only overt behavior can be the subject matter for an objective science of psychology; indeed, behaviorists who justify their program of research on this ground alone are captives of the Ghost in the Machine theory. Nor is the argument based on special biological and anthropological data, upon which some contemporary naturalists are inclined to rely for their conception of mind. Mr. Ryle's argument is much more radical. He wishes to prove that the traditional dualistic theory stems from an unwitting *misuse* of the language ordinarily employed in describing psychological facts. And he attempts to show in searching detail, by contrasting the "ordinary" use of psychological terms such as "knowing," "willing," "feeling," and "sensing" with their use by the Ghost in the Machine theory, that the latter is basically incoherent and unintelligible.

Recent philosophy has been greatly concerned with questions of philosophical grammar, and with proposed criteria for distinguishing between meaningful and meaningless language. An important outcome of this preoccupation is the capital insight that problems may be unresolvable, not because they are too profound for human minds, but because the questions they raise cannot properly be asked—they are only apparent questions, the consequences of employing familiar expressions in strange combinations in violation of the tacit rules that govern their normal use. It is impossible to find an answer to the question, for example, how to spell a *letter* of the alphabet; but it is impossible to supply an answer, not because the question is too difficult, but because it is a profoundly silly one. Words can be spelled, but letters are not the sort of things which have a spelling. It is the method illustrated by this example that is Mr. Ryle's chief method in the present book.

The common pattern of confusion underlying the details of the Ghost in the Machine theory is that of a failure to distinguish between logical types or categories of expressions. This error is sometimes called the fallacy of reification or hypostatization; and though it has many special forms, it consists generally in construing a term that denotes a process, relation, or capacity as if it

YOUR HAIR AND ITS CARE
by O. Levin, M.D., & H. Behrman, M.D.
Two medical specialists tell you what to do to save and beautify your hair, stimulate healthier hair growth, and deal with many problems, as:
Dandruff—gray hair—thinning hair—care of the scalp—baldness—abnormal types of hair—excessive oiliness—brittle dryness—hair falling out—infection—parasites—hair hygiene, etc., etc.
"A worthwhile book full of important information."
—Ohio State Medical Journal.
Price $2.00, incl. postage. 5-Day, Money-Back Guarantee
EMERSON BOOKS, Inc., Dept. 825-F, 251 W. 19 St., N.Y. 11

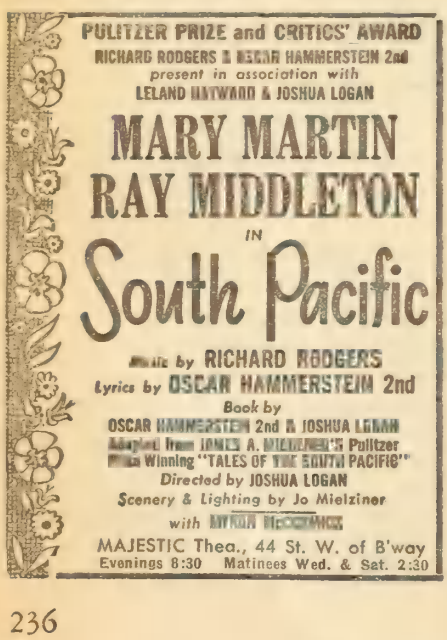
THE KEY POETS
9 beautifully printed little books by George Barker, Randall Swinger, Jonathan Denwood, Stanley Snaith, Dorian Cooke, Jack Lindsay, Maurice Carpenter, Jack Beeching, Norman Cameron. The set, boxed, for $2.00
The best way to know the new English poets!
ALAN SWALLOW, *Publisher*
2679 South York, Denver 10, Colo.

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR
Just Arrived! MAXIM GORKY
CHILDHOOD
In English — 442 pp. — $1.00
Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
1951 Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals
Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

were the name of some substantial thing or object. Suppose, for example, that Smith invites to his home his foreign friend Forgeron, so that the latter may see for himself what family life is like in America. But suppose that after enjoying Smith's hospitality for some time Forgeron were to complain that though he met Smith's wife and children, had meals in common with them, took part in their recreations, and so on, he had never been introduced to Smith's Family Life. It is clear in this case just what is the nature of Forgeron's error: he mistakenly assumes that "Family Life" is the name of some supra-sensible "entity," distinct from the complex activities in which Smith and the members of his family are normally engaged. But Forgeron would be guilty of a similar confusion if, after listening to Smith's table and shop talk, playing bridge or checkers with him, reading his satirical verses, and the like, he were to announce that he knows nothing of Smith's mind, and that in fact Smith's mind is forever incapable of being known to anyone but Smith. In this case also Forgeron errs in taking the word "mind" to refer to some substantial but mysterious object, over and above the manifest behaviors in which Smith's body is involved.

The power and fascination of Mr. Ryle's book derive from the remarkable virtuosity with which he contrasts the normal use of psychological predicates as descriptions of modes of behavior, and their dubious use as names for secret agents inhabiting the human body. But no review as brief as the present one can possibly convey his extraordinary sensitivity to the nuances of meaning carried by familiar psychological words, and the reader can only be urged to turn to the book for the illumination it throws on a large variety of special questions. However, particular mention must be made of the discussion of sensation and observation. There is an influential tradition in modern philosophy, vigorously championed by Bertrand Russell and other recent writers, according to which the termini of direct observation are inherently subjective "sensations" or "sense-data." On the basis of this assumption it is then argued that there really are two radically incompatible worlds —the world of objects encountered in familiar experience, and the mysterious world of strange particles discovered by physics. Indeed, Russell has not hesitated to conclude that common-sense beliefs, such as that grass is green or that stones are hard, must be judged as false on the evidence supplied by physics. The dislocation which such a view effects in our ordinary conceptions of things is tremendous, and human life is converted by it into a tissue of paradox. But the whole argument rests on the fundamental assumption concerning the privacy and subjectivity of sense-data, and it is this assumption which falls victim to Mr. Ryle's critical method. Although the general line of his analysis is familiar, his trenchant formulation of the difficulties in the sense-data theory should give serious pause to those who have been accepting it on the word of Russell.

In Mr. Ryle's judicious hands, the method of linguistic analysis is a powerful and illuminating tool. Nevertheless, as in the case of other sharp-edged instruments, there is always a danger that it may cut away healthy as well as diseased tissues, and that in less skilled hands it may inflict irreparable damage. There is room here for indicating only in a general way the grounds for this fear. Mr. Ryle's method consists in setting up the "ordinary usage" of expressions as the standard in terms of which various suspected usages are evaluated. However, it is doubtful whether ordinary usage is uniformly definite, and it is sometimes evident that what is declared to be standard usage is simply the linguistic habits of a parochial group. Moreover, the construction of theories in many of the advanced sciences often proceeds by altering the "ordinary" sense of words, so that in their emended use they refer to hypothetical objects —such as electrons or genes—which are not *literally* encountered in human experience. There is nothing sacrosanct about ordinary language, and it would be a first-class blunder to disallow various expressions that occur in a theory simply because they are employed in ways strange to common sense. Indeed, there is no a priori reason for rejecting the Ghost in the Machine theory, and if it is to be rejected it must be on the usual grounds that a theory is rejected in the sciences as no longer serviceable. Mr. Ryle admits as much when he notes that the phlogiston theory now has no utility, although at one time it was a legitimate system of explanation for the facts of combustion; and he grants a great deal when he acknowledges that the two-world theory of mind and matter, though now recognized to be a myth, may have played an invaluable role in the historical development of psychology. "Myths are not always detrimental to the progress of theories," he declares. But whether a theory is just a myth cannot be settled exclusively in terms of linguistic analysis. That powerful and illuminating method of philosophizing must not be employed—and Mr. Ryle is rarely tempted so to employ it—to dismiss as nonsensical any theoretical construction which happens to contravene some assumed rules of ordinary linguistic usage. ERNEST NAGEL



The New World

JOURNEY TO THE DAWN. By Charles Angoff. The Beechhurst Press. $3.75.

THIS book is the first volume in a projected trilogy on the life and trials of a Jewish immigrant family from czarist Russia. God-fearing, hard-working, and poor, the Polonskys reflect in their life and thought the prevailing religious and intellectual currents of their place and time: "One was Orthodox Jewish, deeply religious, and the other was Zionist-Revolutionary."

Firmly rooted for generations in the Russian soil, the Polonskys are impelled, by persecution and need at the close of the nineteenth century, to seek spiritual and physical security in another land. In

their troubled days and nights the dream of America looms bright, and like millions of others they one day find a home in the new world. The saga of the family is in its bone and marrow the story of America, and it is a story worth telling. Their daily experiences—fulfilment and disappointment, amazement and wonder—after they emigrate to Boston are perceived through the eyes of the sensitive and introspective David, who is brought to America at the age of seven.

The book suffers from occasional over-writing, and some of its major characters seem insubstantial. But when the author focuses on David, the narrative becomes pure fiction, and the wavering between novel and chronicle ceases. "Journey to the Dawn" is, however, a genuinely Jewish novel, and not simply because it treats a Jewish theme. Unlike most American Jews writing in English, Angoff has experienced this life from the inside and accepts it without reservation. Though written in English, the book is in the genre of the Yiddish *roman*; its spirit of reverence, its deeply felt empathy, compassion, and understanding are in the classic tradition of Yiddish literature, of which Angoff reveals a thorough and intimate knowledge.

If the next two volumes maintain the creative level of the present novel after it picks up David's story, this work may prove to be one of the few significant portrayals in American literature of authentic Jewish life.

ELIEZER GREENBERG

CONTRIBUTORS

W. H. AUDEN, poet and critic, is the author of many books of verse. His latest volume is "Nones."

MILTON R. SAPIRSTEIN is a practicing psychoanalyst and the author of "Emotional Security."

RAYFORD W. LOGAN, professor of history at Howard University, is the author of "The Operation of the Mandate System in Africa."

RICHARD D. HEFFNER is lecturer in history at Columbia University.

ERNEST NAGEL is professor of philosophy at Columbia University.

ELIEZER GREENBERG is coeditor of the Yiddish literary quarterly *Getseltn.*

Books in Brief

DRAGONS IN AMBER. Further Adventures of a Romantic Naturalist. By Willy Ley. Viking. $3.75. Mr. Ley is a German-trained paleontologist with an unusual gift for popularization on a high level. The first section of the present volume deals with the long history of amber, which was valued for thousands of years before men understood what it was or even where it came from; the remaining sections describe various mysteries or oddities among certain plants and animals which are either extinct or, like the now common ginkgo tree, ought to be. Mr. Ley is no mere entertainer with wonders. He presupposes genuine interest on the part of his public and a willingness to read with some attention stories that are often rather complicated. But he is a skilful, instructive guide among the byways of science, and this book is recommended to those who enjoyed either his similar "The Lungfish, the Dodo, and the Unicorn" or "The Conquest of Space," which used the same method in connection with a different subject matter. Mr. Ley quotes Martial's poem on the insect preserved in amber. Perhaps he did not remember Pope's on the same subject: "The things we know are neither rich nor rare/But wonder how the devil they got there."

GREEK POETRY FOR EVERYMAN. Chosen and Translated by F. L. Lucas, Macmillan. $3.50. This title takes in a lot of population, if not territory. The scope of the anthology is wide, including generous portions of Homer and minute fragments of such obscure authors as Praxilla of Sicyon, or Addaeus of Macedonia, all the way down to Joannes Barbucallus, mid-sixth century, A. D. Professor Lucas's various introductions, commentaries, and notes are informative and delightful, even when he is being a little unjust. Unhappily, the actual text is the least readable portion of the book, partly because the publishers have used a small type and crowded too much material in a dull-looking page, partly also because, for all his good intentions, the translator's language becomes a little monotonous and his manner seems at times a bit too literary.

Films

MANNY FARBER

HOLLYWOOD, which once poured hope and happiness into studio-built stories about poor devils in tenements, now sends its crews to mingle in common life and embroider it with more troubles than a psychiatrist hears about in a month.

"Teresa," a rather warm love story about a war bride (Angeli) orienting herself in a new country, busily poses more problems than its tyro scenarist (Stern) and speedy director (Zinnemann) can cope with. The two-part script details the war experiences of a panicky G. I. as he quickly woos and wins a pretty Italian, a sparrow version of Ingrid Bergman, and cracks up on his first combat patrol. Back home, in an East Side tenement, a dominating mom tries to maladjust the marriage, and the ex-G. I. runs away from so many things—jobs, picnics, rehabilitation clinics—that he literally suggests a heavy-gaited fullback getting into condition on New York sidewalks. This rather simple story of a son snarled in his mother's apron strings and a smart girl-wife trying to untangle him is hopelessly complicated by a writer who seems to know about every uncomfortable thing that is bothering mankind, and spells it out in neon lights. Fortunately the mishmash has some refreshing talent working for it in the way of uninhibited non-actors and a poetic director; so the result is as perversely enjoyable as a Third Avenue El excursion with stops in derelict rooms and sauerkraut-odored hallways to show you what terrifies the average New York visitor.

Sometimes the director forgoes his documentary tricks to assist the writer in squeezing a morbid fact until it shrieks. The opening scene in a state unemployment office tingles with the bald accuracy of unhurried, depressed faces, a stark gymnasium-like room, an incredibly mean-faced clerk pounding out questions to the roar of a drum beat—and the conscious lining up of clients like a neatly spaced chain-gang takes all the dejected straggle out of the scene. When the cavernous-eyed

hero bolts in fear from his line and start hoofing through a jittery Bowery, caught wonderfully by a hidden camera, a mysterious narrator pops into the picture for a single deathless announcement: "His occupation is—running away!" Just in case this hasn't been nailed home, the hero keeps running into and out of various places. In a mental clinic his neurosis is glibly tied with a Freudian knot: "My father, he's nowhere, that guy. He never made me feel safe." This over-explaining is less objectionable than the clutter these fractional scenes contribute to a script that gets lost in an unending flashback.

However, no M-G-M crew in years has been so inventive in making nonactors behave naturally as they flounder about in existence. Much of the film's intricacy and intimacy comes from Angeli, who is given mannerisms and speech so cloying that she is literally forced into cunning impetuousness to bring them off. Ericson gets as close to the oafish insecurity of a perennial adolescent as a movie lead ever managed, partly as a result of the trying situations Zinnemann arranges in order to play on his very lack of acting experience. Out of this extended hodgepodge Zinnemann gets the traumatic accidents he wants, and a brutal study of that pet New York game of harassing the unsophisticated underdog.

The Italian sequence in Scasoli, a town in the Apennines that M-G-M redestroyed to film its war-torn look, shows the handiwork of some G. I. advisers and two new explosive personalities, Bill Mauldin and Ralph Meeker; the soldiers are good realistic versions of the Mauldin cartoons. There is also the kind of fight between G. I.'s, with its tiny heartbreaking evidences of cowardice and surprising accidents, that hairy-chested directors like Huston have been mismanaging for years. On the other hand, the makers of this film might well have studied Huston's superior "San Pietro" before they got around to pretentiously sentimentalizing war waifs, printing a war scene on glossy stock, and using a fearless camera man cool enough to make a poetic study of a sparkling stream in midbattle.

Other new releases include "The Magnet," which will draw inaudible chuckles from people who never tire of psychiatrist jokes and invented childish antics. Save for some exciting, unpredictable, gravel-voiced slum kids, the British actors are as easily read as the carefully wrought production, which makes skilful use of editing and photography in the questionable project of kidding a ten-year-old's conscience.

"I'd Climb the Highest Mountain" missed the path when script-writer Trotti decided to exploit the folksy charm of a young backwoods preacher. Susan Hayward's robins'-nest coiffeur, not quite realistic impressions of deep country mustaches, attractive children, and red-clay roads may make the picture worth seeing—on a double bill in the 50-to-85-cent price range.

25% Less than List on LP Records

Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:

DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB

DEPT. N-17

Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.

Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges (50¢ minimum) SAME-DAY SHIPMENT

GOOD NEWS for Music Lovers

Pocket-Sized, Low-Priced Editions

BACH: The Well-Temp. Clavier, 2 vols., each.. .98

BACH: 3 Cello Sonatas & 7 Flute Sonatas..... .98

BACH: 6 English Suites & 6 French Suites.... .98

BEETHOVEN: All Violin Sonatas, 2 vols., each .98

& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG

Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From

LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138 New York 32, N. Y.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

I WILL conduct until I am ninety!" Toscanini declared a couple of years ago; and his performances have provided not the slightest reason for doubt that he would. It is a bitter thought that a mere injury to his knee has stopped his activity at a point when, by the evidence of what one has heard, there isn't a first sign of any impairment of his phenomenal powers or even of the physical stamina involved in his conducting; when, moreover, the N. B. C. Symphony, after thirteen years, has changed from an aggregation of virtuoso players to a unified and marvelously beautiful instrument of virtuoso caliber; and also when at last, after thirteen years, the broadcasts have been moved to Carnegie Hall where the performances have had the tonal beauty they did not have in Studio 8H.

One had a demonstration of Koussevitzky's continuing powers under favorable conditions, at the first Carnegie Hall concert of the Israel Philharmonic. The favorable conditions were that he was conducting two of his favorite pieces—Prokofiev's Fifth Symphony and Tchaikovsky's Fourth—which he had played with the orchestra a number of times, and that he and the orchestra were therefore operating with relaxed assurance. The result was playing which had the refinement of execution and sonority characteristic of Koussevitzky performances, and which, in the process of demonstrating his continuing powers, also demonstrated what the orchestra was like and what it could do under a virtuoso conductor's direction: the fact that it had excellent strings which could produce tone with the silky sheen Koussevitzky aims for, that it had good woodwinds, and that even its undistinguished brass section could be got to play with discretion if not with beauty of tone.

The next night Leonard Bernstein conducted the orchestra in Mozart's "Linz" Symphony with a warmth of feeling for the music and a distinguished taste in its treatment that Koussevitzky knows nothing about; but the beauty Koussevitzky had created was gone from the string tone, and raucous sounds from the brass were heard in the coarse-toned performances of Chavez's Sinfonia India, which Bernstein played very well, and Schumann's Second Symphony, which he played with an excess of emotion and an insufficiency of taste. Assuming adequate preparation in rehearsal and previous performance one can only surmise that there was not the relaxed situation of the night before. And recalling the dry sound of the Philadelphia Orchestra strings when Bernstein conducted it a year ago, as well as a reliable report of the coarse sound of the Boston Symphony in a performance of the Schubert C major that he conducted, one wonders whether that relaxed situation is something he is unable to create with any orchestra.

In his review of the first concert Virgil Thomson questioned, rightly, the bringing of the Israel Philharmonic to America merely for two of our own conductors to play their familiar repertory; had Israel no confidence in its own conductors or its own music? And what struck me was that at concerts ostensi-

bly presenting the Israel Philharmonic the programs not only had photographs of Koussevitzky and Bernstein on the outside, but did not even give the names of the orchestra's members inside.

What little I was able to hear of Cantelli's broadcasts with the N. B. C. Symphony confirmed previous impressions of his outstanding gifts as musician and conductor. One of the programs offered a work by Dallapiccola which used material in a number of contemporary and older idioms and techniques in a way that was very impressive at first hearing. Also worth noting is the fact that in one broadcast the Haydn Symphony No. 93 and in another the Musorgsky-Ravel "Pictures at an Exhibition" were cut off a few seconds before the end—it being unthinkable, in the American way of broadcasting great music, that the commercial announcement be cut by a few seconds instead. Perhaps the American way in this matter would be changed if enough listeners promised to boycott the product advertised in the commercial announcement.

While I am on the subject of the American way of broadcasting music let me add one further comment on John Crosby's reference to the golden age when, with the Philharmonic at 3 and the N. B. C. Symphony at 5, "symphony music on Sunday became an American tradition." Few music lovers would want to listen to two symphony concerts in succession in Carnegie Hall on a Sunday afternoon, or to five symphony concerts—in addition to an opera—in two days; most of them attend concerts on weekday nights as well as weekends and would distribute that number of events through the week. It was not an American but strictly a broadcasting tradition that gave them the two broadcasts of the Philharmonic and N. B. C. Symphony in succession on Sunday afternoon, and jammed as many as five orchestras with the Metropolitan Opera into the weekend, but allowed nothing to be heard on commercially more valuable weekday evenings except a couple of half-hour programs at 11:30—an even more "terrible hour for a symphony program" than 10. (In 1946 A. B. C. moved the Boston Symphony from Saturday to Tuesday evening; but in that year N. B. C. added Orchestras of the Nation to the Saturday bedlam.)

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Passport Denial Protested

Dear Sirs: After six months the State Department has finally denied a passport to Adam Lapin, associate editor of the *People's World*, whom the paper wanted to send abroad as its foreign correspondent.

Lapin applied for a passport to cover news developments in Europe and Asia for the *People's World* last August 15. Instead of a yes or no answer, we received vague assurances that the case was under "active consideration." When the *People's World* issued a public statement protesting the long delay as tantamount to a rejection, the State Department finally acted, stating it was denying passports to Lapin and to Joseph North of the *Daily Worker* in the "spirit" of the McCarran act.

The spirit of the McCarran act is, of course, far-reaching. But the State Department has gone beyond the letter of the law. A recent Justice Department brief filed in federal court in Washington, D. C., states explicitly: "Even the provisions denying individual members of Communist organizations passports . . . are contingent upon entry of a final order of registration." Lapin is not associated with any institution or organization that has been subjected to "a final order of registration." There is therefore not even the shred of a legal reason for denying him a passport.

In any case, the State Department's action is a flagrant denial of freedom of the press. It would set a most dangerous precedent if the State Department were permitted to deny passports to newspapermen on the basis of its own whims or prejudices.

AL RICHMOND,
Executive Editor, *People's World*
San Francisco, February 27

Wanted: Constructive Liberalism

Dear Sirs: The greatest disappointment of these terrible times is the failure of "liberals" to provide constructive leadership. America's mobilization at the expense of domestic reform and foreign aid is leading us to the outbreak of atomic war and is depriving us of our only weapons against totalitarian-directed social changes. The current preparations for war make a mock of any liberal program for human welfare.

American liberals have taken the view that although they don't quite agree with our official foreign policy, the Russians had better be stopped. And so they support the war policy of the Administration. This is the kind of liberalism that has given the leadership of social-reform movements all over the world to the Communists.

The United States is trying to stop Communist aggression the same way Hitler attempted to stop it; the results will be the same for us as they were for the German people. We can already see our civil liberties disappear. Without them we will be left only with a choice between capitalist totalitarianism and socialist totalitarianism.

Since the death of President Roosevelt, the Democratic Party has ceased to be an agency for social reform. The best hope for a free America and continued social progress along democratic lines is the establishment of a Liberal Party. This might have been accomplished through the Progressive Party of Henry Wallace if that movement had not been abandoned to Communists and fellow-travelers. We must have some such movement, however, to rally those people who realize the impossibility of stopping Russia with short-sighted policies and see the need, not for appeasement, but for compromise.

RODERICK E. MACIVER
Sausalito, Cal., February 26

"Just Sound the Call!"

Dear Sirs: Is not now an opportune time to start making plans for a third political force in this country, perhaps a third party? How long are liberals willing to be clubbed over the head by their supposed friends? When will organized labor learn that it cannot hope even for listeners in an Administration that is being increasingly taken over by Southern reaction, big-city political bosses, and special-favor interests? When will liberals begin to think of themselves as a political "threat" in this country and not as a misunderstood minority?

There are surely some leaders in this country with vision enough to produce a policy—all formulations can be found fortunately in your journal—which will insure justice at home and the support of liberal forces all over the world. There should be no brayings about the crime of supporting Franco

Spain from people calling for arms and men for Europe. To believe that Franco's miserable "army" can fight communism is no more stupid than to believe that sending arms to Europe or having Europe send its sons again into war will stop communism.

The world is literally begging for a program that will bring lasting peace, and this country offers nothing better than armaments and meaningless slogans. Is not the lack of an adequate program a reflection on liberal leaders? Just sound the call and you will be surprised how many would flock to the banner! PHILIP SIEKEVITZ

Brookline, Mass., February 25

BOOKS

"PSYCHO-DYNAMICS." Remarkable discoveries, solve many mysteries. Tremendously valuable information. Price $1.00. Money-back guarantee. SCIENTIFIC INFORMATION SERVICE, 2259 Houghton Avenue, E., New York City 61.

TYPING SERVICE

MANUSCRIPT TYPING, theses, medical articles. Speed, intelligence, economy. AMBASSADOR OFFICE SERVICE, 17 East 48th Street. PLaza 5-1127.

ALL LANGUAGES BY RECORDS

I EARN easily, inexpensively at home. ALL MAKES. Sold, bought, rented. ALIN, 475 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C. MU 3-1093.

ANTIQUES

At the LITTLE GREENWICH GALLERIES, fine old paintings for less than $100; and many beautifully chosen decorative antiques at buyable prices. No. 48 Greenwich Avenue, between 10th and 11th Streets, CH 3-5922.

PERSONAL

1984? Horrified at prospect of developing new weapons for spreading undemocracy. Mechanical computing 'brain'? No! Prefer to think with my own. Young mathematician. Wide interests. Human being. Box 213, c/o The Nation.

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*



Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular list price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the list price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

For Organized Non-Violence

Dear Sirs: During the past few years I have become converted to the Gandhi idea of organized non-violence which relies on the appeal to the conscience and basic humanity of all men. I have become convinced that in no country does the average man desire war and that the Gandhi idea is the only permanent solution of international antagonisms.

When Korea was invaded, I vacillated in my belief, thinking that here was a legitimate instance where force should be opposed with force. But as everyone can now see, that method has led to a tragic impasse. There can be only one outcome: the tragic destruction of Korea and its people. Nothing but laborious reconstruction in an atmosphere of suspicion and recrimination awaits both sides.

In this country it is only too apparent that our dependence on military strength for "security" is gradually constricting our democratic way of life. We are relinquishing our civil liberties reluctantly under the illusion that this is necessary to preserve them. We are drifting into a planned economy, planned not for production for the welfare of all but for defense production controlled by a minority.

Aside from the religious and moral arguments for the philosophy of non-violence, it seems to me it has several indisputable advantages as an approach to world affairs. It immediately clears the air of desperate attempts to fix the blame on someone else. Freedom of opinion and expression can be maintained without the need for repression or censorship. And it avoids the selection of all able-bodied and mentally fit young people for extinction, leaving the preservation of the species to the survivors.

I can see that there is little hope of such ideas being adopted in this country, but I feel that there is only one alternative to organized non-violence—eventual organized violence.

SHELDON HARNICK

New York, February 22

Thomas Paine Memorial

Dear Sirs: The town of Thetford, Norfolk, England, gave America one of its greatest citizens, Thomas Paine. Paine has been described as the Friend of Mankind and America's Godfather, and many of your Presidents have paid tribute to the part he played in the founding of your country.

As part of the Festival of Britain, the Borough of Thetford will celebrate Thomas Paine's connection with this ancient town during the first week of June, 1951. There will be a performance of a play about him, the recitation of some of his works by famous American and British film stars, and the founding of a permanent Thomas Paine Museum and Library.

I would be most grateful for the loan of any relics, letters, or portraits of Thomas Paine for the month of June, and the gift of any books or prints which admirers of Paine could send us. We would insure and take care of all objects of value. Contributions may be sent to me at The Gables, Thetford, Norfolk, England.

Naturally, we welcome all American visitors to Paine's birthplace, which still stands and which is marked by a plaque erected by American soldiers stationed near Thetford during the last war.

MRS. E. WATLING, Mayor

Thetford, England, February 21

Evidence Wanted

Dear Sirs: The Southern Conference Educational Fund is collecting data concerning hospital discrimination, especially in cases where refusal to admit a Negro has been followed by the death of the patient. We should be grateful to your readers for names, dates, and possible sources of further information. Our address is 822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, Louisiana.

JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI

New Orleans, La., February 15

Costly Trial

Dear Sirs: I am scheduled to stand trial in the Federal District Court in Washington, D. C., on March 7, on the charge of "contempt of Congress." None of the established organizations which deal with such matters have seen fit to offer me any support in this case. As I have neither money nor organizational backing. I am acting as my own lawyer. Even so, the expense of conducting the defense is considerable and far beyond my means. The problem will become even more serious if the case has to be carried to the higher courts.

I have therefore decided to appeal to progressives for financial help, asking them to make contributions to my defense according to their ability. In return I will send to each contributor a copy of the record of the trial. My address is 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, N. Y. EARL BROWDER

Yonkers, N. Y., March 3

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 17, 1951 NUMBER 11

The Shape of Things

ERNEST BEVIN IS A MAN WHO HATES TO admit defeat by physical weakness, or anything else, and who believes firmly in his indispensability. So it was with great reluctance that he agreed to lay down the burdens of the Foreign Office, and even then he postponed his formal decision while he pressed for the appointment of James Griffiths, Colonial Secretary, to whom he hoped to act as mentor. But in the end he had to yield to the party and personal claims of Herbert Morrison, his old rival, who will hardly welcome Mr. Bevin's guidance. This does not mean that there will be major changes in British foreign policy. Although the new Foreign Secretary may be more acceptable to Labor's left-wing than his predecessor, he is well to the right of center and as firm an opponent of communism as Bevin himself. He has a more agile mind and in negotiation is likely to display a better tactical sense, greater resourcefulness, and less rigidity. Some have questioned his knowledge of international affairs, but it is certainly not less than that of Mr. Bevin in 1945. With his acute ear for political dissonance Mr. Morrison may attempt to restate British policy in terms which will placate those—by no means all left-wingers—who believe Downing Street has become subservient to Washington. He will undoubtedly emphasize that the cornerstone of British foreign policy is continued cooperation with the United States, the Commonwealth, and Western Europe for the purpose of blocking any extension of Soviet power. But he might well suggest to this country the importance of distinguishing between leadership and dictatorship. Plain talk would be a real service to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which can prosper only if it is a genuine partnership.

*

THE FOUR-POWER TALKS IN PARIS HAVE now entered their second week, and so far this fact is the only justification for the hope that an agenda for the subsequent Conference of Foreign Ministers may still be worked out. As might have been expected, discussion centers on Germany. The struggle for the enlargement or the restrictions of the agenda, the anticipated opposition to the discussion of an Austrian peace treaty, the raising of a new item, Trieste—none of these should mislead the public about the real substance of the dispute. In this preliminary stage both Russia and the West have attempted to impose their respective views regarding Germany in order to prevent the other side from arriving at the Conference of Foreign Ministers with a positive gain. Russia clings to the Potsdam decisions, which the West now considers obsolete. The West with equal tenacity is trying to protect the Brussels agreement, which reserves the possibility of incorporating West Germany into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Should the positions taken at present by both sides prove final agreement on an agenda will be almost impossible. However, certain concessions were made during the first week by both sides, minimal as they were and of a procedural rather than a substantial character. These modest achievements may inspire a new effort to get a little closer on more significant matters. This will require great patience and ingenuity and, above all, the realization that if the present meeting fails, the situation created will be the most explosive of recent years.

*

THE ASSASSINATION OF GENERAL ALI Razmara, the Persian Prime Minister, has seriously threatened Britain's stake in Persia, which is centered in the immensely profitable Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The Prime Minister was a hardworking and capable official in a country where most politicians feel that making poetry-laden speeches completely discharges their responsibilities. He never tried the Middle Eastern trick of cashing in on the cold war by exaggerating Soviet threats in order to get American grants. When he took office last June, the American Embassy, which had helped drum up support for him, was overjoyed. But the joy abated when Persian radio stations stopped using Voice of America programs, and the Seven Year Development Plan, masterminded by leading American engineering firms, was shelved. Then, after some determined haggling, Razmara signed a £7,000,000 trade agreement with the Soviets because he felt that Iran could do little to stop the Red Army should it be ordered to march and that it could get little immediate support from either the United States or Britain.

*

THESE CONCILIATORY ACTIONS COINCIDED with Britain's desire for peaceful conditions in Persia so that exploitation of the South Persian oil fields could continue undisturbed. In July, 1949, the Anglo-Iranian

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 241
Korea: Double Stalemate 243
Interest and Inflation 244

ARTICLES

Failure of Leadership *by Willard Shelton* 245
Pontiff and Peace *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 246
Neutralism: France's Common Ground *by Alexander Werth* 247
Paths to Labor Peace *by Stuart Chase* 250
Everybody's Business: The St. Lawrence Seaway, I *by Keith Hutchison* 253

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Minority Report *by Ernest Jones* 254
Problems of 1861 *by Oscar Handlin* 255
Cycles and Controls *by Charles E. Noyes* 256
Verse Chronicle *by Rolfe Humphries* 256
Books in Brief 257
Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 257
Facts on Film *by Mary Anne Guitar* 258
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 258

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 260

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 404 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 260

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Contributing Editor: Robert Bendiner
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Oil Company had negotiated a new agreement, which gave the Persian government almost as good terms as any Middle Eastern country has secured but which had not been ratified because the company is the favorite whipping boy of Persian nationalists. Britain believed that Razmara could steer this new agreement through the Parliament. But when Razmara backed the proposal he was accused of "selling out" to Britain and of scheming to make himself military dictator. Popular resentment was worked up by the fantatically anti-foreign *Fadaian Islam* (Those Ready to Die for Islam) headed by the chief priest of Persia, Sheik Syed Abdul Ghahem Kashani, who in December demanded nationalization of the oil company. Razmara opposed this, saying that Persia did not have the technical ability to run the huge venture. He withdrew the agreement and seemed on the point of dissolving Parliament when Kashani's assassin struck. Now aroused nationalist passions may shake Persia's precarious stability and destroy Britain's biggest dollar producer in the Middle East.

✶

THE DECISION OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON Un-American Activities to reopen the 1947 inquiry into Communist infiltration in the motion-picture industry is strategically maladroit as well as anti-climatic and absurd. Groups in the industry which have cooperated with the committee in the past are placed in a position of acute embarrassment. Having taken credit for the purge which came in the wake of the 1947 inquiry, they are indignant over the committee's lack of confidence in their activities. In 1947 left-wing organizations defended the industry; today the right-wing Motion Picture Alliance steps forward to deny the charge of "communist" infiltration. The Alliance contends that there were never many Communists in Hollywood; that most of the "subversives" were "screened out" after 1947—thanks largely to its efforts; and that the few who remain have been getting "fewer and fewer jobs." Even if the screening process does not constitute anything so vicious as a "black list," a "gray list" of the type described in an earlier issue of *The Nation* (Hollywood Gray List, November 19, 1949) has admittedly prevailed in Hollywood since 1947. Spokesmen for the Alliance point out that procedures have had to be established by which persons in the industry "may rid themselves of the red stigma," but they would probably concede that it is easier to apply than to remove this stigma; witness the predicament in which Edward G. Robinson finds himself. Since the current embarrassment of the Alliance is doubtless due to a temporary break-down of liaison with the House Committee caused by a change in personnel, the present investigation is likely to be called off. Senator McCarran has said, however, that the Senate Judiciary Committee also intends to rework the Hollywood diggings, and this

investigation, with the aid of television, which has made the Kefauver Committee hearings the best show of the year, promises to be a lively affair.

*

LARGE EMPLOYERS OF FARM LABOR IN California have suddenly become intensely interested in human distress in South Korea and the pressure of population on resources in Japan. Spokesmen for these employers have induced the California Congressional delegation to study the possibility of bringing in Japanese and South Korean workers to relieve the manpower shortage expected next summer. It would be a mistake to dismiss this proposal as fanciful or to assume that it will be tabled as another manifestation of an obscene lust for cheap labor. Their schemes for importing labor from Mexico and Hawaii having met with strong objections, the California employers are quite capable of committing their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to this or some still more desperate man-hunting expedition. Say what you will of California's mass-producers of agricultural products, they must be given credit for the bold and imaginative way in which they try to solve their labor problems.

*

CALIFORNIA'S CIVIL DEFENSE DIRECTOR recently suggested that the population of metropolitan Los Angeles should build backyard family bomb shelters on "Saturday afternoons and Sundays." The response would indicate that the residents of Los Angeles are not in a particularly warlike mood. Mayor Fletcher Bowron, who lives on a hillside, thinks "most of the damage will be done to flatland homes" and so has not yet started to dig his cave. A local judge feels that "when the bombs stop dropping, I'll start digging—and not until then. I think it was this kind of hysteria that was responsible for the Korean débâcle." A service station operator complains, "I had an awful time trying to get three sacks of cement for my yard." A shop-owner feels shelters are useless: "If you get hit, that's the end, shelter or no shelter." A patrolman objects to the cost: "I simply can't afford it." A clerk feels that if there is any real danger, the thing to do is to drop the H-bomb on the Russians. Others complain that they haven't the remotest idea how to build a shelter; even a contractor says that it would be necessary to hire an engineer to interpret the Atomic Energy Commission's specifications. What these and similar comments reflect, of course, is the common-sense realization that neat, compact, backyard family shelters, which cost from $3,500 to $4,500, are not exactly practical. If any considerable number were built, the drain on building materials would soon reach insupportable proportions. Some officials have charged the public with being indifferent. But it is not; it is simply baffled.

Interest and Inflation

CEASE-FIRE arrangement has brought to a halt the protracted and often acrimonious battle between the Treasury and the Federal Reserve Board. The two institutions, according to a communiqué issued on March 3, "have reached full accord with respect to debt management and monetary policies to be pursued in furthering their common purpose to assure successful financing of the government's requirements and . . . to minimize the monetization of the public debt."

The real issue between them has been which of these two objectives should have priority. Secretary of the Treasury Snyder, whose job it is to manage the public debt at the lowest possible cost, has been trying to hold the maximum long-term rate of interest to 2½ per cent and has insisted that the Federal Reserve support the government bond market at levels corresponding to this rate. On the face of it, this may seem a policy which overburdened taxpayers should approve. With the federal debt exceeding $250 billion, an increase in interest rates averaging one-half per cent would add $1¼ billion to the annual cost of carrying the debt, which is already approaching $6 billion. Moreover, the Treasury claims that the financial world has become adjusted to the existing interest rates. If they were allowed to climb, billions of dollars' worth of bonds would fall below par, with a disturbing effect on balance-sheets and, perhaps, a rush by investors to cut their losses by dumping government securities on the market.

The question is whether the Treasury is saving on the swings of interest only to lose a great deal more on the roundabouts of inflation. The Federal Reserve Board concedes that it has a duty to assist in the preservation of an orderly market for government bonds: it stands ready to prevent violent fluctuations in their prices by selling and buying through its Open Market Committee. But the



[For answer see page 244]

board has another responsibility imposed on it by Congress—the responsibility of regulating the national supply of credit—and it cannot meet this obligation if, under pressure from the Treasury, it is committed to underwriting a fixed pattern of interest rates. For to do this it must stand ready to buy all bonds offered below a pre-determined price, which means that government securities become in a sense demand notes that can be turned into cash without risk of capital loss.

In defending his policy Mr. Snyder declared on January 19 that it was a "delusion" to suppose "that fractional changes in interest rates can be effective in fighting inflation." He is right to the extent that under present conditions, when opportunities for profit-making are plentiful, few potential borrowers will be discouraged by a charge of 3 instead of 2½ per cent. But that is not really the point. The present credit inflation, which is a major element in a price rise costing the government billions of dollars, is a result, not of the low prevailing rate of interest, but of the artificial support of the bond market necessary to maintain that rate.

Ever since the outbreak of the Korean war, the commercial banks, faced by a strong demand for loans from credit-worthy clients, have been selling government bonds in order to add to their supply of loanable funds. Owing to the Treasury's insistence that long-term bonds be held above par, the residual buyer of these bonds has been the Federal Reserve, which, in paying for its purchases, has added to the deposits of the banks and enlarged four- to five-fold their capacity to lend. Thanks to this "monetization of the public debt" total loans of Federal Reserve member banks have risen by over $7½ billion in the past year—a major contribution to inflation.

To what extent the agreement between the Treasury and the Federal Reserve system will check this process remains to be seen. Evidently Mr. Snyder has made concessions, for he has agreed to issue a new 2¾ per cent non-marketable bond maturing in 1980, to be offered in exchange for the existing 2½ per cent bonds of 1967-72—the largest of the long-term issues. It is hoped that the inducement of an extra ¼ per cent interest will persuade the owners of these bonds—mostly insurance companies and savings banks—to make the exchange so that this section of the debt can be "frozen." The new bonds, however, will not be completely illiquid, for holders will be given the option of converting into one-to-five year negotiable notes at 1½ per cent interest.

This ingenious arrangement has been favorably received. The first response of the market was, indeed, to sell the 2½s heavily and on March 5, 6, and 7, the Federal Reserve bought in large amounts at 100 22/32. On March 8, however, all support was withdrawn and the market left to its own devices. At first the price dropped almost to par but, following the announcement of the terms of the conversion option, big institutional buyers appeared and quotations steadied. There is good reason to hope, therefore, that the exchange offer will prove a success bringing about a shrinkage in the marketable portion of the debt which will make the whole much more manageable.

However, this move will have very little effect on the large commercial bank holdings of government securities, which are mostly in the form of shorter-dated issues, and it remains to be seen how much freedom the Federal Reserve will be allowed in seeking to check the sale of such securities. It will, it has made it clear, stand by its undertaking to maintain an orderly market but that should not prevent it from lowering quotations enough to penalize those banks which seek to expand their credit-giving capacity by liquidating government securities. For the knowledge that such penalties can, and will, be exacted, should do much to reinforce the voluntary agreement among banks to restrict credit expansion that the government is promoting.

Answer to Who's Who?—Napoleon, Montgomery

Korea: Double Stalemate

GENERAL MACARTHUR'S latest statement may have changed the minds of those who had discounted predictions of a long, indecisive, and in the end senseless struggle in Korea. "Assuming no diminution of the enemy's flow of ground forces and matériel to the Korean battle area, a continuation of the existing limitation upon our freedom of counter-offensive action, and no major additions to our organizational strength, the battle lines cannot fail in time to reach a point of theoretical military stalemate. The general certainly cannot be called a pessimist, for only three months ago he was announcing the end of the war before Christmas. His statement should dampen any recently renewed hopes that the progress of the United Nations forces might continue unchecked.

This prospect is paralleled by the existing diplomatic stalemate. Nothing going on in the United Nations suggests any such change of policy as was hinted at by General MacArthur. What the general asked for, in effect, was the authority to bomb the "privileged sanctuary" of Chinese forces in Manchuria, and to muster more troops to balance the military scales. As to the first, the United Nations Special Measures Committee, which for the past five weeks has been considering the problem of sanctions, shows no disposition whatever to approve the bombing of the China mainland, or indeed to apply any sort of sanctions. Many delegates are also convinced that the Thirty-eighth Parallel should not be crossed a second time and have made that opinion known to the United States. As to the question of troops, only deaf ears have been turned to the suggestion of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, presented by the United States, that England,

France, Holland, and the Latin American countries put additional men at General MacArthur's disposal.

The reluctance of important member nations to send more troops of their own is not based on mere self-interest but on the conviction that, short of risking World War III, there is not the slightest possibility of settling the conflict with Communist China solely through the use of arms. The Korean campaign has convinced the majority of the United Nations that even if MacArthur's forces were increased to a number which would enable him to push the enemy back over the Manchurian border, the Communists would sooner or later regroup and reinvade Korea, and that the process could go on indefinitely with never a clear-cut, final decision.

Unable to offer a military solution to the problem raised by the Supreme Commander in Korea, the United Nations has put its last hope in a kind of miraculous change in the diplomatic aspects of the conflict. But here the outlook is equally somber. Communist China continues to ignore the Good Offices Committee (Iran, Sweden, Mexico) charged with the task of opening negotiations with a power which has been branded an aggressor and treated as an international outlaw by the organization which now addresses it in the name of international law. The only miracle for which the United Nations can hope is a change in the general international situation—an agreement at Paris and later in the Four Power talks—which might have a favorable indirect effect in Peking.

This is the situation in the ninth month of the Korean war. And so it will continue, perhaps for months and possibly years, unless the Asiatic policy of this country, in and out of the United Nations, is reshaped in accordance with reality. Those who looked on the branding of Communist China as a victory, may now revise their view.

Failure of Leadership

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, March 8

THE most sensational of the recent charges against the Truman Administration are provided by the Fulbright committee's exposure of the pressures, conspiracies, and cheap graft connected with the operations of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. More serious, I think, is the accumulating evidence that the Administration is tired and worn-out, perhaps incapable of a sustained liberal urge. The President's Cabinet and staff are weaker in brains and zest than they have been at any time since Mr. Truman's early months in the White House; his ablest assistants have either departed or lost their effectiveness; initiative has been yielded to the worst elements of the Republican Party. Here is the cause of the loss of public and Congressional confidence which was reflected in the Administration's partial defeat on the troops-for-Europe issue in the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services committees. Other defeats stemming from the same source may follow.

The RFC inquiry has revealed enough chicanery to justify doubt about the moral standards of many persons involved. Of course Democrats have not been the only ones to try to influence RFC procedures on loans and foreclosures, nor is Senator Murray, who intervened to obtain loans for hotels represented in Washington by his lawyer son, the only member of Congress whose conduct regarding loan applications might seem of questionable propriety. Two weeks ago Senator Fulbright wanted to obtain a file of Congressional letters to the RFC compiled by the White House, but he is no longer eager to publish it. The investigation has heard witnesses whose lack of candor or outright lying was painfully obvious. The White House was involved when Donald S. Dawson, one of the President's administrative aides, displayed a remarkable reluctance to appear voluntarily after the committee had revealed that on several occasions he had accepted free accommodations from a luxurious Miami Beach hotel which had borrowed money from the RFC. Merl Young, a former RFC examiner and a regular rags-to-riches character, has been repeatedly accused of connivance and influence-peddling; yet he has continued to enjoy free access to the White House because his wife works there.

The Administration's evident lack of ideas, enthusiasm, and affirmative morale is probably due in part to McCarthy's violent attacks last year. The men around Truman are punch-drunk and frightened. How else can one explain Secretary Acheson's appeasement of McCarthy by refusing to make a fight for Senate confirmation of John Carter Vincent as ambassador to Costa Rica? This was the job for which Vincent was scheduled, but he was hastily demoted to Tangier—a minor post for one of his experience and talents—simply because his assignment to Tangier required no confirmation. A career diplomat, assailed by McCarthy but repeatedly cleared by the State Department's own loyalty board, Vincent was sacrificed without a struggle. Mr. Acheson has not only exchanged a sound Far Eastern policy for the ideas of Senator Knowland but is allowing his enemies to dictate appointments within his department.

A slick young public-relations man named Jon Jonkel publicly warned the Democrats this week that they were "stuck" with the suspicions aroused by McCarthy's charges that they had whitewashed the State Department after he had accused it of Communist leanings. Mr. Jonkel, who managed Senator John M. Butler's dirty but successful campaign to unseat Millard Tydings in Maryland, blandly told an investigating committee that the Democrats would never live down the doubts stirred up, any more than the Republicans had lived

down Democratic slogans blaming Herbert Hoover for all the apple vendors during the great depression. "The doubt exists," Jonkel proclaimed. "We don't even have to mention it any more." Of course the doubt exists when the Democrats refuse to stand up and fight, to recognize the menace of McCarthy's tirades and innuendoes, and to expose and challenge him at every opportunity. The Vincent episode suggests that the State Department is becoming as cowardly as was Secretary of Commerce Sawyer last year when he fired two employees under Congressional attack even as he cleared them of charges of disloyalty.

The men on whom Mr. Truman must rely for ideas and initiative are not to be compared in tactical wisdom or sound grasp of policy to the brilliant men who surrounded Roosevelt. No one is in the same class with Clark Clifford, whose patience, determination, and understanding were enormous assets to Truman himself during Clifford's tenure as special counsel. John R. Steelman, the President's special assistant, used to be an excellent labor-disputes conciliator, but his cautious, calculating approach is no help to the President today. Stephen Spingarn, the able Congressional liaison aide who fought the McCarran bill last year, is now in limbo, serving on the Federal Trade Commission. Dawson, whose first obligation surely is to conduct himself so as not to bring reproach on the President, apparently relies on Mr. Truman's famous "loyalty" to friends and is resolved to stay out of the Fulbright committee's clutches. Charles Murphy, Clifford's successor as special counsel, is generally credited with sound judgment and good motives but lacks forcefulness. Down the line are a number of able people whose abilities and convictions are not easily brought to bear directly; the staff in general suffers from a surfeit of senior advisers with more personal ambition and political cynicism than principle.

The Fulbright committee's revelations have been distressing partly because the evils exposed have been so petty, the kind that flourish in the atmosphere of a state capitol. It is disgusting to see RFC examiners and White House aides acting as if they had no more concern for the proprieties than wardheeling local politicians. No major graft or bribery or betrayal of trust has yet been shown—nor, for that matter, any RFC manipulations comparable to the loan of $85,000,000 twenty years ago to bail out the Dawes bank just after Charles G. Dawes had resigned as chairman of the RFC. It would be pleasant if Mr. Truman would fire a few of his friends instead of being uniformly "loyal," but the Fulbright investigators will have accomplished their main purpose if the RFC reorganization plan goes through.

The other thing—the Administration's weakness in affirmative ideas and fighting spirit—is at the heart of its present trouble. It is preposterous that an important foreign-policy battle should have been lost to Hoover and Senator Wherry, even if only temporarily and through a committee vote. The Administration can never regain the initiative while it lets McCarthy grin in triumph over a bloodless victory.

Pontiff and Peace

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE Vatican has again entered the field of politics. Its letter to Frédéric Joliot-Curie, French atomic scientist and president of the Moscow-sponsored World Peace Council, which was published with much fanfare in *l'Osservatore Romano* on March 6, is interesting from several points of view. On the same day the story also appeared in the New York papers—the *Herald Tribune* running it under the heading, "Reply to Joliot-Curie notes 'Pleasure' at Recognition of Papal Peace Efforts," and the *Times*, with a quite different emphasis, "Vatican Scorns Bid by Red 'Peace' Body." This is a small example of how the same event can be interpreted in different ways by different papers, but it explains why American readers have difficulty in evaluating the significance of foreign news.

In the case in question the *Herald Tribune* emphasis was the correct one. The papal Under Secretary of State, Monsignor Montini, wrote to M. Joliot-Curie, who was dismissed from the French government last year because of his Communist sympathies, that the Pope had examined his letter "very closely" and noted with pleasure its recognition that the Vatican had repeatedly proclaimed the necessity for establishing peace "by proceeding seriously and honestly to a progressive and adequate limitation of armaments."

This exchange of letters gains new interest when considered in connection with other papal pronouncements made in the last few months. On December 6 Pius XII called on Roman Catholics throughout the world to start a series of prayers for peace. In an encyclical letter addressed to Catholic bishops he expressed grave anxiety over the international tension and laid special emphasis on the fact that his appeal for peace was directed to all nations and not to any one bloc. On January 1 the Pontiff appealed again to the Western powers and the Soviet Union to negotiate a settlement of their differences and thus eliminate the scourge of war from the world. And on the same date the Vatican made use of the columns of *l'Osservatore Romano* and the expert pen of its editor, Count della Torre, to refute the accusation of *Unità*, the Communist organ, that it was backing the aggressive policy of the West and that the reason for its "warmongering" was its conviction that war offered the only hope of defeating communism. People in Italy were amazed by the courteous and moderate tone in which the Vatican paper conducted the discussion.

Clearly these utterances were inspired by the Vatican's desire not to appear to be the thirteenth power of the Atlantic coalition. Since the tension between Russia and the West has been aggravated by developments in Korea and the intervention of the Chinese Communists, the Pope has revealed the same purpose in other ways—for instance, by failing to receive General Eisenhower.

The importance of this shift should not be underestimated. It cannot be attributed to any change in the Vatican's attitude on politics. The present Pope is not a liberal like Leo XIII or aloof from public affairs. To realize how actively involved he is, and where his real sympathies lie, one need only recall the vigor with which he intervened in the French and Italian election campaigns in 1946, placing himself squarely on the side of reaction and contributing effectively to the victory of the rightist parties. Wherever a reactionary dictator is in power the church is behind him, even when, as in Spain, the gradual deterioration of the regime inclines the Vatican to adopt a certain reserve. In Paris the other day Monsignor Feltin demanded the liberation of Marshal Pétain in such a stirring sermon that his audience broke into applause—perhaps the first time this has ever happened in the venerable cathedral of Notre Dame.

But the Pope is too intelligent not to know that the stand of the Vatican on the internal policy of any country is one thing and the allegation that it is promoting war quite another. The Holy See cannot afford to renounce the principle of reconciliation as the basis of its international policy. It recognizes the danger of allowing its silence to be interpreted as unconditional approval of a diplomacy which frequently gives the impression of trying to prevent agreement or of abandoning hope of a peaceful settlement. So by means of discreet whispers, designed to be overheard in diplomatic circles, the Vatican is reanimating various influential Catholic groups which favor conciliation. Knowing that, traditionally, French diplomacy is the most subtle, it has lately been cultivating especially the clerical elements in the Quai d'Orsay. Since November the French have been advising their allies not to indulge so freely in controversy and not to treat every Russian communication as an excuse for a new quarrel.

Because its power depends on spiritual rather than atomic weapons, the Vatican must take account of popular feeling. It observes how the least sign of progress toward peace is seized upon with joy by the man in the street, and especially by women, whose sons will pay with their lives for diplomatic mistakes; the proportion of women in the Catholic church should not be forgotten. The Vatican's present pacifism is but one more expression of the widespread conviction that war should not be contemplated until every possibility of finding a modus vivendi has been explored by the two opposing blocs. It may be argued that this is an opportunist pacifism, but the adjective itself shows how irresistible is the people's desire for peace.

Neutralism: France's Common Ground

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, March 3

THE morning after the Pleven government fell, my news vendor remarked: "Funny thing, isn't it? When a government fell in the past, I used to sell 25 or 30 per cent more newspapers than usual; this morning I haven't sold an extra copy. One would think nobody gave a damn." This indifference is partly due, I should say, to the conviction that whatever the next government may be, it will look like the last one; that the Third Force, conformist in its "Atlantic" policy, will continue as before for the next few months, and that economic difficulties will pile up.

A vague resentment is felt everywhere against M. Pleven for two reasons: he refused to do anything about these economic difficulties, trying, instead, to square the circle of electoral reform; and his foreign policy could not have been more timid or less imaginative. The 1951 budget has not yet been passed; the war in Indo-China—for whose good?—threatens to develop into a wholesale massacre after the Korean model; any serious attempt to get France to play a leading part in easing the tension between East and West is now treated as "neutralist" or crypto-Communist heresy. Nor can anyone be particularly proud of the "solution" of the Moroccan crisis or of the recent trial of Algerian nationalists, which took place *in camera*—some of the accused, according to *L'Observateur,* had to be brought in on stretchers, so thoroughly had they been "interrogated" by the police.

Meanwhile the cost of living is increasing; last week subway, bus, and taxi fares in Paris went up; food prices are rising. The scarcity of raw materials, about which

ALEXANDER WERTH, a staff contributor, begins with this article a series on French reactions to the cold war. In the next he will analyze the attitude of labor.

Pleven did nothing when he went to Washington, is having an effect on all production, including that of newspapers; the *Monde,* rather than look for subsidies, has been driven by the cost of newsprint to raise its price 50 per cent, from ten to fifteen francs. An editorial note said that it was the only way to preserve the paper's independence.

At the same time a dangerous feeling of resignation can be observed in many quarters, even among the working class—the feeling that war is inevitable sooner or later and that France might as well be on the side of the Americans and their atom bombs. Persistent press and radio propaganda has not been without effect, and one of the most pathetic confessions of impotence has been made by a man who in the past, notably during the occupation, was noted for a good deal of moral courage. I mean François Mauriac, who wrote recently in *Figaro:*

> The tragedy of all of us is to live in a disillusioned country. In four years France has passed from the rank of a great nation to that of an assisted nation; why deny it when it is a fact? Neutralism is nothing more than a hankering for the kind of autonomy that has been condemned by the facts of our present situation. In their childish rage the neutralists kick the table.

That just about sums up the cheerless pro-Americanism of the conservative bourgeoisie, which was heavily represented in the Pleven government and which, in fact, imposed its point of view on the Socialist and left-wing M.R.P. members. No doubt there was a good deal of play-acting in Pleven's "pro-Americanism," enough at any rate to make the Gaullists call his government a neutralist government in disguise, curtsying to Washington in order to get the Americans to pay some of the costs of the war in Indo-China and a large part of France's rearmament bill.

ANOTHER reproach made by the Gaullists against Pleven was that his anti-communism was not as tough as he pretended. With the Communists still representing 25 to 30 per cent of the country, the government clearly preferred for the moment to resort to intimidation rather than to large-scale repression. It is widely believed that the Communist Party will be outlawed and driven underground, but by the next Parliament, not this one. The Pleven government has been content to purge the administration of Communists, to deport without trial numerous Spanish Communists and other republicans, to get the police to tear down Communist posters against German rearmament, and to let them beat up everyone—even deportees in their striped Buchenwald overalls—who demonstrated against Eisenhower or the presence of German generals at the recent "European army" talks.

It is very hard to say what exactly is happening inside the Communist Party, but one has the impression that these small beginnings of persecution have stiffened the hard core of the militants. The Magnani-Cucchi defection in Italy has had no perceptible effect; the Clementis affair may have set many Communists wondering, but Titoism seems never to have been less of a threat to the French party than now. Being America's debtor, Tito has been forced to play down both his "communism" and his "neutralism," which has made him, ideologically, much less interesting than he was at first.

Nothing would be more foolish than to imagine that France is divided into a huge, conformist, pro-American majority and a small, anti-American, Communist minority. To ignore French neutralism is to ignore what is, on an intellectual plane, perhaps the most significant movement in France today. It has often been said that at heart every Frenchman is a neutralist—even General de Gaulle was a "neutralist" in 1945 when he thought that France could become the nucleus of a grouping attached to neither Russia nor America—but many feel that France is now too closely bound up with America to depart from the Atlantic Pact.

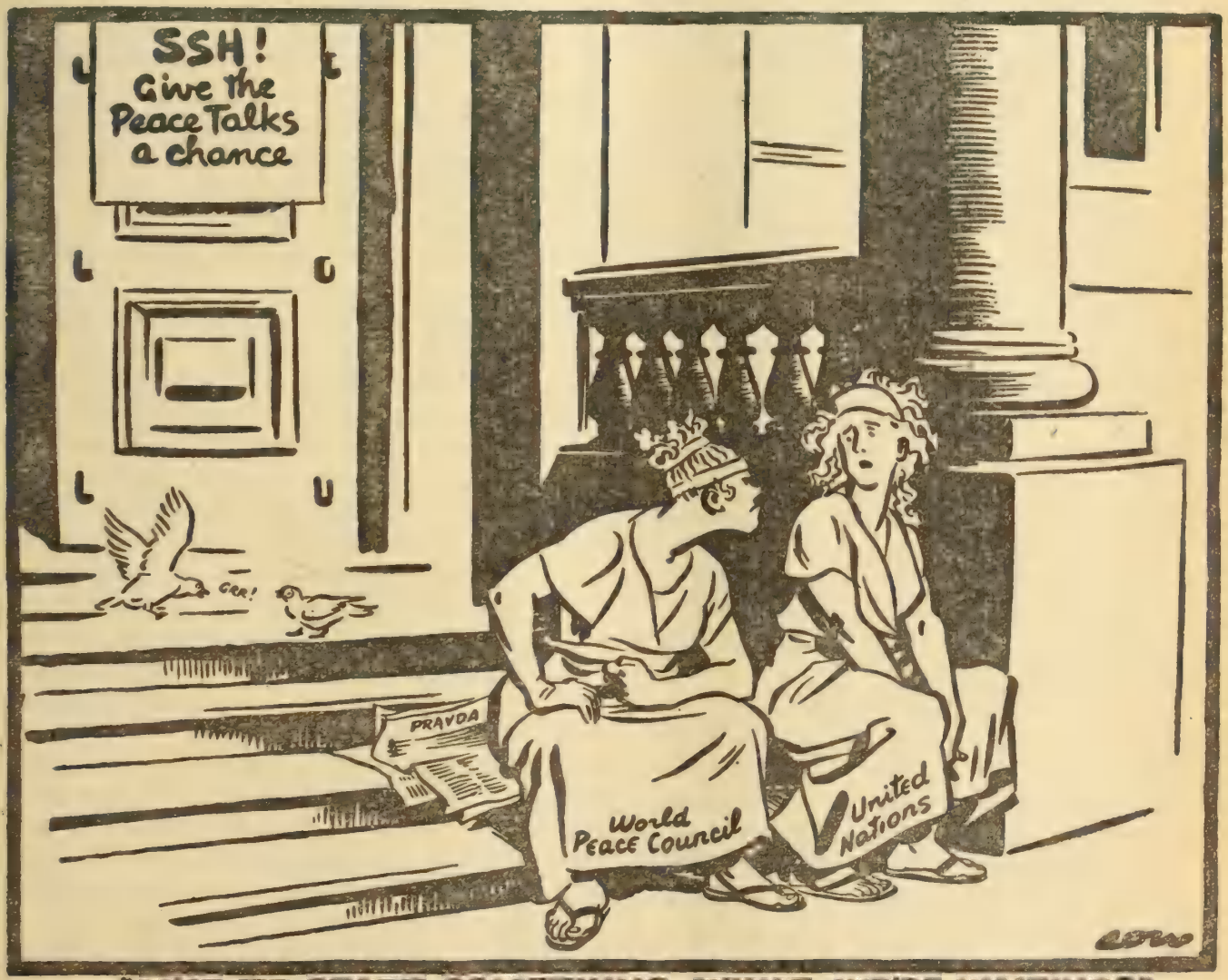
IT WAS to combat this "it's too late" feeling that a meeting which may, historically, prove a turning-point was held on March 1 at the Mutualité, one of the largest halls in Paris. The room was packed when the meeting was opened by Professor Rivet, one of the founders of the Popular Front and now representing a non-Communist left-wing group in the Assembly. Rivet spoke with some nostalgia of the Popular Front days and said he hoped that this "inaugural" neutralist meeting would lead, as the similar Popular Front meeting over which he had presided in the same hall in 1934 had done, to a great nation-wide movement. What was striking about the meeting was the determination of all the speakers to dissociate themselves from the Communists. This was true of speakers who like Claude Bourdet are distinctly anti-Communist and of those who like Pierre Cot stick to the time-honored French maxim that "there are no enemies on the left." In neutralism these men had found a common ground, and they felt it filled a crying need of the country.

All the speakers emphasized that if the Atlantic policy, complete with German rearmament, was allowed to continue, war would become inevitable and France would be destroyed. Jacques Nantet and others pointed out that it was not necessary for France to be economically dependent on the United States, from which it now bought or received half its raw materials. It could, instead, become economically attached to the sterling bloc and, to a lesser extent, to Eastern Europe. Marshall aid represented less than 2 per cent of its national income. The war in Indo-China cost France as much; by pulling out of Indo-China, France could easily dispense

with Marshall aid. Independence was worth more to France than this 2 per cent. Charles d'Aragon said German rearmament, a provocation to Russia, was an inevitable part of the Atlantic Pact. Niemöller, and not Adenauer, represented the predominant German mood. Gilles Martinet of *L'Observateur* warned that the present policy was dividing France into two hostile camps. The aim of the electoral reform was to reduce Communist representation, after which the party would be outlawed. The working class would then be more and more mercilessly exploited, and the Communists would gain enormously. Either an American or a Russian occupation would lead to civil war in France and to mass persecutions and killings. According to Pierre Cot, France would be no worse off without allies, and the danger of war would be immeasurably less. The number of American troops to be sent here could not stop the Russians and would only provoke them. A small American army would run just as fast to the Pyrenees as a French army left to itself.

In Cot's view the Franco-American honeymoon was over, and the sooner France got a divorce, even without Marshall aid alimony, the better. Neutralism to Cot was not a political theory or doctrine but a political attitude which today suited France better than any other. It did not mean that France must leave the U. N. But it did mean independence, freedom to choose, and to examine every question on its merits. There would be no harm in a pact with America similar to the Franco-Soviet pact, but France must not belong to any vast bloc, either Russian or American. If France, this past year, had been more independent, it could have supported Nehru, and peace would already have been saved in Asia. And how much greater France's prestige would have been! France should itself decide what proportion of its budget to spend on armaments and what proportion on social and economic improvements. Finally, the Atlantic Pact, with its fanatical anti-communism, was paving the way for fascism; all feeling of national unity was being destroyed. Another speaker said that in the coming election every parliamentary candidate must clearly state his attitude to neutralism.

This latest attempt to crystallize politically, and by means of a nation-wide propaganda drive, the anti-war feeling in France may be one of the most important things to watch. It has heavy odds against it, of course;



"LIKE TO START SOMETHING WHILE WE'RE WAITING?"

London *Daily Herald*

except for the *Monde*, which is vaguely sympathetic to the movement, the bulk of the press is hostile; so will be every Third Force government, Socialist ministers included. The Communist attitude is ambiguous: "It has its points, but too many doubtful people support it," the Communist *Nouvelle Critique* said the other day. Even so, neutralism has a lot of potential support among all classes, and the chief question is whether, politically, the movement will be able to assume a sufficiently tangible and practical form to affect the "line" of the French governments of coming months.

One of the neutralists' arguments was that their policy was, ultimately, in the interests of the United States. Their policy was to avoid war, and was not that what the peace-loving majority of the American people wanted?

Paths to Labor Peace

BY STUART CHASE

AS MASS transport and mass communication push the citizens of this unhappy planet ever closer together in the seventh year of the atomic age, I have been looking around for techniques of agreement. What methods and structures have social scientists and others discovered which might help us get along together better? We may or may not be our brothers' keepers, but we are increasingly in our brothers' laps.

The Quakers have a remarkable technique for reaching unanimous agreement in their business decisions, which has stood the test for three hundred years. The TVA has an equally remarkable method for getting on with the people of the Valley. The new studies in group dynamics give very promising leads. Semantics can be helpful in reducing certain kinds of conflict. Unesco's analysis of international conferences has good possibilities. And so on.

In the perpetual laboratory of labor-management relations, many unions, universities, business executives, are hard at work developing techniques. Some of the results have been spectacular, and I would like to tell you about one or two of them. First, however, let us look at various kinds of relationships which may exist between management and organized workers in the United States today.

Unions do not necessarily mean conflict, sometimes the reverse. There seems to be a regular progression from physical violence to active cooperation. Benjamin M. Selekman of the Harvard Business School, in a recent book, has described eight different stages.

In the long run relations will be determined by collective bargaining between union and management rather than by Taft-Hartley laws or similar legislation. The two parties at interest must work it out together. In four of the patterns of relationships conflict is implicit, ready to break out at any moment; in the other four agreement has been reached, but a dubious agreement, in two categories. Beginning on the lowest rung, this is how Selekman ranks the stages toward real understanding:

1. *Containment-aggression*—where management accepts the union under protest but tries to limit its activities to bargaining over hours and wages. The union is pressing to expand its power; tension is always high and readily can become explosive.

2. *Class-struggle ideology.* In this pattern union leaders act along Marxian lines. They may cooperate with management as a matter of expediency or because Moscow tells them to for the moment—as in World War II—but no real peace is possible. The union leaders, if not the rank and file, are committed by their ideology to the elimination of the management class. This pattern is on the wane as C. I. O. and A. F. of L. purge their red unions.

3. *Laissez faire ideology*—which is the class struggle in reverse. Many American managers, especially in the South, are convinced that unions have no place in a free society. Though they will deal with unions if they must, they are always on the alert for a chance to get rid of them once and for all. Real cooperation is again impossible. This group was dealt a mortal blow by the Wagner act and is gradually fading out.

4. *Power-bargaining.* By this Selekman means that the parties accept each other as a necessary evil, but each tries to wrest from the other all possible advantage. When winter comes and the need for coal is bitter, then pull a strike! Base your strategy on the market and collect all the traffic will bear. John L. Lewis, Caesar Petrillo, the dock workers of San Francisco, teamsters in various cities, follow this pattern—tough leaders on both sides, and the public be damned. Such a relationship is likely to arouse the public's wrath and be followed by government intervention—as when the army takes over the coal mines—and reduced power for both men and management. The pattern can lead to the liquidation of collective bargaining.

STUART CHASE is the author of "The Proper Study of Mankind," "Men at Work," and other books.

Now we turn the corner from conflict to agreement. Here are four types of relationships where men and management really cooperate without crossing their fingers. Observe, however, the mayhem practiced on the public in numbers five and six!

5. *Deals.* Top union officials and top management make a deal about wages, hours, and working conditions. The rank and file never know the details, and of course neither do the stockholders; stockholders are rarely supposed to know anything under our present business institutions. Besides being utterly undemocratic, this is a pretty unreliable kind of cooperation, because if the rank and file *do* find out about the "deal" they are likely to blow the roof off. Every now and then a labor big shot disappears into outer space.

6. *Collusion*—which differs from a deal in two ways. First, the rank and file are usually in on it; second, union and managers jointly seize control of the market and proceed to administer quotas, prices, quality, what not, in an air-tight monopoly. Collusion reaches its finest flowering in the building trades. Thurman Arnold in his "Bottlenecks of Business" can give you extensive documentation. It certainly reduces labor conflict, but at a cost to the consumer—sometimes a very high and fancy cost. The government is likely to move in here too, under the Sherman act.

7. *Accommodation.* Now we approach maturity. The term seems to have been invented by Selekman, and I find it very useful to indicate a process, not only in labor disputes, but in all sorts of human conflicts. It implies a degree of acceptance and an equilibrium. The idea is to live and let live; perhaps two parties cannot agree in all matters, but they can understand each other's point of view and accommodate their activities. Cyrus Ching described such a pattern to me, with a story from Mexico. Such is what Republicans and Democrats in the Senate will soon have to do if the Republic is to continue intact. Such is now the only hope in the cold war.

In labor relations accommodation means that while union and management are wary, while they still hold rigidly to the traditional methods of collective bargaining and attempt no "participation" plans at all, they have become used to one another. They "interact comfortably within a familiar pattern of behavior." In accommodation hope has been abandoned of liquidating the opponent; there he is and one must live with him.

8. *Cooperation,* or the Promised Land—to which accommodation is often the threshold. Gradually the old distrusts melt out, and each side comes to believe in the other's good faith. They feel so secure that they can go beyond the traditional agenda of collective bargaining. They can jointly consider matters of production, solvency, elimination of waste, introduction of new machines, and so on. "The union accepts managerial problems as being of concern to labor; management recognizes its stake in stable, effective unionism; together they dispose of problems as they arise." The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, for instance, would never attack Hart, Schaffner, and Marx as a "profit-swollen corporation" or a "greedy exploiter"—such adolescent name-calling has been outgrown. The union is pledged to keep the company solvent, while the company is pledged to union participation in certain well-defined managerial functions.

STAGE eight will not arrive tomorrow for most American enterprise. Given the suddenness of union growth in this country—from fewer than three million members in 1934 to sixteen million today—and given the enduring rivalry between the C. I. O. and A. F. of L., accommodation seems to be the more realistic and promising objective. Selekman thinks we shall do well if we get stage seven over the greater part of industry by 1960.

What does stage eight look like? Both the Amalgamated and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have been operating in it for years. Elsewhere Joseph Scanlon, a former steel-union official and now M. I. T. professor, has set up some forty "participating" plans in which union and management are jointly responsible for output.

There are plenty of examples available; suppose we pick a clothing manufacturer in Rochester, New York, where cooperation has been so effective that there has been no strike since the original contract was signed with Sidney Hillman in April, 1919. In the last eighteen years not a single grievance has gone to arbitration!

The Amalgamated was formed in 1914 when Hillman's group split off from the United Garment Workers, A. F. of L. He wanted to replace the craft union with an industrial union in which all crafts would be united, from messengers to skilled cutters. At first there were bloody strikes and many picket lines in New York, Philadelphia, Rochester, and elsewhere. Call it stage one, "containment-aggression."

A firm making top-quality men's suits in Rochester, the Hickey-Freeman Company, took a calculated risk and signed a contract with Hillman in 1919. It was a brief contract, providing for the settlement of grievances, a labor manager to be appointed by the firm, an open shop, and arbitration machinery. Dr. William Leiserson became the first impartial chairman under the arbitration clause, a post which was to win him national honor. Thirty-three cases came to him in the first year. Now grievances are settled so quickly at the point of origin in the shop that they seldom get to arbitration at all.

Gradually participation was introduced and increased until it became the fixed policy of Hickey-Freeman to consult the union before making any major decision affecting the workers. Such a policy clashes with the traditional prerogatives of the boss and is an acute issue in

industry today. Employers are disposed to fight for what they consider their right to run the business. Unions are disposed to fight against what they consider unjust acts of management—rate-cutting, speed-ups, arbitrary firing. But at Hickey-Freeman "management prerogatives" carry no warlike connotation. Boundaries between managers and workers have been clearly defined and long since accepted. Stage eight is solidly established.

LET us look at an actual example of this kind of participation. Here is the "plant chairman," a union official, whose job it is to settle local grievances—the kind which the company personnel department or the company foreman tries to settle in most concerns. The chairman sits in a private office right in the factory.

A complaint comes in. "Julie" is making too many errors in stitching labels. He looks over the record and then summons the girl, the company foreman, and the union shop steward. He shows them the figures. Nobody questions Julie's brilliant facility in wrecking labels. The plant chairman—a union official, remember—looks straight at her and says, "Julie, the company can't afford to pay you one cent a label to make mistakes, and then pay another girl six cents to correct them, can it?"

"No, sir."

"You know, Julie, you just weren't cut out to sit at a machine all day long. After you have been sitting for a while, your attention wanders, doesn't it?"

"Yes, I guess I'm not cut out for this job."

The company foreman then goes into action. "She used to be a good messenger when she first came here. How about shifting her to that job?"

"Would you like that?" asks the plant chairman.

"Sure, I'd like it fine," says Julie.

And this grievance, an actual case, is settled by a union official to the complete satisfaction of the company foreman and of the girl herself. Julie is of course a union member.

When a new suit is designed, patterns are first taken to the operating department of the company for study. Then the union officers are called in for a joint conference. Piece rates, quality, the division of work, and other technical matters are thoroughly discussed. Patterns which arouse objections go back to the designer for correction.

The new style, when ready, is a joint plan by both company and union, with all foreseeable grievances and conflicts removed. But that is not the end of the participation. A few suits are first manufactured in a kind of pilot plant. If the workers like the style—not the cut of the vest so much as the conditions of producing it—they tell the rest of the shop, aided by the plant chairman (union) and the labor manager (company). A better way to avoid later complaints and to encourage production would be difficult to imagine.

PERHAPS the most striking example of participation came during the depression of the 1930's. Clothing firms were failing right and left. The Amalgamated became an industrial banker, loaning money out of the union treasury to keep the companies afloat! Hart, Schaffner, and Marx was said to have received a substantial loan in the nick of time.

In 1933 the Amalgamated at Rochester negotiated a wage cut—yes, *cut*—of 15 per cent. Later in that terrible year the union negotiated another cut of 15 per cent. In 1934 came a third cut of the same amount, later modified to 8 per cent. Thus the union had matured to the point of deliberately choosing the lesser evil—better a 45 per cent wage cut than unemployment. (The cost of living was falling too, of course.) Participation in the needle trades is a two-way street. Workers share in the high earnings of the good years and in the losses of the bad years. Both parties strive for a healthy industry.

Donald Straus, who has reported on Hickey-Freeman for the National Planning Association, sums up by saying that industrial peace rests on two foundations. First, the unreserved acceptance by management of the union and its functions, including participation in some managerial decisions. Second, the unreserved acceptance by the union of responsibility for the welfare and solvency of the industry. There are no "deals" and no collusive agreements.

The relationship between men and managers at Hickey-Freeman—and at most shops in the men's clothing industry—has been directed toward "solving mutual problems as they arise, not to winning arguments." As the relationship developed, increasing reliance was placed on collective bargaining at the local level, less on arbitration, far less on splitting legal hairs over the interpretation of the written contract.

The United Nations, by way of contrast, is still in the hair-splitting stage. But of course it is much younger than the union Sidney Hillman founded.

Hickey-Freeman is one of a dozen concerns now under intensive examination by the National Planning Association. Instead of studying labor wars the association is analyzing labor peace. In 1946 the papers printed more front-page news about strikes than ever before, but even in that turbulent year nine out of every ten labor contracts were renegotiated without a strike. In 1947 twenty-four out of twenty-five were so negotiated. The prevailing pattern is peace, even if the headlines make it look like war.

Peace is not news as defined by the newspapers; somebody has to bite somebody. Clinton Golden, who heads the N. P. A. research, said in launching the study: "The time has come when, instead of looking into the causes of conflict that we hear so much about, we ought to try to discover how much peace there is, and what makes peace."

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The St. Lawrence Seaway, I

NOT many years ago executives of the M. A. Hanna Company used to talk about the proposed St. Lawrence seaway as "that socialist ditch." In those days the company, which is the leading concern in the Great Lakes carrier trade, with large subsidiary iron-ore, coal, and steel interests, saw no special advantage to itself in improved communications between the Midwestern states and the outside world. True to the protectionist tradition of its founder, the famous Mark Hanna, it opposed the seaway as a possible means of introducing cheap foreign products to the Great Lakes area. In addition, it lined up with the rest of the coal-mining industry in seeking to block the development of the hydroelectric resources of the St. Lawrence—a project intimately linked to the building of the seaway—since that implied new competition for solid fuels.

The conversion of the Hanna company and other noted Midwestern industrial concerns, such as Republic Steel and Armco Steel, from stalwart enemies of the St. Lawrence scheme to its foremost proponents provides us with a nice illustration of the theory of economic determinism. Their change of heart is due to the fact that while the demand for iron ore is steadily expanding, reserves in the great Mesabi deposits, on which the Midwestern steel industry has been built, are shrinking rapidly. Henceforth the proportion of foreign ores fed to American blast furnaces will increase constantly, and unless the Great Lakes states can obtain easy access to such ores the center of the steel industry, now in western Ohio, will tend to shift east.

Already there are some signs of such a shift. Following its discovery of a vast mountain of high-grade iron ore in Venezuela, United States Steel is starting to build a gigantic plant on the Delaware not far from Philadelphia. National Steel is contemplating construction in the same vicinity, and schemes for integrated steel mills in Connecticut and Virginia are being promoted. The fact that some part of the present planned expansion of the steel industry is taking shape in the Northeast is encouraging. This section consumes very large quantities of the metal, and its fabricating industries have perhaps been handicapped by lack of nearby supplies.

Natural growth in the East is one thing: the forced relocation of a large part of the Midwestern steel industry along the eastern seaboard would mean an upheaval that could have disastrous economic and social consequences. Such a relocation may well occur if over a period iron ore cannot be laid down as cheaply in Ohio as in New Jersey. In a statement to the House Public Affairs Committee last May, Norman Foy, of the Republic Steel Corporation, explained the further consequences:

> As the steel industry moved, the great fabricating plants of our steel centers would also be forced to move. . . . Much greater density of population and industry would be a natural result. . . . To the west of our present manufacturing centers of the Middle West are the great western markets. Every mile eastward which heavy industry travels would increase the cost of finished steel products to these western markets. . . . Instead of paying freight on farm equipment and household durable goods from Chicago and other midwestern points, the freight would be paid from eastern points.

If there were no alternative ore supplies for the Midwestern steel plants as the Mesabi range peters out, we might have to accept as an economic necessity the gradual migration of industry, with its concomitant social reactions—the creation of ghost cities and a huge waste of social capital. But the discovery of very large, easily worked deposits of high-grade ore in the wilds of the Quebec-Labrador borderlands can avert this catastrophe if the problem of transport can be solved.

These deposits are being developed by a partnership of Canadian mining interests with six United States companies headed by Hanna. A railroad, on which construction began recently, will bring the ore to deep water at Seven Islands on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which is 952 miles from the big Lake Erie ore port of Ashtabula—only 76 miles farther than Duluth, shipping point for Mesabi, is from Ashtabula. But while the big ore carriers sail direct from Duluth through the twenty-five-foot channel of the Soo Canal, the route from the Gulf of St. Lawrence is blocked by the bottleneck of the International Rapids between Ogdensburg, New York, and Cornwall, Ontario.

As things are at present, Quebec ore, which will be available in large quantities by 1956, must be carried by ocean freighters to Montreal and there dumped into boats small enough to navigate the fourteen-foot Canadian canal which by-passes the International Rapids. This transshipment will add to costs, and in any case the maximum carrying capacity of the canal is about five million tons annually, or only half the estimated Quebec output. Any alternative route involves railroad transport, which is considerably more costly than bulk water carriage. Pittsburgh is 701 miles by rail from Montreal and 328 from Baltimore, which in turn is 1,550 sea miles from Seven Islands. But the distance from Ashtabula to Pittsburgh is only 126 miles. These figures explain the new enthusiasm of the Midwestern steel producers for the St. Lawrence seaway. They also make understandable the opposition of the railroads and the Eastern seaports, whose case I will examine next week.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Minority Report

FROM HERE TO ETERNITY. By James Jones. Charles Scribner's Sons. $4.50.

THIS preposterously overpraised novel seems to have been written chiefly to demonstrate that, since each man is an island, no real communication between human beings is possible. The scene is Schofield Barracks, Hawaii, in the months before Pearl Harbor and the few weeks after. The chief characters to prove that neither love nor friendship can be a balm to the incurable wound of aloneness are a private and a sergeant. In army terms the private is a "bolshevik"; he will not be pushed around, and in the end his inarticulate righteousness makes him murder and gets him killed. The sergeant, virile, handsome, an embodiment of all the virtues of the consecrated non-com, is left, after some complicated gyrations with his captain's wife, a little wiser and a little more disillusioned than he was at their beginning. Around these two circulate about one dozen enlisted men and officers selected from various racial and cultural strata in American life (Mr. Jones sees the army, inevitably, as a microcosm): an Italian from Brooklyn, a Jew from the Bronx, several West Point types, and so on, even to an American Indian. There are also the captain's desperate wife and the private's girl, a whore in quest of respectability.

The same oversimplification of experience and the same mechanical approach to re-creating it appear in the larger structure of the novel. Mr. Jones works from a formula: by recording in detail the awarenesses of two or three characters and by separating these from one another with detailed scenes of photographic reportage he can automatically produce fiction. "From Here to Eternity" recapitulates meticulously the activities and the reveries of several individuals. But in all its frenzied realism there is little reality. The novel has neither vision nor order, depending instead on a central thesis, a scanty plot, and the accident of Pearl Harbor. Had it not been for the last, it might have gone on as long as army life, offering up in perpetuity awareness as a substitute for knowledge.

When the characters embark on their self-communings, their reflections are boring and stereotyped. Unlike Dreiser or Lardner or even, on occasion, James, Mr. Jones does not know how to write about bores. His fiction assumes and asserts that every human being is, somehow, some way, interesting, but it never realizes this possibility. He starts various matters he does not finish. He intends, for example, to indicate something important in his picture of the love-hate relation between the private and the sergeant and to create some parallel between the affair of the one with a whore and of the other with the captain's wife. But since he does not know what he thinks or feels about these episodes their meaning remains unexplored. Sooner or later someone will point out that this chaos has cumulative power. I watched closely for it to accrete and found only repetition. There is no reward here comparable in the least to what comes after those chapters of bad sentences in which Dreiser talks so awkwardly yet so powerfully about the decline and fall of Hurstwood.

The jacket proclaims that "the graphic realistic detail will outrage some readers." Anyone leafing hastily after scatology will find the uninventive profanity of semi-literates erupting on every page, serving no fictional purpose but demonstrating Mr. Jones's obviously sincere intention to record everything. There are also extended passages which may possibly titivate readers unfamiliar with modern fiction —a scene in a whorehouse, a scene in a homosexual bar, a seduction scene, to cite only three, reflections of similar episodes in Dreiser or Joyce or Lawrence or in their imitators, denser areas in this miasma of stereotypes.

The vehicle of this dulness is a confected prose which reads like a bad imitation of the opening chapters of "Ulysses" slightly influenced by Thomas Wolfe. By trying almost always to mean more than it says it is intended to convince one of the solemnity of the author's purpose. I subjoin an example which displays, all at once, symbolism, lyrical feeling, and reflection; the private has gone up on top of a hill to lie under a tree and get drunk:

> The ancient thorny-fingered guardian that all day protected its little patch of virgin grass from the philandering sun's greedy demanding of that last maidenhead in the field, spread its warped washerwoman's arms above him now as it had the grass all day, protecting the philandering prodigal now as it had its daughter's greenness, until he drank his whiskey.

On a more direct narrative level the prose moves with less fanfare but hardly with ease:

> Staring at him with eyes of liquid smoke in which there was a curious and great disinterest she unzipped her shorts and shucked out of them without moving from the chair and dropped them with the halter.

I discerned one virtue in these 860 pages. Mr. Jones writes boringly and pretentiously about the insulted and injured because he mistakes reporting for fiction, because, at this point, his thoughts and feelings about the life he wants to re-create are either banal or confused, and because he has a bad style. But he knows one fact well: human beings caught in brutalizing situations will attempt to rise above the feral pattern to some human dignity. His sense of this groping emerges again and again. It is sharper and more deeply felt than all the rest of this dreary catalogue of unsuccessful love-making, cruelty to animals, and barracks minutiae.

A word on the salvos which have greeted "From Here to Eternity": It is not clear to me how anyone seriously concerned with fiction could praise this novel as extravagantly as it has been praised. The prose alone should make it impossible to take very seriously. In their irresponsible eagerness to elevate inconspicuous merit to genius our critics are willing to mislead the

public and, for that matter, the author. It is the kind of judgment they have passed on this novel, as much as our often-abused publishing industry and our much-decried public taste, that is responsible for the cheap virtues of most of our current fiction.

ERNEST JONES

Problems of 1861

MR. LINCOLN'S ARMY. By Bruce Catton. Doubleday and Company. $3.75.

THE outbreak of the Civil War found those who were to fight it totally unprepared for the kind of war it would be. It took years and the expenditure of enormous resources in money and men before the government in Washington discovered the means for bringing the conflict to a successful conclusion.

Undoubtedly the rebellion itself created a disheartening situation for the Union. The regular officer corps was pathetically shattered when it lost a large part of its membership to the Confederacy; the army faced the necessity of recruiting not the privates alone but the commanders as well. In addition, political issues long left the strategic advantage in the hands of the seceding states.

But more important was the fact that the men of 1861 brought to the fighting a conception of war far different from what they would confront in reality. The enthusiastic volunteers who hastened to sign up when the flag went down over Fort Sumter had in mind the tinted battles of the picture book; actually the deadly fire of rifles at close range presented them with the modern mud of the infantry. The Crimean War should have pointed a warning. But the shapers of policy in the offices and in the camps too long clung to the illusion that the means of the war could exist on the same high level as the ideals for which it was fought. Only the disastrously mounting casualty lists convinced them it would be otherwise.

If it was a long task to assemble the proper army, it took longer still to find the appropriate commander. Without even a vague notion of what characteristics were desirable in the leader of the new army, the government blundered through a succession of inept choices, some from the regular service, some recently out of civilian life, but none adequate. For until Grant appeared on the scene, none really understood that the function of the new fighting was total destruction and that gallantry had no place in it. The result was a long period of bungling that involved the useless waste of lives and resources and that left behind the bitterness that poisoned the peace.

It is the great virtue of Catton's volume that he understands this essential quality of Civil War history. In form his volume is a history of the Army of the Potomac under General George McClellan. In substance it is an enlightening interpretation of the whole course of the conflict.

The book opens with an account of the Second Battle of Bull Run, in which Pope demonstrated his unfitness for command. The story then moves backward in time for a retrospective survey of the organization of the army and of McClellan's relationship to it. Coming back to the aftermath of Bull Run, Catton then carries his narrative on to the climactic battle of Antietam, a battle that McClellan appeared to have won and yet that finally cost him his command.

At first impression, this organization may seem needlessly intricate. But by abjuring the straight chronological treatment Catton has endowed his work with a sense of great authenticity. Too often the military historian, laboring under the compulsion to clarify the events as they occurred, endows the actors in those events with a false consciousness of purpose and with a delusive prescience. This fault Mr. Catton escapes. In a superbly told story he makes clear what did happen and why but without leaving the erroneous impression that the generals knew what would happen or why. On the contrary he makes dramatically plain, as in the description of McClellan's headquarters at the Pry House during the Battle of Antietam, that the commanders often had not the vaguest idea of the meaning of the unfolding incidents about them.

While Catton has managed to get in the excitement and the thrill of the actual fighting, he has not neglected to fill in the realistic details of the periods between. Nor is he unaware of the political implications of the military events. A clear account of the effects on the military decisions of the background of suspicion and distrust that poisoned the atmosphere of Washington brings the whole picture into focus. Lucidly written and competently put together, this is a splendid example of popular interpretative history and deserves a wide audience. OSCAR HANDLIN

Cycles and Controls

BUSINESS CYCLES AND NATIONAL INCOME. By Alvin H. Hansen. W. W. Norton and Company. $6.75.

PROFESSOR HANSEN continues to be such a prolific writer that it would be unsafe to describe any book of his as his major work, but it seems reasonable to suppose that he regards this 639-page volume as a summing-up of his study and views on the subject.

A large part of the book is taken up with a historical discussion of the development of business-cycle theories, and it is obviously intended for other economists and students rather than for



The matured philosophy of a completely honest man

NORMAN THOMAS'

A Socialist's Faith

Against the background of his forty years of public life, Norman Thomas re-examines the nature of socialism and the case for it, and presents his beliefs and views on the state of our country and the world today. A stimulating, rewarding book.

At all bookstores • $4.00

W. W. NORTON & COMPANY

101 Fifth Avenue, New York 3, N. Y.

the lay reader. However, it is positive rather than eclectic in approach, and those who disagree with the author's conclusions will certainly find practically all of it controversial.

The basic conclusion is that a democratic government can and should do a great deal to mitigate the severity of business cycles in a capitalist economy. Professor Hansen would probably not disagree with the statement that he has been more influenced by the late Lord Keynes than by any other economist, although he is not uncritical of some aspects of Keynesian theory and is at pains to point out that many of the ideas commonly associated with Keynes were foreshadowed by earlier writers. He also indicates that the rapid increase in the availability of statistical information in recent years requires continuous reexamination and development of cycle theory. At the close of the chapter, Government Outlays, Investment, and Consumption, Hansen writes:

A rather rigid theoretical apparatus, such as that explained above, though based on rigorous assumptions, is none the less highly useful as a means of understanding economic developments. In actual life, however, there are always many disturbing factors which modify the conclusions reached on the basis of pure theoretical analysis. Thus theory, important as it is, must be supplemented by judgment, practical experience, and broad historical knowledge.

The most disturbing aspect of a monumental study like this is its indication that the gap between progressive economic theory and the practical judgment of business or political leaders is growing rather than diminishing. Like Edwin G. Nourse, who would disagree with many of his conclusions, Hansen has great hopes for the Council of Economic Advisers set up under the Employment Act of 1946. Unfortunately, it is difficult to see how any President or members of Congress can be expected to understand fully the assumptions upon which the council presumably operates, and it would not be reassuring to have the advice of the council taken on faith.

The present governments of the United States and England have accepted responsibility for constructive action in economic affairs, but public acceptance of this responsibility is precarious, because the underlying principles are not at all generally understood. It is to be hoped that Hansen's book can be successfully translated for the benefit of laymen. In some of his articles and shorter books, of course, the author has done part of that job himself.

CHARLES E. NOYES

PUBLISHER—WANTED

THREE reputable publishers in succession rejected a collection of my poems. One Editor-in-Chief let the cat out of the bag: ". . . difficult successfully to market poetry unless poet already has considerable critical reputation." To be unknown—what a crime! Is there a dependable publisher with courage? Who is first? Publishers expecting the author to foot the bill need not reply. Box 214, c/o The Nation.

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE **USSR**

Just Arrived! TIKHON SYOMUSHKIN

ALITET GOES TO THE HILLS

Stalin Prize Novel

In English — 292 pp. — $1.00

Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
1951 Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals
Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*



Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular list price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the list price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

Verse Chronicle

"CELEBRATION AT DARK," by William Jay Smith (Farrar, Straus, $2), is a little book containing a good deal of richness and contained by a good deal of modesty. For once, and this is rare, we have a poet not exhibiting himself saying "I feel terrible" but almost bursting with good news; in some of the poems the exuberance does not quite succeed in keeping out irrelevance, particularly in the matter of similes; *like* is a part of speech with which Mr. Smith could afford to be more sparing. Color here; music; and a gaiety which rises superior to its own ironic knowledge.

"The New Barbarian," by Winthrop Palmer (Farrar, Straus, $2.50), is more political, more pessimistic, and somewhat less expert than the work of Mr. Smith. Affirmation, not being easy, makes, it would seem, more demands on technique than does accurate analysis, however honest, however unsentimental. "Mrs. Palmer," it says on the jacket, "believes that classic disciplines will survive any barbarian invasion." I can find nothing like this in the text; on the contrary. "Barbarians enter the city." "The tall, blue-eyed, magnificently wild Barbarian, no empire has withstood." "But neither the Senate nor Woman could quell / Slave and Barbarian . . . the Republic fell." The Barbarians have already triumphed, apparently, and we are a populace, not a people. Mrs. Palmer's work is honest, well-turned, unsentimental, scathing, and, after a while, just a bit tedious; the symbols repeat themselves too often, so that the effect is one of a guarded tightness. Which, of course, is better than being all over the place.

"The Region of the Summer Stars," by Charles Williams (Oxford, $1.75), requires of its readers an interest in theology, in the legends of Celtic Britain, and perhaps also in T. S. Eliot's good opinion of its author. More or less amiably disposed in these regards, I nevertheless find the poem beyond my capacity for persistence; in other words, rather long, rather dull. Blank verse, in our time at least, needs a good deal of modulation to hold the secular interest, expert craft, even a sly adroitness, to which Mr. Williams, being not primarily a poet, cannot, will not, or anyway does not descend. I would not deny that this is an admirable book, but I must confess that I cannot read it.

"Montage of a Dream Deferred," by Langston Hughes (Holt, $2), troubles and confuses me as work by this author often does. On the one hand, no white man living in Jackson Heights is fully competent to enter into the emotions of a Negro at home in Harlem; on the other, there seems to be a split—apparent in his book's title—between the sophistication of Mr. Hughes the individual and the innocence of Mr. Hughes the spokesman, so that the statement, in terms of be-bop—another matter of which I know very little—seems both oversimplified and theatrical.

Geoffrey Grigson's introduction to the "Selected Poems of John Clare" is the most interesting I have so far seen in the admirable Muses' Library series (Harvard University Press, $2.10). To be sure, Mr. Grigson has to take a couple of swipes at his King Charles's head, the ideas of Mr. Eliot, but his interpretation of Clare is illuminating and his admiration eloquent.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Books in Brief

THE KOREANS AND THEIR CULTURE. By Cornelius Osgood. Ronald Press. $5. An illuminating study by a Yale professor of anthropology. The first and most interesting part of the book is devoted to an analysis of the social and economic life of a typical Korean village. This is followed by a brief survey of upper-class life at the capital and a political history of the country down to 1949, with a postscript covering the events leading up to the present war. After reading the author's account of Korean village life one can never again interpret the headlines in coldly impersonal terms.

THE PACIFIC ISLANDS. By Douglas L. Oliver. Harvard. $5. A concise survey of the ten thousand islands of the Pacific—their history, inhabitants, and resources—and the effects of Christianity, trade, and war on the natives. The author, associate professor of anthropology at Harvard, leaps from island to island and subject to subject with agility and grace, covering a vast territory in an unexpectedly readable volume.

THE ROAD TO PEARL HARBOR. By Herbert Feis. Princeton. $5. A useful addition to the already large library of books on the diplomatic history of the war. Basing his study on all papers, both American and Japanese, so far made public, and on his own observations as economic adviser in the State Department, the author describes the policies, personalities, and attitudes that led to the war with Japan, and analyzes each successive step in the diplomatic negotiations from 1937 to Pearl Harbor. One reads this fair and lucid study with a sense of the majestic inevitability of collision once Japan had determined to invade China, since each successive step made it more difficult for the Japanese not to advance or for the Americans to retreat.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

IN "The Autumn Garden" (Coronet Theater) Lillian Hellman presents a group of ten people in the home of Constance Tuckerman, a genteel Southern woman, in reduced circumstances who takes in friends as boarders. Their impact on one another makes up the action of the play; and its message seems to be that what one is in middle age is the sum and consequence of one's past and that the future will be merely a continuation.

There are two young people—Sophie, the French-born niece of the hostess, and Frederick Ellis, whose rich grandmother (Ethel Griffies) is the star boarder. The others are past middle age, and each in his own way is defeated or disillusioned. They include the world-weary General Griggs and his silly wife Rose (Florence Eldridge); Carrie Ellis, possessive mother of Frederick and dominated in turn by *her* mother; Edward Crossman, an old beau of the hostess but now past love for himself or anyone else; Nicholas Denery (Fredric March) a would-be artist; and his rich wife Nina, who finances his futility.

No one character is more important than another, though Nicholas, whose arrival sets the ferment going, is the chief troublemaker. And since it is difficult to dramatize futility and boredom, the plot tends to be unconvincing when it is most like action and boring when it is most convincing. The main interest lies in the characterizations and in the probing of relationships, and here Miss Hellman's shrewdness, competence, and ruthless humor stand her in good stead. There is even a touch of compassion in her handling of the three-way relationship of the elder Mrs. Ellis, her daughter, and her grandson—and this is, as a matter of fact, the only situation in the play that touches the heart. Compassion is obviously intended toward the young girl Sophie, caught in an alien society and trying to make the best of it, but in the end, when Sophie is assigned the thankless role of extracting money from Nina to save herself and return to her own way of life, she retains, whatever Miss Hellman's intentions, only a cynical sympathy.

The setting—the living-room and porch of a run-down Southern house—is very well conceived; the direction is good, considering the odds of long static passages in the play; the acting, by a star-studded cast, is highly competent. In two cases it is almost too good—or perhaps I should say that these parts are too exhaustively written. Florence Eldridge as the silly Rose and Fredric March as the fool of good-will in desperate search of self-importance are so trying that one comes to dread their appearance. It is the old problem of how to transform the boring or the trying into successful art, which by definition can be neither.

"The Moon Is Blue" (Henry Miller's Theater) is a gay bit of Americana in which an adolescent theme is bandied about in the accents of sophistication. Barbara Bel Geddes gives a charming and very skilful performance, well supported by Donald Cook and Barry Nelson.

ARE YOU SAYING "I CAN'T AFFORD TO RETIRE"?

You can retire young enough to enjoy it

—if you know where it costs less to live and where you can earn an extra income from a part-time job or small business. One of the best things about **Where to Retire on a Small Income** is that it selects out of the hundreds of thousands of communities in the U. S. and its island territories only those places where living costs are less, the surroundings are pleasant and you can add to your income through a part-time or seasonal job or from a small business.

With this book you learn:

—where you can go fishing, hunting, boating, and swimming practically from your front door;
—where living costs, rents, and real estate are less (even where you can buy a farm for only $2,500);
—where you can live inexpensively on an island far from the world, yet close to neighbors;
—where your hobby will bring you an income;
—where you stand the best chance of living as you want to.

Where to retire on a small income in Florida, California, Hawaii, etc.

The book covers cities, towns, and farms throughout America—from New England south to Florida, west to California, and north to the Pacific Northwest. It includes Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. Some people spend hundreds of dollars trying to get information like this by traveling around the country. Frequently they fail—there is just too much of America to explore. Yet Where to Retire on a Small Income costs only $1. "Should be one of the season's most popular books," says Pathfinder Magazine.

No matter what you are doing today, prepare now to retire. While still young enough to enjoy it. Simply tear out ad, print name and address, and mail with check, money order or $1 bill (we guarantee its safe arrival). Money back of course, if you're not satisfied with book. So write today to HARIAN PUBLICATIONS, 122 First Ave., Greenlawn, New York.

Facts on Film

BY MARY ANNE GUITAR

SO-CALLED "human relations" films are apt to be dull because of their rather heavy-handed educational approach. The audience often feels that it is being lectured rather than entertained and stimulated. The emotional content of these films is so slight that it is difficult to feel sympathy for the leading characters and remain interested in their problems. All too often the dramatic situation is so naive and contrived that the problem doesn't seem convincing. These disadvantages cause an uneasiness like that produced by a Disney cartoon combining live characters and animations.

McGraw-Hill's series on marriage manages to avoid most of these evils. Correlated with a college textbook, Henry Bowman's "Marriage for Moderns," it is designed to appeal to adult groups beyond the college level. These five films, running from fourteen to twenty-two minutes each, demonstrate how common marriage problems can be solved practically. Though some illusions may be shattered, the series does not convey the impression that good marriages are simply drab partnerships.

"This Charming Couple," first of the series, attacks the fantasies of romantic love, shows how a marriage is doomed to fail if each of the partners cultivates an impossibly romantic picture of the other. "Marriage Today" shows two different couples faced with the same problem. The man and woman in each case have fundamentally different personalities; yet they are able to build a durable marriage based on genuine understanding. "Choosing for Happiness" examines the motivations of a girl who cannot pick a mate and recommends for her more self-analysis and less criticism of others. "It Takes All Kinds" dramatizes the way a situation of stress reveals personality traits by showing how a variety of people react when put on the spot—the Executive, the Worrier, the Helpless One, the Competent Type. The film then suggests the importance of choosing a mate whose real personality is understood. "Who's Boss?" takes up the important subject of competition in marriage. Two rather angry people first rebel against the cooperation implicit in marriage, then gradually make an adjustment to it. This film and "Marriage Today" seem to realize most clearly the theory behind the series: "A successful marriage does not happen; it is the achievement of two people."

The films may be purchased from McGraw-Hill Text Film Department, 330 West Forty-second Street, New York, at an average price of $90 each. They may be rented from Association Films, 35 West Forty-fifth Street, New York, for $6 each or the series for $25. A number of university libraries also carry these films for rental.

In most guidance films the camera is pretty much restricted to close-ups of individuals as they struggle with their emotional problems, but in the documentary called "Preface to a Life" the camera has been used with enough imagination to give depth and impact to a case history. The film deals with the complex subject of how parental attitudes mold a child's personality. In this particular case Michael Thompson has a mother who wants to keep him extremely dependent and a father who wants him to outstrip all competitors and be a leader. To satisfy both and at the same time develop according to his own capacities is patently impossible. The film does not attempt to record the effects of the struggle but concentrates on showing how absurd the realization of either parent's dream would be. If Michael tried to satisfy his mother he would grow up feeling inhibited in his natural desire to be a mature man. If he tried to satisfy his father's ambitions, he would feel defeated and inadequate. A third sequence shows the better way to bring up Michael, giving him both support and stimulation but allowing him to proceed at his own pace. "Preface to a Life" was made for the National Institute of Mental Health, Federal Security Agency, and may be obtained free of charge from them. United World Films, 1445 Park Avenue, New York, has sales prints for $35.85. Running time is twenty-nine minutes. Sun Dial Films, 341 East Forty-third Street, who made the film, have rental prints for $5.

Both the McGraw-Hill pictures and "Preface to a Life" are intended as springboards for discussion. They make excellent program starters for child-study groups, church and community organizations, and young people's associations. Discussion guides are available.

Nation Readers are cordially invited to

L. I. D. 46th Annual Luncheon

on

WORLD COOPERATION FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

HOTEL COMMODORE
NEW YORK

Saturday, March 31, 1951

Speakers: RALPH J. BUNCHE, WILLIAM GREEN, M. J. COLDWELL, A. J. HAYES, H. L. KEENLEYSIDE, PAUL R. PORTER, SELMAN A. WAKSMAN, NATHANIEL M. MINKOFF, Chairman.

Citations to: DR. RALPH J. BUNCHE and PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN for their contribution to International Understanding and the Social Advance.

John Dewey Awards to L. I. D. Alumni, PAUL H. DOUGLAS and SELMAN A. WAKSMAN.

Luncheon Tickets $5

Also 46th Annual Conference Round Table Discussions Friday night, March 30 and Saturday morning and afternoon, March 31 on "Counteracting Anti-Democratic Forces in America," "International Economic and Cultural Cooperation" and "Next Steps in Labor Political Action," participated in, in addition to several luncheon speakers, by Robert Bendiner, John L. Childs, Tilford Dudley, Albert and John Herling, Raphael Lemkin, Eduard C. Lindeman, Patrick M. Malin, Stanley M. Ruttenberg, Joseph Schlossberg, Boris Shishkin, Rebecca Simonson, Gus Tyler, Walter White, Murray Baron, James Farmer, Clarence Senior, Mildred Perlman and Mark Starr.

Round Table Discussions, 50¢ each

Luncheon Tickets and Round Tables, $6.00

Make Reservations Immediately with

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
Harry W. Laidler, Program Chairman
112 East 19th Street New York 3, N. Y.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

ALL through 1948-49 the Artist and Repertory people at RCA Victor did not approach Toscanini about recording (having, as the story reached me, used up their budget on Horowitz, Heifetz, Rubinstein, Iturbi, Mario Lanza, and other such greats). And as it happened 1948-49 was a year in which Toscanini achieved some of the finest performances of his career. Among these performances that went unrecorded was one of Schubert's "Unfinished" that was especially remarkable in the way its steady *Allegro moderato* pace in the first movement and *Andante con moto* in the second created an almost superearthly quiet and calm in which both the dramatic power and the serenity of the work were achieved. It resulted from momen-

tary conditions of mind and emotion; and a year later different conditions resulted in the different performance that was recorded and is now issued by Victor—one in which tempos are faster (first movement) and less steady (second movement), and the first movement, played *Allegro agitato,* achieves exciting dramatic power but not in superearthly calm. But in its own way it is a magnificent performance. As for the recorded sound from my LP review record, for sufficient liveness I have to step up the treble to 5 on my Brook amplifier, and I also have to step up the volume for the second side, but otherwise it is excellent.

Victor also has issued one of the great last symphonies of Haydn, No. 104, played by Münch with the Boston Symphony. In Haydn Münch is not hysterical, as he is in Berlioz's "Fantastic"; but he is now insensitive, now fussy, now graceless.

Another of these great works, No. 100, is on a Westminster record (50-45), played very beautifully by the Vienna Symphony under Scherchen, but with the second movement much too slow and the minuet movement also too stolid. The performance is excellently reproduced, except that the percussion is much too loud in the second movement. No. 95, on the reverse side, is a less impressive member of the last series. It too is played well; but the violin sound is sharp, and bass must be reduced.

What I find to be only slightly engaging examples of Haydn's developed and matured symphonic writing at different periods are Nos. 64 and 91, well played by the Vienna Symphony under Swoboda on another Westminster record (50-23) (the violin sound is coarse, and bass must be stepped up); and Nos. 42 and 47, well played by the Vienna Chamber Orchestra under Litschauer on a Haydn Society record (1026). And in an early style of no individuality are the engaging No. 6 and less interesting No. 21, also played, a little stolidly, by the Vienna Chamber Orchestra under Litschauer on another Haydn Society record (1025).

Columbia has issued Mozart's Violin Concerto K. 216 played by Isaac Stern with a chamber orchestra. My idea of this delightful work is derived from the old Columbia recording of a light-stepping, sensitive, and sharp-witted performance by Huberman—compared with which the Stern performance of the *Allegro* movements is stolid and burly and made worse by its curiously brash sound on the record. The slow movement, however, Stern plays very beautifully. Unsuitably coupled with this concerto is the previously issued Stern-Zakin performance of Beethoven's Sonata Opus 30 No. 2.

I had never managed to hear the Parlophone recording of Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 456 played by Lili Kraus and the London Philharmonic under Goehr; and I thank Decca—which has dubbed it onto an LP record (DL-8505)—for the belated experience of one of Mozart's masterpieces in this genre, with a first movement of high comedy and a wonderfully beautiful theme and variations in the second movement. Kraus's playing is of the same quality as in the recorded performances of violin sonatas with Goldberg, one of which—of the fragmentary and inconsequential Mozart Sonata K. 404—fills out the second side of the record, together with some Schubert Ländler in which one hears the affected playing Kraus did on her own. Treble has to be stepped up for sufficient liveness in the recorded sound; the orchestra then is a little tight and sharp, and surface noise is prominent. My review record is badly afflicted with off-center wavering of pitch.

Decca also has issued an LP dubbing (DL-7507) of the Parlophone recording of Bach's Violin Concerto in E played by Goldberg and the Philharmonia Orchestra under Susskind. Rehearing the work after a long interval I still don't care much for the opening movement and care even less for the finale, but find the slow movement very fine; and the performance is excellent. Treble must be stepped up; there are then occasional buzzes and coarseness in the violin sound.

The Bach Guild has issued, through Vanguard (BG-504), a record with a Johann Christian Bach Sinfonia Concertante in E flat, which I find mostly uninteresting, and Karl Philipp Emanuel Bach's Symphonies Nos. 1 and 3, in which one hears the exciting operation of a mind at once highly individual, vigorous, and daring. The first piece is played stolidly, the others with more life, by the Vienna Symphony under Felix Guenther. A harpsichord is pounded so that one hears it—but mostly as a timbre, not as sounds with pitch.

And WCFM has issued (LP-2) all of Handel's Water Music played by the National Gallery Orchestra under Bales. One learns that there are a number of engaging pieces—Nos. 9, 10, 12, 14, 16-20—in addition to the fine ones that Harty made into his suite, but also a few uninteresting ones. The performance is undistinguished; but there is superb playing by trumpets and horns including the great Mason Jones.

CONTRIBUTORS

ERNEST JONES, who regularly reviews fiction for *The Nation,* is a member of the English Department of Queens College.

OSCAR HANDLIN, a member of the History Department of Harvard University, is the author of "This Was America" and other books.

CHARLES E. NOYES is the author of "Economic Freedom."

GOOD NEWS for Music Lovers
Pocket-Sized, Low-Priced Editions
BEETHOVEN: All Violin Sonatas, 3 vols., each .98
BACH: 3 Cello Sonatas and 7 Flute Sonatas.... .98
BRAHMS: Violin Sonatas..... .98
CHOPIN: 2 Piano Sonatas; 25 Preludes; Fantasy .98
& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG
Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From
LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W. Box 138 New York 32, N. Y.

25% Less than List on LP Records
Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:
DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB
DEPT. N-18
Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.
Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges (50¢ minimum). SAME-DAY SHIPMENT.

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN
MARY MARTIN
RAY MIDDLETON
IN
South Pacific
Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with WYNN McCORMICK
MAJESTIC Thea., 44 St. W. of B'way
Evenings 8:30 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

PUBLISHING SERVICE

WRITERS!—Book mss. wanted for publication, fiction, non-fiction. Free booklet. Write today! Daniel S. Mead Literary Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. C. 16.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, $5.00.

TYPING SERVICE

MANUSCRIPT TYPING, theses, medical articles. Speed, intelligence, economy. AMBASSADOR OFFICE SERVICE, 17 East 48th Street. PLaza 5-1127.

PERSONALS

DON'T FORGET BIRTHDAYS, ANNIVERSARIES. Send dates, events, our notices insure remembrance. 15 dates, $2. LITTLE STRING REMINDER SERVICE, Box 6253, West Palm Beach, Fla.

ATTENTION: Selective single people—35–50 interested in participating discussion and social group, Manhattan. Box 215, c/o The Nation.



THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN & ADULTS, Inc., Chicago 3, Ill.

Letters to the Editors

Education for Values

Dear Sirs: One does not have to be a Catholic to find objectionable the sentence from the Board of Education report cited in your editorial entitled Return to Scholasticism? (*The Nation,* March 3). I hold no brief for scholasticism, although many crimes have been committed in the name of opposition to it. But it seems rather damning to praise the "current philosophy of education" because it has adopted a "scientific view of man and society" when we are looking to education to remedy the admitted moral defects of our society. Frankly, I think there is as much danger to education for democracy in this "scientific view" as there is in the dictatorship of the Vatican.

The notion that "democratic" and "scientific" can be used in the same frame of reference is in itself unscientific. Education is inevitably conducted in the framework of human values. Science may examine the basis of those values from the standpoint of efficiency or consistency; it may describe them. But it cannot, without going outside itself, replace them. Education had better learn what science can and cannot do.

There is much discussion of values in contemporary educational theory; they are bandied about almost as much as I bandy them here. But to talk to a typical educationalist today is to find that the essential mystery, poetry, and art of man are lost in the shadows of scientific technique.

The terms of this argument could be spelled out more ably than I can do it in this space by your own Joseph Wood Krutch or by Lionel Trilling. In his article on Sinclair Lewis (*The Nation,* February 24) Krutch distinguishes between the author who achieves the typical and the author who achieves the symbolic. Science will have us concentrate on the typical, but man is a symbol-making animal. The difference between the mathematical and the artistic symbol is the measure of the distance by which a merely scientific education will fall short of what we need to produce in a world where democracy can live.

What we need is a "third force" in American education, a critique of both scholasticism and the scientific technique.

FREDERIC E. PAMP, JR.

Glen Ridge, N. J., March 5

Blasphemy Denied

Dear Sirs: The Nation is to be congratulated for the fine articles by Gilbert Seldes (February 3 and 10) on "The Miracle" controversy, and for publishing the letter from Victor Paget (February 17) quoting Doctor Johnson's definition of what is obscene. To many minds "The Miracle" suggested beauty and compassion. Blasphemy and vulgarity were reflected in the comments of those who condemned it.

EDITH WARNER

New York, March 1

Cult or Science?

Dear Sirs: I should like to make one further comment on Mr. Dobyn's letter denouncing my review of Hortense Powdermaker's book "Hollywood, the Dream Factory" as an insult to the whole anthropological profession. There has come to my attention a professional opinion of the book which is, I think, of interest. Robert Bierstedt, reviewing the book in the February, 1951, issue of the *American Sociological Review,* writes as follows:

Its publication is a disservice to American social science, and especially to anthropology. It will increase the suspicion of those who view anthropology as more of a cult than a science. And it will strengthen the skepticism of those who view anthropologists themselves as people who use more magic than do the primitives they purport to study.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

Cambridge, Mass., February 24

THE *Nation* with

Harper's Magazine . . . $9.50
You save $2.50

Consumers Reports . . . $10.75
You save $1.25

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Canadian and foreign postage extra.

THE NATION *by itself*

1 Year $7 2 Years $12
3 Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE:
$5 a Year

Canadian and Foreign Postage, $1 a Year Extra

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Money-Saving Magazine Combinations

The NATION
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:
I want to subscribe to *The Nation,* or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

_____

_____

_____

☐ Remittance enclosed ☐ Bill me

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

3/17/51

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 24, 1951 NUMBER 12

The Shape of Things

WITH ITS OPEN MEETING IN NEW YORK THE work of the Kefauver Committee has reached a climactic point. As in a dozen other cities, it has summoned to the witness stand alleged gang leaders and racketeers, big and little, politicians, public officials, and police chiefs, and extracted testimony which throws a fierce light on the operations of the underworld industry of gambling. Yet following the proceedings we had the impression that for all their consummate digging, Senator Kefauver and his colleagues have not yet hit the real pay dirt. Or, to change the metaphor, they have assembled much of a large and intricate jig-saw puzzle but have still to find many of the pieces essential to the appreciation of the whole picture. Perhaps some of these key fragments will turn up in the committee's final report which it will begin to write shortly. That prospect will be discussed in an early issue by our Washington correspondent, Willard Shelton. Meanwhile we would like to suggest one thought to the committee and the public which has been following the latest hearings with avid interest. So far the inquiry has been concerned with the supply side of the gambling industry. But what about the demand that makes the business so enormously profitable? Why are millions of Americans ready to pour billions of dollars annually into the pockets of bookmakers, operators of policy games, and owners of slot machines? What is the emotional need that drives so many people to gamble? One of the recommendations of the Kefauver Committee might well be the appointment of a properly qualified body of sociologists and psychologists to seek answers to such questions.

*

BY APPPOINTING A SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO "intervene and investigate" the business of *La Prensa*, Perón's legislature has in effect ended the life of the great journal. If it continues to come out, it will be as a voice of the Perón regime, a fate considerably worse than death for a newspaper of *La Prensa's* traditions. But the victory of the regime may prove a sour one. Certainly Perón must be astonished by the indignation expressed in Washington at his act of political vandalism. Why, he must be wondering, should the persecution of *La Prensa* cause so much more uproar than a thousand other acts of repression? Why should an Administration which has lately gone out of its way to cozen and make overtures to him, suddenly begin talking about "grave damage done to Argentine-United States relations"? The fact is, of course, that what must appear to a simple-hearted dictator as outrageous hypocrisy is a most normal expression of normal United States inconsistency. For one thing, we cherish a firm belief in our belief in freedom of the press. For another, Assistant Secretary of State Miller during his recent visit to Argentina witnessed the outrages committed against *La Prensa* by Perón's hoodlums and even ventured some fruitless diplomatic objections. And from every point of view it is annoying to the State Department to have an incident like this occur just before the American foreign ministers assemble in Washington to conform their policies in the face of the Communist challenge to democracy and freedom. To be sure the department is collaborating without visible pain with a dozen Latin American dictators quite as adept at repression as Perón, but so far at least they have staged no demonstrations calculated to destroy the illusion of democratic solidarity. (Washington still hears the horrid echoes of the revolutionary explosions in Bogotá in 1948.) Perón's behavior would doubtless be regarded as reprehensible at any time, but today it is worse than wicked, it is also tactless. And this, if he only knew it, explains the stern indignation of a State Department which has watched with little more than a sigh of regret the disappearance of the rest of the free press and all the other freedoms in Perón's Argentina.

*

PERSIAN NATIONALISTS, CAPITALIZING ON the emotional upheavals that followed the assassination of Premier Ali Razmara, last week pushed through the lower house of the Majlis a bill expropriating the huge Anglo-Iranian Oil Company within the next two months. Razmara's murder stemmed from his opposition to nationalization of the British-owned company; evidently none of the legislators envied his fate, for their vote was unanimous. As the week began, the Persian Senate was awaiting a report on the bill from a special committee, but its approval was taken for granted in Teheran. Already the nationalists are setting their sights on their next objective—the tiny, oil-rich, Persian Gulf island of Bahrein, an independent Arab kingdom under British protection, claimed by Persia since 1921. George C. McGhee, American Assistant Secretary of State, in Teheran for a brief visit, doubtless had some thoughts on this

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 261
Korea: Stop! Look! Listen! 264
Bolder New Program? 265

ARTICLES

Spain: First Tremor *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 266
Wilson's Labor Policy *by Willard Shelton* 268
Morocco Wants Freedom *by Claude Bourdet* 269
Big Dam in a Big Pit *by Richard L. Neuberger* 272
Asia Is Just as Important *by Andrew Roth* 274
Science Notebook *by Leonard Engel* 276
The Vatican Versus the Public Schools. IV. Belgium and Beyond *by Paul Blanshard* 277
Everybody's Business: The St. Lawrence Seaway, II *by Keith Hutchison* 279

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

In Memoriam *by Mark Van Doren* 280
Historical Sources of Totalitarianism *by H. Stuart Hughes* 280
The Art of Willa Cather *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 281
Land of Revivals *by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.* 282
Oh, Play That Thing! *by Weldon Kees* 283
Out of Kafka *by Robert Phelps* 284
Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 284
Art *by Manny Farber* 285
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 286

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 287

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 405 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 288

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Contributing Editor: Robert Bendiner
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

subject when he talked to Premier Hussein Ala, for the Bahrein oil operations are conducted by Americans. In Egypt repercussions are heard: nationalization of the Suez Canal Company will shortly be proposed in Parliament.

*

IN SEEKING AN EXPLANATION FOR THESE anti-foreign manifestations, it is a naive oversimplification to give the Communists full credit. Russia certainly looks with favor on any weakening of the Anglo-American hold on Middle Eastern oil, and its propaganda finds ready listeners in a land where the fantastic wealth of the small, corrupt ruling group contrasts so harshly with the grinding poverty of the bulk of the people. But even if there were no Russia to give aid and comfort to the Persian nationalists, their anger would still surge forth. For as Philip Toynbee wrote in the New York *Times*, "No country in the world is happy to have its most valuable resources exploited by foreigners." Whether technically backward and perennially insolvent Persia could run the complicated enterprise, cope with the bewildering problems of sales and transportation, and pay the British an indemnity variously estimated at from $800,000,000 to $1,400,000,000 are difficult questions that the Persians must ponder in the next two months. Britain will not give up this property without hard bargaining. It is most unlikely that any Persian government could reverse the decision taken by the Majlis. The possibility of amicable settlement now rests on the hope of a compromise whereby, under Persian ownership, the British would be in charge of operations in return for first priority in purchasing at a favored rate all the oil they need.

*

THE SUDDEN DECISION OF THE REPUBLICANS in Congress to try to kill the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, even while they ask Senator Fulbright to continue his inquiry, now scheduled to end on April 10, reveals much about the state of mind prevailing in the Grand Old Party. The Republicans apparently think it desirable, in preparation for the election next year, to make a frontal attack on every Administration stronghold. As recently as 1948 an Eightieth Congress subcommittee controlled by Republicans cited the "extremely useful and vital function" of the RFC during the depression and the war and also declared that such an agency should be kept in existence, for standby purposes, even in normal times. The Republican Congress thereupon passed a law continuing the RFC for six years. Yet now, when a clear emergency requires the use of government loans to finance industrial expansion, the G. O. P. has reversed its stand. Nothing in the Fulbright committee's disclosures justifies so drastic a shift. Favoritism, influence-peddling, and sloppy administration have been exposed, but even in recent years the

RFC has operated at a clear profit, and few of its loans have gone sour. What is needed is tightened office procedure, and that is provided for in the reorganization plan belatedly offered by the President. One is forced to assume that the most conservative Republicans, who have always disliked the RFC because of its influence on interest rates and the pattern of industrial expansion, are seizing the opportunity created by political scandal to persuade their colleagues that the country should be turned back exclusively to the banks, insurance companies, and other lenders for private profit.

✶

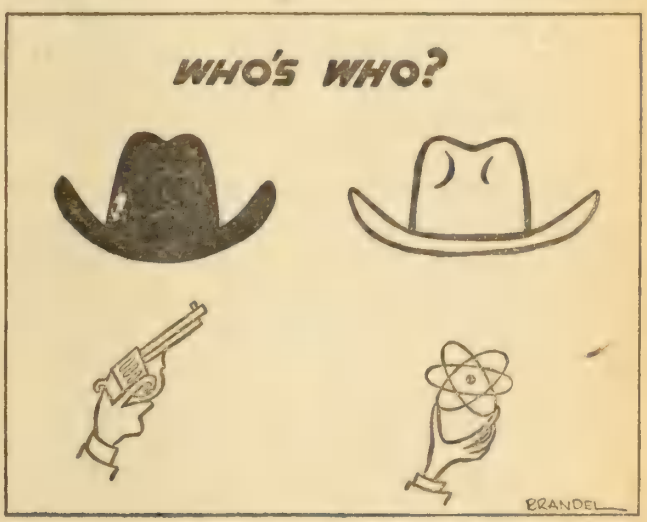
FINANCIAL CIRCLES CONTINUE TO DEBATE the nature of the Treasury-Federal Reserve agreement, full details of which have not been published. A partial victory at least for the Federal Reserve system seemed to be indicated when its Open Market Committee withdrew standing bids for long-term government securities on March 8 and left the market to find its own level. This was an assertion of the Federal Reserve's independence, an indication that it was no longer giving the Treasury's policy of maintaining a rigid interest structure priority over its own responsibility for curbing credit inflation. On the other hand, the appointment a week later of William McChesney Martin, Jr., Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, to succeed Thomas B. McCabe as chairman of the Federal Reserve Board suggested that Secretary of the Treasury Snyder had won after all by securing command of the opposition camp. True, Mr. McCabe "recommended" Mr. Martin in his letter of resignation, but this might mean no more than Louis Johnson's suggestion that General Marshall succeed him as Secretary of Defense. Reports from Washington indicate, however, that Mr. Martin is actually acceptable to both sides and his appointment a genuine harmony move. The difficulty is that there remains a substantial conflict of interests which cannot be compromised away altogether. Since the government bond market, if left to its own devices, sinks to levels that appreciably add to borrowing costs, the Treasury will almost certainly insist that the Federal Reserve renew its support, even though that would weaken its control of credit. However, although since March 8 several government issues have dipped below par there has been no sign of the kind of distress selling that creates disorderly trading conditions. So far, therefore, the Federal Reserve view that the Treasury's fears of a free market were exaggerated has been vindicated.

✶

THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DELAY IN passing the wheat-for-India bill rests squarely on the Democratic leadership of the House. Faced with the threat of Republican efforts to amend the measure, the Democrats have let the Rules Committee sit on it while the House merrily prepares to go home for Easter. This means that action is unlikely before mid-April, despite a substantial bi-partisan vote favoring the bill on the House Foreign Affairs Committee and prior passage by the Senate. A formidable floor fight is in prospect, for many Republicans will attempt to make the wheat a loan instead of a gift, and will insist on using "hard bargaining" to force India to sell us strategic materials. They may even attack the expenditure of funds to recondition ships for transporting the wheat. But nothing is gained by ducking the fight or by a show of casual indifference to delays within the Rules Committee. Careful analysis of India's economic situation preceded the decision to offer the wheat as a gift rather than on a loan basis. India agreed to set up counterpart funds for improving its internal economy, which is the system used in Europe in connection with Marshall Plan aid. Political differences with Prime Minister Nehru are no excuse for driving a "hard bargain" with starvation; our relations with India, or with Asia as a whole, are not likely to be improved if what we do is done grudgingly and in a harsh spirit.

✶

UNDER AN ANTI-HATE STATUTE PASSED IN 1917, the Illinois Supreme Court last month sustained a criminal conviction for libeling Negroes as a group. While in a few instances convictions for libel of organizations have been upheld, the Illinois case marks the first successful prosecution in America involving a racial or religious minority. The court, relying on the clear-and-present-danger test, said, ". . . the libelous publication . . . refers to Negroes as a class possessing various criminal tendencies, unchastity, and degrading sexual inclinations, all of which are 'fighting words' liable to cause violence and disorder among the races." To the argument that the accused should have been allowed to prove the truth of his charges, the court said the nature of the material precluded the explanation that it was published



[For answer see page 264]

with good motives and for justifiable ends. "In fact, it is hard to see how, with the libelous publication in evidence, any proof of good motives or justifiable ends could be introduced. In the only other suit under this law, members of Jehovah's Witnesses were acquitted because their alleged libeling of Catholics was not done in "public places." The best-known previous attempt of a state to prevent libeling of a minority failed in 1941 when a New Jersey statute used against the German-American Bund was ruled unconstitutional by that state's high court. Apart from the implications of a catch-all use of the clear-and-present-danger doctrine, the Illinois decision is a significant guidepost on the disputed boundary between group libel and freedom of speech, a frontier that has disturbed civil-liberties experts for a long time.

*

WHILE MOST ATTENTION IS CONCENTRATED elsewhere, Senator McCarran is attempting to push through Congress a general revision of the immigration laws infused with the same spirit of vindictiveness that marked his Communist-control bill last year. With the cooperation of Representative Walter of Pennsylvania, McCarran is holding a series of joint sessions of the House and Senate Judiciary subcommittees and has refused even to consider a bill proposed by Representative Celler of New York that would liberalize the regulations. Americans for Democratic Action last week recommended substantial changes in the bills sponsored by McCarran and Walter, pointing out that if we continue to base immigration policy on a national-origins quota system, it would only be fair to use 1940 or 1950 census figures instead of the obsolete 1920 statistics, which do not reflect the actual make-up of our population today. The A. D. A. statement asked for elimination of retroactive provisions under which naturalized citizens can be deported for having been members of "totalitarian" organizations abroad, even though at the time of their naturalization such past connections were not considered a bar to citizenship. It further pointed out that one provision of the McCarran bill, directed against residents of the British West Indies, would inevitably be interpreted as discriminating against Negroes of foreign birth. The basic 1924 immigration laws were inexcusably racist in concept, but they have been slowly improved. To write new laws reflecting doctrinaire and racist concepts more rigid than anything dreamed of in 1924 would be to turn the clock back and damage our prestige in vast areas where the new nationalisms are stirring.

*

LAST OCTOBER A PROGRAM WAS OUTLINED for an "eighth dominion" of the Commonwealth made up of the colonies of South Rhodesia, North Rhodesia, and the Nyassaland Protectorate. The advocates of this Central African Federation clearly contemplated a somewhat more gentlemanly version of South Africa, and it was bitterly opposed by Africans in North Rhodesia and Nyassaland, who preferred to remain under British protection until ready to govern themselves. A solution of this conflict is now being sought in London at a meeting of British officials from the areas concerned. Economic cooperation is essential for development of this rich area. Thus, North Rhodesian copper resources require the coal of South Rhodesia for smelting. The Central African Council—a purely advisory body—supervises such common services as currency, and air and radio networks. The stumbling-block to full political cooperation is whether the "eighth dominion" would be controlled by its European minority of 1 per cent or by its 99 per cent African majority. No final solution is likely to come out of the current conference, but it may well propose a new and stronger Central African Council with power to run communications and joint economic undertakings.

Korea: Stop! Look! Listen!

ONCE again the tide of battle in Korea is flowing strongly with the United Nations. Outflanked east of Seoul, when American troops thrust across the River Han, the Chinese and North Korean forces hastily evacuated the capital city, which was reoccupied on March 14 without fighting. Next day they likewise withdrew from Hongchon, key road junction of the central front, which is only twenty miles south of the Thirty-eighth Parallel.

Compared with what it was two months ago, the position of the United Nations army is enormously improved. Yet while the enemy forces have been compelled to retreat and have suffered heavy losses, they have not been decisively beaten. The Chinese still have immense reserves, if they care to throw them into the fight, and as they withdraw to the north their logistic disadvantage lessens.

The question, What next? has become, therefore, very pertinent. Should the United Nations army pursue the enemy beyond the Parallel, or should it seek a defensive position, not exactly coinciding with that purely arbitrary line but in the most suitable terrain thereabouts? Seeking answers to such questions from the men on the spot, Lieutenant General Matthew B. Ridgway, the field commander, and General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief, we get comments which do not necessarily conflict but do indicate different angles of approach. Asked about prospects for a cease-fire at the old frontier, General Ridgway told a front-line press

Answer to Who's Who?—Hopalong Cassidy, Pres. Truman

conference on March 12: "It would be a tremendous victory for the United Nations if the war ended with our forces in control up to the Thirty-eighth Parallel." He went on to explain why he disagreed with the view that anything short of complete conquest of China would be indecisive. "We didn't set out to conquer China. We set out to stop communism. We have demonstrated the superiority on the battlefield of our men. . . . If China fails to drive us from Korea, she will have failed monumentally."

General MacArthur, on the other hand, seems to feel that his campaign will be a complete failure if the Chinese are not driven back to Manchuria. Replying to a cabled inquiry from Hugh Baillie of the United Press, who wanted to know "how many troops would be required to hold the Thirty-eighth Parallel," the General said that, in view of the terrain, a defense in depth "would require such a sizable force that if we had it, and could logistically maintain it, we would be able to drive the Chinese Communists back across the Yalu, hold that river as our future main line of defense, and proceed to the accomplishment of our mission in the unification of Korea." Failing the provision of such a force, he added, "we can and will . . . continue our campaign of maneuver as the best means to neutralize the military disadvantages under which we fight."

General MacArthur acknowledged that "the problem involved much more fundamental decisions than are within my authority . . . decisions which must not ignore the heavy cost in Allied blood which a protracted and indecisive campaign would entail." Certainly no one can contemplate with equanimity the prospect of such a campaign or its effect on the morale of our forces. But what about the costs of an attempted new march to the Yalu, for which General MacArthur is obviously hankering? Is it really to be supposed that we could hold the Yalu line without becoming involved in full-scale war with China and, perhaps, with Soviet Russia also?

The fact is that in Korea we have a bear by the tail: we dare not let it go, but neither can we knock the strongly squirming creature on the head. On the other hand, the Peking government must realize by now that it has bitten off more than it can chew. It has achieved no gains compensating for its very heavy losses, and it can have but few hopes of throwing the United Nations forces out of Korea. To keep such forces engaged is, no doubt, a Russian interest, but is it a Chinese one? Only, it would seem, on the assumption that if pressure were taken off in Korea, the United States would increase its aid to Chiang and assist his ambition to reinvade the Chinese mainland.

So we get back to the point that negotiations for a cease-fire must be part and parcel of a more generalized settlement. For that, as we pointed out last week, the auspices are still far from propitious. Peking may have begun to regret its intervention in Korea, or at least to count the cost of the adventure, but that does not make its exclusion from the United Nations rankle any the less or modify its resentment at our protection of the Nationalist regime in Formosa. Yet it may be that the approaches of the United Nations Good Offices Committee would be more favorably received in Peking if the United Nations forces were deliberately held in the neighborhood of the Thirty-eighth Parallel.Or if China continued to boycott the United Nations committee, a limited cease-fire might be arranged through the military commanders on the spot or through friendly diplomatic representatives in Peking. In any case, the benefits to be reaped from a lull in the fighting ought to be weighed very carefully against the military disadvantages of a more or less static defensive position. As we approach a dangerous blind crossing, we will do well to heed the warning: "Stop! Look! Listen!"

Bolder New Program?

EVER since President Truman proposed his "bold new program" for the underdeveloped areas of the world, it has been easy to question its boldness, its novelty, and its coherence as a program. Thinking primarily in terms of conveying our technical "know-how," the President asked Congress for little and got less—$35,000,000 to be exact, or something comparable to the proverbial drop in the bucket. With this meager sum officials of the Technical Cooperation Administration have made tentative gestures in what started out to be a movement of dramatic, world-wide significance. And now, twenty-two months after the idea was advanced as Point Four of the Inaugural Speech, the President's International Development Advisory Board suggests that the program has yet to be launched.

Two basic questions have beset Point Four from the beginning: How much can be achieved by technical aid unaccompanied by appreciable capital? And if large sums are needed, where is the money to come from? By and large, Point Four officials themselves have been proceeding on the theory that technical aid must come first, and that it will lay the groundwork for a natural investment of private capital when conditions are ripe for it.

Specifically, they have thought along the lines of demonstration projects and advisory missions. Some 350 Point Four technicians are at present in the field, and general agreements have been signed with fifteen countries. In Iran, for example, teams of American and native specialists are operating training centers in a few picked villages, demonstrating techniques required to drain swamps, spread DDT, instal safe water supply, establish sewage systems, and set up small medical clinics. In India, American farm experts are helping to establish an agricultural extension system, while other

technicians advise the New Delhi government on soil research, local irrigation projects, and child-welfare work. This is the general pattern of Point Four, the hope being that with the reduction of disease, the increase of literacy, and the raising of food-production levels, a process of economic development will set in that will attract foreign capital and grow on its own momentum.

It is this whole concept of extreme gradualism, of almost exclusive emphasis on technical assistance, that the board appears to reject. Headed by Nelson Rockefeller and including representatives of labor, industry, and agriculture, it has laid out proposals for an annual appropriation, not of $35,000,000, but of $500,000,000, and more important, has pressed for the raising of sums from other sources totaling $4,000,000,000. It asks for a concentration of all American agencies now working in this field—there are twenty-three—into a new United States Overseas Economic Administration, charged with a vast and immediate expansion of Point Four for the sake of mobilizing the resources of the free world as well as for the long-range promotion of economic progress.

The board may be over-optimistic about getting half a billion dollars from a Congress that so grudgingly put up one-fifteenth of that amount. Senator Taft is already grumbling about keeping it on a "limited basis" and avoiding "a global give-away." And the plan for raising three billion dollars of private capital seems to us even more theoretical at this point, in spite of the tax incentives and other inducements that are proposed. Nevertheless, the board's new approach is a great deal more realistic than the idea that the most backward areas of the earth can be made to bloom if only their technicians are given a look at our blueprints and the benefit of our advice on how to proceed.

The truth is that material aid would almost automatically be accompanied by technical assistance, but technical assistance alone may be wholly self-defeating. To stamp out hookworm in Latin America or typhus in Egypt would increase the productive potential of their people, but without the systematic employment of that productivity there would only be that much greater pressure of population on the available food supply. Similarly, it would do no good to free men from the soil by improved methods of farming if they were not to be absorbed immediately in budding industries. Yet even for the beginnings of industrial expansion there must be roads, marketing facilities, and the harnessing of power—all of which means capital, and not the kind of capital that seeks a quick profit.

In short, the board has cleared the air of a fallacy which might well have stifled the "bold new program" in its infancy. Its report ought to be the signal for a determined drive for a far larger appropriation than Congress has so far been willing to grant. Should this drive fail, and should private capital continue to lag, there is still, fortunately, the possibility of inducing a much more generous loan policy on the part of the Export-Import Bank and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The board's contribution has been to demonstrate the need for Point Four and to set it in a perspective that makes sense. The fight to implement it has only begun.

Spain: First Tremor

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

WHEN Franco is overthrown, the events of Monday, March 12, will be called the beginning of the end. On that day the legend of the invincibility of the Franco regime was shattered. The strike of 300,000 workers* at Barcelona, touched off by a strike of students, had two features which are characteristic of all movements of this kind: a first explosion, in which a furious mob lighted rags soaked in gasoline and threw them into the City Hall; and after that clear signs of a directing hand, a controlling organization. Both spontaneity and a capacity to give form to the outburst were evident in what American and other foreign correspondents have rightly called the most general movement of defiance that the Franco government has ever had to face.

The important fact that the movement was organized and controlled was made clear by a number of occurences. In Spain today if a person merely scrawls in pencil on a wall anything that could possibly be considered subversive he is thrown into prison and brutally beaten, but on the day of the strike the city was flooded with posters and circulars setting forth the grievances of the workers and their determination to make their demands heard. Many of the posters carried the significant slogan *Pan y Libertad* (Bread and Freedom). Taxis were stopped and ordered to get off the streets or sent to points where trams had been stopped and told to pick up the aged and infirm. The strikers rather than the police controlled the city. In the largest steel plant in Catalonia, La Maquinista Terrestre y Maritima, and in the great textile combine called La España Industrial, strike committees functioned with impressive efficiency.

People in this country who have thought that Franco's regime was as solid as a rock must have been amazed to learn that such things could happen; a strike of such proportions would have been unthinkable under Hitler or Mussolini. But they must be prepared for other surprises. American news agencies reported that after the strike had been suppressed leaflets were sprinkled throughout the city urging another walkout on April 1,

* The figures given in the press; private reports from inside Spain, received by the writer, put the number at half a million.

Franco's "Victory Day." Last week's strike is only the beginning—the first tremor.

Its psychological effect on the Franco dictatorship will be like that of a sudden slap in the face on a bully who has been terrorizing his companions. The boldness of the one who first strikes back is contagious, and soon everybody who has endured the bully's insolence joins in the attack. The Barcelona strike has destroyed the myth of "external order" from which a regime like Franco's draws its strength. It has shaken the government's confidence that nothing would ever happen in Spain and that to stay in power it only had to increase each year the amount allotted to the police in the budget —and hope for more money from Washington.

The Cabinet met hastily in the night and in its bewilderment decided to send four warships to Barcelona, apparently not considering what an impression of weakness this might create abroad. Afterward it lost what little respect it still enjoyed at home by explaining that the ships had gone to Barcelona on a "visit." Hungry and sad as they are, the Spanish people have not lost their sense of humor, and they are exchanging jokes about the "tourist fleet." But the damage had been done abroad. With rare unanimity the Paris press—from the Catholic *Aube*, organ of the M. R. P., the party of Foreign Minister Robert Schuman, to the Socialist *Populaire*—declared that it would be extremely dangerous to allow a country in which such explosive conditions prevailed to join the Organization of the Atlantic Treaty. Even before the strike, the British Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Ernest Davies, in a much-discussed speech in the House of Commons, had strongly opposed the admission of Spain. The Labor *Daily Herald* in London declared: "Looking on this scene, most people in Britain will see in it further proof of the wisdom of the British government's attitude in resisting proposals for bringing the present Spanish government into the Atlantic Treaty Organization."

It is to be hoped that the views of Western Europe will restrain the American military planners who think only of Spain's strategic value and Franco's famous "twenty-two" divisions. General Eisenhower had the good sense not to let himself be pushed into going to Spain when he first visited Europe as supreme commander of the Atlantic forces, but when Admiral Sherman was in Paris recently he surprised some of the French by his enthusiastic references to the strategic Spanish bases. In the light of recent events C. L. Sulzberger's articles on Spain in the New York *Times*, to which I referred some weeks ago, seem almost prophetic, especially his story of the Spanish general who admitted that it would be very risky "to mobilize any military units in addition to those at present in service." It is no secret in Spain that even the Falange, as one of its leaders complained recently, is "infested with traitors."

Franco has of course accused first the Communists and then the exiled Republicans of promoting the disorders. But Barcelona, the biggest city in Spain, is probably also the city in which the Communists have the least hold over the working class; and as for the Republicans, to concede them so much influence is in itself a political count against Franco. The background of the strike was indicated in Sam Pope Brewer's excellent story in last Sunday's New York *Times*:

> The strike had a revolutionary character in that nobody made specific demands for shorter working hours or better wages. Instead, it was a general protest against the entire economic position of the country. At the same time it had none of the characteristics of a Communist uprising.

Indeed, business men of all kinds, as well as workers and Republicans, have turned against the regime, believing that its corruption and inefficiency are leading straight to disaster. In Barcelona many factory owners joined the strikers in protest against an impossible situation. Another significant fact is that when the disturbances began, General Juan Bautista Sanchez, regional military commander, confined his troops to barracks and refused to intervene, saying that the dispute was an economic one and should be handled by the civil authorities.

The government announced that "several hundred" people had been arrested—the actual number was probably two or three times as large—and in coming weeks many more people in Spain will be persecuted and imprisoned. The effect on the international situation will soon be evident. While the Socialists of Western Europe, including the British Labor Party, in order not to endanger the solidarity of the Atlantic coalition, allowed the last Assembly of the United Nations to betray once more the cause of Spanish democracy, it will be difficult now to silence the voices of European workers expressing support for the workers of Barcelona. The governments of the Western democracies will have to pay attention to this new world-wide movement for aid to the Spanish people in their struggle for liberty.

Wilson's Labor Policy

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, March 15

DESPITE the breezy and contradictory statements tossed off by Charles E. Wilson to belittle labor's revolt against his dictatorship of the mobilization program, the facts are becoming clear. When industry spokesmen yesterday rejected the suggestion that the Wage Stabilization Board be given power to adjudicate all crucial management-union disputes, they exposed their hand. What they chiefly fear is the possibility that during the emergency of the next few years unions may

increase their strength and stability as they did during World War II. "We do not favor a disputes-settlement agency of the type of the old War Labor Board," said John Galt, speaking for the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce. Informed of this stand, Economic Stabilizer Johnston abandoned his efforts to solve the labor-management controversy himself and sent the problem back to the White House.

The business spokesmen are willing to allow an enlarged Wage Stabilization Board to settle disputes over wages and other "economic" issues arising from the stabilization program itself, but they don't want the board to adjudicate such issues as the union shop, the processing of grievances, vacations, seniority rules, and dozens of others that frequently arise. They have not threatened to boycott an agency with broader powers if Johnston creates one on his own initiative, but they will not voluntarily agree to help set it up. The reason is simple: they think the old War Labor Board was "too friendly" to unions. That is not the way industry's suave representatives put it in press conferences, but that is what they mean. The labor-relations department of General Electric, Wilson's old firm, complained last month that the "enormous changes" made by the WLB introduced "what some observers term our 'laboristic economy.'" These "enormous changes" had to do with working hours, incentives, vacations, shift differentials, insurance plans, severance pay, union security, dues check-off, grievance procedures, seniority rules—the same "non-economic" issues that industry today does not want the Wage Stabilization Board to handle.

The unions have been told repeatedly that the emergency may last from five to ten years or more. In the absence of a shooting war the government probably will not ask labor for a no-strike pledge, but the moral sanctions against strikes in key defense industries will be severe. And the key defense industries include textile and meatpacking concerns, local utilities, transportation systems, and steel, electronics, and aircraft producers. If there is no government board for settling disputes with power to handle "non-economic" issues as well as wages, the unions will have no forum where the equity of their cases can be decided. They will be able neither to strike nor to urge their demands in any other way.

Instead of the fluid control of union-management relations which gave satisfactory results during World War II, we should have the system adopted in 1917-18, when labor relations were frozen for the duration of the war. Industry would be able to reject union arguments and let the unions sweat it out. A company could refuse to grant a union shop even though 99 per cent of its employees acting under the Taft-Hartley law had voted to demand one. A company motivated by bad faith might ignore the grievance clauses of an existing contract and let hundreds of cases pile up. Lacking means of defending themselves, the unions would be forced to accept a situation undermining their security and integrity. The social advance of American labor would be brought to a dead halt—in the name of preparations to defend our democracy.

The old War Labor Board, which industry now attacks, refused to tolerate such a contradiction. The philosophy of the board was brilliantly expressed by Frank P. Graham, then a public member, in explaining a decision strengthening union security. "It is unfair," he said, "to hold the unions fixed in the midst of a tremendous industrial expansion, unwise to hold them static in a dynamic industrial society, and undemocratic to call a halt to the free development of organizations of workers in the midst of a war for freedom." Well, we are again in the midst of a tremendous industrial expansion. Our society is still dynamic. We are concerned with the defense of freedom. Why don't we act as if we knew it?

For the record, Mr. Wilson's explanations of the union revolt have been as follows: From Key West he said, first, that he really didn't know what all the shooting was about, but added that the labor leaders wanted to decide who should go into the armed services. That is nonsense; the unions are actually worried about a draft of civilians for private employers operating for private profit. A couple of days ago, on Capitol Hill, Wilson told a luncheon group that labor bolted the Wage Stabilization Board because one labor member—obviously Emil Rieve of the Textile Workers—wanted to strike for higher wages than the board would permit. One wonders whether Mr. Wilson, in his self-assurance, feels that he has labor just about where he wants it, and is privately delighted to run a mobilization program in a manner that leaves the unions with a sense of bitterness and frustration.

MIKE MONRONEY'S subcommittee investigating the Maryland election is not likely to unfrock Senator John M. Butler, the man who defeated Millard Tydings, but it is developing in fascinating detail the part played by Joe McCarthy and those other celebrated defenders of public honor and ethics, the editors of the *Chicago Tribune* and Washington *Times-Herald*. It was McCarthy who first asked Mrs. Bazy Miller, editor of the *Times-Herald*, if she could print the tabloid that afterward smeared Tydings with a fake picture and with quotes from McCarthy, the *Tribune*, and the *Times-Herald* itself; it was McCarthy's office that first accumulated material for the tabloid and took it to Butler's campaign office. Bazy Miller, in turn, furnished the wily public-relations artist, Jon Jonkel, who exploited the "big doubt" about Tydings created by McCarthy. She also contributed heavily to Butler's campaign, raised additional sums, supplied the editors and other em-

ployees who got out the tabloid and faked the picture, and found a Negro "family retainer" in Chicago to exploit the justified skepticism about Tydings among Maryland's colored voters.

Monroney's subcommittee will not be able to recommend specific legislation against the methods used in the Butler campaign. The evils are inherent in "McCarthyism"—by which I mean the kind of thing that Senator McCarthy says under Congressional immunity and that other people repeat under privilege, for political profit. But the details about McCarthy's technique that Monroney is revealing will be useful in the inevitable battle to be fought in the political arena. Neither the Constitution nor future legislation can save us from what McCarthy has done, but the inherent common sense of the people may do the job.

Morocco Wants Freedom

BY CLAUDE BOURDET

Paris, March 14

DESPITE the soothing statements of the French government, the Moroccan crisis has forced its way on to the international scene. Reports spread by the Arab League about a "bombardment" of the ancient Moroccan town of Fez by French troops are highly fanciful, but the fact remains that a crooked colonial administration is once more trying to solve twentieth-century problems with the nineteenth-century methods of force and bribery.

World opinion has been laboring under the false impression that British action in Asia and Africa and the lesson more or less willingly learned by the Dutch in the Indies have given the French something to think about. In Tunisia, for the first time in French history, the colonial administration is attempting to hand back to the most cultured and urbane population in North Africa a small fraction of the self-government of which it has been deprived since a French expeditionary force in 1881 dictated to the Bey of Tunis the treaty of the "Bardo," creating the French protectorate of Tunisia. It appears, however, that the French have felt compelled to grant Tunisia a certain degree of self-government mainly because Libya, a former Italian colony and the immediate neighbor of Tunisia, is going to enjoy full independence this year. The Libyan and Tunisian populations are near relatives, the chief difference between them being that the Libyans are largely primitive tribes, whereas Tunisia has been for centuries the home of a brilliant Moslem civilization. A too blatant difference of status between Libya and Tunisia would have led to unrest and possibly disaster.

French occupation of Morocco goes back to 1912, when the powerful Bank of Paris, alleging high moral motives, induced French diplomacy with the help of military power to force the Sultan to sign a treaty depriving him of practically all the rights of a sovereign ruler. It should be noted that Morocco at that time was not, as one would imagine from reading the French press today, a wild jungle inhabited by savages. General Lyautey, the first French High Commissioner, later made a Marshal of France, who was no gushing liberal, said in a speech at Lyon in 1916:

> In Morocco we have found a historical and independent empire, very jealous of its independence, revolting against any bondage, and which up to the last years still appeared as a regular state, with its hierarchy of civil servants, its embassies abroad, and its social organizations, most of which still exist despite the recent failure of the central government. Remember there still live in Morocco people who until six years ago were ambassadors of independent Morocco in St. Petersburg, London, Berlin, Madrid, and Paris, men of a high general culture, who have negotiated on a basis of equality with European statesmen.

However, Morocco was not a modern state in the meaning we give to that word. It was governed by a Sultan supposed to be of the family of the Prophet Mohammed, with almost absolute power. The provinces were administered by pashas chosen by the Sultan from aristocratic families; the tribes, by caids and sheiks elected usually in a primitive form of balloting. Being elected for life, the sheiks and caids usually joined the pashas in oppressing their countrymen. But there were limits to this oppression; the revolts of the proud tribesmen against an excess of "authority" caused much of the "anarchy" and "banditry" condemned by modern French writers.

The French have exercised their power through the traditional channels. The pashas have become puppets, their fortunes so linked to French rule that they can be safely relied on—at least until they find a more powerful protector. The notorious Pasha of Marrakech, known as the Glawi, was raised by the French from the obscure headship of a local tribe to authority over nearly one-

---

CLAUDE BOURDET, an independent left journalist, is the editor of l'Observateur *of Paris.*

fourth of the Moroccan population and to a status of quasi-equality with the Sultan.

To insure perfect obedience from the pashas and sheiks, the French have made their jobs highly profitable, allowing them to "squeeze" the population even more than they did before 1912. As a French professor put it, "Before we came to Morocco, the pashas, caids, and sheiks used to milk the Moroccan cow much as they do now, but they had to take care not to overdo it, for the cow had a bad temper and was apt to stick its horns into them. Today the French army and police hold the cow's horns firmly, and pashas, caids, and sheiks can do their milking thoroughly and safely."

THE Glawi's administration in the south is a beautiful example of how the system works. The Glawi collects taxes for the French—gets what he thinks is due, hands over as little as he can. When he travels, when he marries off a member of his numerous family, when he has to entertain the High Commissioner, and so on, the population is asked to help the poor pasha with "gifts." And since the subordinates of the pasha who collect the money believe that they also ought to get something on such occasions, they double the levy.

The Glawi shows equal financial aptitude in purely commercial transactions. He is the sole buyer of almonds and saffron, important crops in southern Morocco, at a price fixed by his experts, practically never more than half the real market price. He has his own farms where he raises mint, a vital element in the Moroccan national drink, tea with mint. When the mint is ready, he forbids all sales and prices soar—until he has sold his own crop. Then he permits sales. He rents at a low price from the French administration large Moroccan national estates, such as the beautiful olive grove of Aguedal near Marrakech; in 1948 he sold the olive crop of the Aguedal for 30,000,000 francs, 150 times the rent he had paid. He forces peasants to cultivate his estates just when they should be working on their own land and makes them supply their own horses or camels and feed them. The peasants who live on the Glawi's estates do not get even the fifth of the crop which is the miserable payment generally awarded tenants in Morocco by absentee landowners.

But the Glawi is an urbane and delightful old man who knows how to extend fabulous hospitality to his guests. Many a European or American visitor has enjoyed his celebrated banquets without knowing they were scraped from the very bones of one of the most miserable populations on earth.

The French administration has stamped out tribal democracy, which might develop leaders who, from the French point of view, would not be "safe." Sheiks are chosen from among "good" Moroccans, that is, those who loudly praise the benefits of French rule. These benefits are not negligible, but they were not primarily intended for the Moroccans, and if Moroccans enjoy them, it is mostly by accident. The luxurious apartment and office buildings, the private houses and great hotels —many owned by the Bank of Paris but subsidized by the Moroccan budget, that is, by the taxpayers—were built for Europeans, and few Moroccans have access to them. The magnificent road system was built for military purposes and to facilitate rural colonization. Most of the estates along the roads, except in barren parts of the country, were either legally expropriated from local tribes in the first years of the protectorate and given to Europeans or later, when circumstances and methods grew a little less rough, were bought by Europeans from the native owners, sometimes through the use of force and always at bargain prices. Many peasants work as laborers on ground which really belongs to their family or their tribe. Their wages range from 60 to 80 francs a day (around 20 cents). Prices in Morocco are as high as in Europe. The European landowners often live in extraordinary luxury: most of them own large American cars, not a few fly their own airplane. European capital, skilful management, and mechanized agriculture have done much to develop Moroccan production, but it is based on the underpaid labor of the Moslem fellah, who has been transformed in many cases from a free tribesman to a rural wage-earner.

In the towns things are both better and worse. Industry has mushroomed, especially since 1940, with the help of French capital, fleeing first from the Germans and now from the threat of Russian aggression. It is estimated that about 300,000 Moroccans are employed in industry. They are better paid than on the land—about 350 francs ($1) a day—but the wages of a European doing exactly the same job would be at least double. French business men say that this is because the quality of Moroccan work is inferior; Americans who have interests in Morocco and French industrialists who use the same Moroccan workmen in France deny that the difference is as great as the disparity in wages. The worst feature of town life is the housing situation; 250,000 men, women, and children are crammed in the atrocious kennel-like developments which have sprung up on the outskirts of the big cities. They are called *Bidonvilles* (tin-can towns). Families of from five to ten persons live in huts two yards by three, in which one can hardly stand upright, and pay 1,200 francs ($3) a month rent. The largest of these tin-can towns, at Casablanca, has 60,000 inhabitants, not including some bony cows and donkeys. There is only one fountain, and a gallon of water sells for five francs.

Such political and social contrasts were bound to lay the basis for Moroccan nationalism. In 1930 a group of French-educated intellectuals organized the Istiqlal (Independence) Party. It grew quickly, and in 1937 many

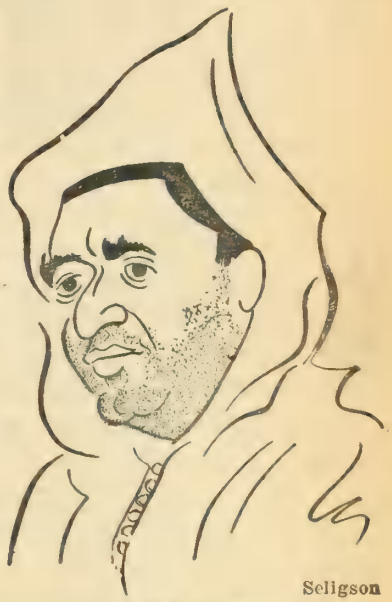
of its leaders were imprisoned by the French. In 1944 it issued a manifesto asking for the independence of Morocco. The people believed that the United States supported the party, and a tremendous wave of hope ran through the country. The French reacted by making numerous arrests; there were riots and shooting. Fez was placed under martial law.

Today the party is supported by intellectuals, business men and small traders, and town workers. The peasants are sympathetic but terrorized. The French are furious that the ideas of the French Revolution have been introduced through the medium of French culture. They call the intellectuals and business men ungrateful and brand the working class "Communist-infiltrated." This last accusation is meant to destroy any sympathy which the Americans and British might feel for the Moroccan workers.

The truth is quite different. Officially Moroccans are forbidden to join trade unions, but unofficially the French administration tolerates their doing so. The only union which has granted some sort of equality to the Moroccans is the Communist-led C. G. T., which by enrolling these non-Communist workers has been enabled to appear as the largest trade union in Morocco. The Moslem workers in the C. G. T. outnumber the European—and the few Moroccan—Communists more than ten to one, but as Moroccans are not supposed to be members of unions, they have no chance to oust the Communists from leadership. The real relationship between the Communists and Moslem workers was shown at last year's May Day meetings. In Casablanca, for instance, ten thousand unionists listened to a Communist speaker in cold silence but burst into roars of applause when he was followed by a leading member of the Nationalist Party.

So-called "Communist infiltration," one could say, has been scientifically faked by the French administration, which knows that communism in Morocco is practically non-existent but fears the Nationalists and uses this ludicrous slander to sway Western and particularly Anglo-Saxon opinion. Moreover, when the French administration wants to curb the trade unions, as it does every now and then, it finds it convenient to accuse them of being "Communist-led." Everybody in Morocco knows that if the French allowed the formation of purely Moroccan unions, or even let the Moroccans openly join the C. G. T., the handful of French Communists would lose all influence.

THE fight against French rule was led by the Istiqlal alone until last year, when the Sultan Sidi Mohammed realized that the movement had enough popular support to make an alliance with it worth while. Despite the opposition of the French High Commissioner, he named to his private Cabinet two men known to be in sympathy with the nationalist movement and went to France with the avowed intention of asking the government to replace the treaty that established the protectorate with one affirming the equality of the two countries. In Paris, Sidi Mohammed was practically isolated from French liberal opinion. The government played with him for a while, promising "important decisions," and then sent him home empty-handed. As soon as he was back, the French High Commissioner, General Juin, a small edition of MacArthur, started using the iron hand. First, the eight Nationalist representatives of the Chambers of Commerce, who had managed to get themselves elected to the powerless Moroccan consultative "Council of Government" despite the trickery of faked elections, were expelled from this body because they had "hurt French feelings." All that these exceedingly moderate business men had done was utter a few conventionalities about French exploitation of Morocco—things which could be printed in any French paper without causing the least stir.



Seligson

Sultan Sidi Mohammed

Next General Juin began to try to intimidate the Sultan but only started a feud between the Glawi and the Sultan. He took the American ambassador in Paris, David Bruce, to visit the Glawi instead of the Sultan, pretending the latter was "busy with religious affairs." French papers printed long articles about "the war between the two Sultans." When Sidi Mohammed failed to be impressed, Juin organized an enormous hoax, trying to make everybody, including the Sultan himself, believe that he was going to remove Sidi Mohammed and that he had another Sultan up his sleeve whom he would have "elected" by the Moslem college of the *ulema* priests. Many things in Morocco can be obtained by threats or bribery, but it may be doubted that Juin would have risked the disturbances bound to follow such a *coup de force* at a time when 20,000 American troops were landing in Port Lyautey, the main American base in Morocco.

Carrying his bluff farther, Juin called down from the hills a few obedient sheiks and their tribesmen and promised them a pound of sugar each to "display their discontent with the Sultan's pro-nationalist attitude." Similar demonstrations were organized all over Morocco

by means of threats or promises, but always without the participants understanding their political purpose; on one occasion the peasants thought they were being assembled for vaccination. This enabled the French press to discourse on the loyalty of the Moroccan people, who "were everywhere giving evidence of their hostility to the nationalists."

In a country with no elections, no freedom of the press, no real trade unions, with French police everywhere and the Western democracies indifferent, what could the Sultan do? After two months of resistance he finally capitulated. The paper he signed contained, to the disgust of Juin, nothing against the Nationalist Party, but the Sultan's 109-year-old Prime Minister, the Mokhri, issued a statement condemning "a certain party," meaning the Istiqlal. At the same time Sidi Mohammed had to let the French dissolve his private Cabinet, and he is now alone in his palace, surrounded by impotent relics like the Mokhri or by creatures of the French.

Immediately after getting the Mokhri to issue the long-awaited statement, Juin entered on the last round of his fight against the Nationalists. Five members of the central committee of the Istiqlal were arrested. In the south hundreds of men supposed to have connections with it were thrown into prison. The power of the French police and of the pashas, caids, and sheiks is so great that little resistance has been possible. However, in some places the use of force to obtain signatures to manifestoes condemning the Nationalists has caused disorder and shooting. General Boyer de la Tour was obliged to fly hurriedly to the Middle Atlas to put down severe rioting. In France the newspapers, except the leftist organs, reprint faithfully the bosh issued by the High Commissioner, who controls the whole information system in Morocco.

The Arab League is boiling with wrath. Happily for the French government, some Western intelligence service doled out to the Egyptians the story about the bombing of Fez. It was a ludicrous exaggeration which enabled the French government to assume the mien of injured righteousness. The Arab world quickly learned the real facts of the French action, but they were bad enough.

At one time the Moroccans put great hope in American understanding. They know that in the Philippines, that much-disparaged example of American "colonialism," 80 per cent of the children go to school—according to Unesco figures—whereas in Morocco, after thirty-five years of the French protectorate, the figure is around 5 per cent. They believed, during the war, that American promises about the four freedoms would come true. When I was in Morocco last September, I had the impression that the people were giving up all hope of American help. For the moment, their anti-Communist feeling keeps them from looking toward the East, but if the present unpalatable system continues, who knows whether they will not, out of sheer despair, fall into some new trap set by Soviet diplomacy?

Since Morocco is meant to become the main American military base in North Africa, this might be exceedingly annoying for the Western world.

Big Dam in a Big Pit

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Huntington, Oregon

ALL the big dams haven't been built yet. The superlatives used so lavishly to describe Hoover Dam and Grand Coulee will have to be trotted out again. At the bottom of a dark abyss of granite and lava along the boundary between Oregon and Idaho, rugged young engineers with transits and diamond drills are probing for bedrock. On this foundation the United States Bureau of Reclamation plans to rear a dam that will be as high as a seventy-story building. In fact, it will be the highest dam ever constructed, nearly 200 feet higher than Coulee, and twice as massive as Hoover Dam. It will produce double the amount of power available at Bonneville. But the dam itself, which will cost $433,000,000, will not be more awe-inspiring than the region in which it is to be built. Hell's Canyon is the name of the abyss. It also will be the name of the dam.

Hell's Canyon is the deepest chasm on the continent. At one point it is 7,900 feet deep, a staggering mile and a half down to the river from the rim. The greatest depth of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado is 6,100 feet. The Grand Canyon is fifteen miles between rims at its widest point, Hell's Canyon ten miles. The famous Bright Angel Point towers 5,650 feet above the foaming Colorado. The summit of White Monument, an equal horizontal distance from the Snake River, is 5,922 feet higher than the noisy stream. In the Grand Canyon the Colorado River drops approximately ten feet a mile; the Snake in Hell's Canyon twelve and a half feet.

If the last frontier actually exists within the borders

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, Oregon journalist and state senator, writes frequently for The Nation *on political and economic developments in the Northwest.*

of the United States, it is the great trench carved by the Snake River. The terrain is so steep that pack horses are plagued with ugly sores; saddles and loads shift constantly as the animals risk slopes fit only for a mountain goat. Surveyors descend by precarious footholds, lowering their instruments by rope. Hell's Canyon will be one of the few big dams ever constructed without flooding farms and villages. There are no habitations in the area to flood. No railroads or highways penetrate these solitudes. A major part of the project will be building a temporary rail line along the canyon's edge.

Lewis and Clark did not venture into this forbidding abyss. They looked at its "miles of white water and snow-covered mountains" and then sought a gentler route to the green valleys of Oregon. The expedition sent west by John Jacob Astor in 1811 lost three men in Hell's Canyon. Those who managed to escape from the pit climbed two days and then "found they were not halfway to the summit and that mountain upon mountain lay piled beyond in wintry desolation."

The Pacific Northwest contains more undeveloped hydroelectricity than all the rest of the nation combined. A large chunk of this potential energy is in Hell's Canyon. The towering dam, 742 feet in height, will produce 900,000 kilowatts in its own power houses. And that will be only the beginning. Eventually the Snake River joins the Columbia. By impounding its icy run-off and releasing it during the dry season, Hell's Canyon Dam will add 732,000 kilowatts to the ultimate output of such downstream dams on the Columbia as McNary, Bonneville, and John Day. The 1,632,000 kilowatts which can be realized from the construction of Hell's Canyon Dam will equal the capacity of Grand Coulee itself.

ALTHOUGH federal power has kept the Northwest from being an industrial wasteland, no dam has been erected by the government without opposition from private power interests. On the day in 1937 that Franklin Roosevelt stood at Bonneville and dedicated that project to a new manufacturing era in the region, the utilities released a report asserting that steam power was cheaper to produce and sell than energy created by water rushing downhill. The biggest industrial interests in the country showed they didn't swallow this. When Roosevelt switched on the first generator at Bonneville, not an ounce of aluminum was manufactured west of the Mississippi. The Aluminum Company of America recognized the chance to buy cheap power, and today half the aluminum of the United States is produced along the banks of the Columbia. Indeed, one of the compelling reasons for the construction of Hell's Canyon Dam is that 45 per cent of the kilowatts from Bonneville and Grand Coulee go directly to the aluminum potlines of Alcoa, Kaiser, and Reynolds Metal. This does not leave



enough energy for other industrial users and for homes and farms.

The Idaho Power Company would like to construct five small dams on the Snake River as an alternative to Hell's Canyon, and the political allies of the company are trying to block final Congressional authorization of the big project. The five small dams, however, would not only fail to match the power potential of Hell's Canyon but would provide no flood-control or storage benefits. It was an angry crest on the Snake which caused the tragic Vanport flood far down the Columbia in 1948. Hell's Canyon Dam could conceivably have prevented the catastrophe. The Idaho Power dams would not even have delayed it.

The *Wallowa County Chieftain*, published on the Oregon side of Hell's Canyon, has pointed out that while the Idaho Power Company promises five dams, only one can be expected in the immediate future, a low structure at Oxbow which would produce about 10 per cent of the ultimate power possibilities of Hell's Canyon. The opposition of Idaho Power to the big federal project may be based on the fact that plants in Idaho pay at least one-fifth more for industrial energy than those within the present scope of the Bonneville-Grand Coulee system. Dr. Paul J. Raver, the Bonneville administrator, is a zealous advocate of Hell's Canyon. Presumably its power would be poured into the grid which he operates in the Pacific Northwest.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN requested approval of Hell's Canyon in his budget message. Since Congress is likely to comply, the dam will probably be begun sometime this year. New sources of power are urgently needed for the long-range rearmament program now commencing, and both the Reclamation Bureau and the Corps of Engineers regard Hell's Canyon as the most

important site of hydroelectric power remaining in the whole country.

It is to be hoped, however, that Senators Wayne L. Morse of Oregon and Warren Magnuson of Washington will not have to do all the pushing for Hell's Canyon, with little or no active help from Idaho's reactionary delegation on Capitol Hill. Morse and Magnuson, one a liberal Republican and the other a New Deal Democrat, rightly claim that the resources of the region must be developed, but the Hell's Canyon bill should contain a provision that the power will be made available to Idaho before it is transmitted to the crowded metropolitan areas in the Columbia Basin.

Idaho is the poor relation of the Northwest. Rich in phosphates and timber and potential power, it nevertheless has lagged far behind Oregon and Washington in growth and development. The population of Oregon has increased 40 per cent since 1940 and that of Washington 37 per cent, while Idaho, with comparable opportunities, has gained a mere 12 per cent, less than the national rate. A paramount reason has been the grip of monopoly on Idaho's resources.

Idaho has had a weak and ossified Congressional delegation. Senator Glen Taylor was stumping the country for Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party when he should have been working for Hell's Canyon Dam and lower freight rates. The result was Taylor's own defeat and the collapse of the Democratic Party in the state. Water power is the only fuel resource of the Northwest; there is neither coal nor oil. But owing to Idaho's inaction, all the great power projects have been built in other states. In fact, Idaho is becoming a sort of colony for its overpowering neighbors along the seacoast. In the rapids and whirlpools of Hell's Canyon, however, lurks the force to establish a new industrial empire between the Rockies and the Pacific Ocean.

Asia Is Just as Important

BY ANDREW ROTH

London

MUCH of the debate over whether Europe is more important than Asia is beside the point. South Asia and Western Europe are for the West interdependent problems, and any strategy—military, political, or economic—that ignores this fact is out of balance. Yet while the future of the world seems to be in the process of decision in Asia, President Truman and General Eisenhower continue to assert that "Europe comes first." With two-thirds of the American army fighting in Korea and suffering 15,000 casualties a month, they insist that Western Europe is the vital theater.

The principle of "Europe first" as the basis of postwar American policy was first publicly expounded in President Truman's State of the Union message of January 8 and General Eisenhower's speech to Congress on February 1 and to the American public on February 2. Two sentences jumped out of President Truman's text. At one point he warned, "If Western Europe were to fall to Soviet Russia, it would double the Soviet supply of coal and triple the Soviet supply of steel"; and later, "Strategically, economically, and morally, the defense of Europe is a part of our own defense."

General Eisenhower's genial speeches made the thesis seem more attractive:

> Western Europe is the cradle of our civilization; from her originally we drew our strength, genius, and culture. But our concern in Europe is far more than sentimental. Our own security is involved. . . . First of all, in Western Europe exists the greatest pool of skilled labor in the world. In Western Europe exists a great industrial capacity second . . . only to that of the United States. Now if we take that whole complex, with its potential for military exploitation, and transfer it from our side to another side, the military balance of power has, in my mind, shifted so drastically that our safety would be gravely imperiled.

It is natural that the United States, which has come to the fore because of its industrial capacity, should feel that an alliance between the half of the world's industrial productivity found within its borders and the quarter found in Western Europe is a guaranty of victory. This has been the fundamental assumption of the National Security Council, which decides American strategy. As the logical consequence, nine out of every ten dollars of the billions the United States has spent on foreign economic aid has gone to Western Europe, and a comparable proportion of diplomatic study and effort has been devoted to cultivating European friendships.

This emphasis on Europe is in part a carry-over from the strategic decisions of World War II, when the United States faced Germany in Europe and Japan in Asia. At that time the European theater was given priority in the belief that when Germany, with its tremen-

---

ANDREW ROTH, a staff contributor, is at present in London. He has been in China and Southeast Asia for the past four years.

dous productive capacity, was defeated, Japan's defeat would follow almost immediately, while if the first effort were made against Japan, Germany would have time to consolidate its conquests and would be harder to beat. The success of the Europe-first strategy in World War II led to its adoption in the cold war. This was also the path of least resistance, since Americans feel strong ethnic and cultural ties with Europe. Building up Europe, moreover, has been comparatively inexpensive. The money put into the Marshall Plan has been a small portion of the national income but has done much to stabilize the economies of the Western democracies and to check the spread of communism.

GENERAL EISENHOWER spoke of American reliance on the raw materials supplied by the colonies and former colonies of European nations:

> If Western Europe should be overrun by communism, many economically dependent areas in Africa and the Middle East would be affected by the débâcle. Southeastern Asia would probably soon be lost. Thus we would be cut off from the raw materials that we need for existence. Take such items as manganese, copper, and uranium. Could we possibly think of existing without access to them?

Other authorities have pointed out that the United States is 100 per cent dependent on external sources for tin and chrome, 92 per cent for cobalt, 73 per cent for tungsten, 51 per cent for rubber, and to a smaller degree for important items like petroleum and graphite.

The striking thing about the list of strategic materials which the United States does not itself produce, and which it is frantically stockpiling, is that none of them, except two or three minerals, are found in Western Europe. The bulk of the world's rubber and tin comes from Malaya and Indonesia. Turkey is a chief supplier of chrome, and after it the Philippines. Industrial diamonds come from South Africa, graphite from Ceylon and Madagascar. The Belgian Congo is the main source of uranium; India, after the U. S. S. R., of manganese; China and Southeast Asia, of tungsten. Half of the world's known petroleum reserves are in the Middle East and Southeast Asia.

The argument that priority must be given to Europe in order to maintain access to Asian-African sources of supply has some weight, but not much. Slighting the politically independent countries of South Asia in favor of Europe might, indeed, seem to imperil rather than protect access to their raw materials. If the United States needs India's manganese and India is short of food, there is little point in financing Britain's imports of food and raw materials. If access to Persia's virtually unlimited petroleum resources must be maintained, good relations with Persia should be cemented, not with Western Europe. If Indonesia's abundant rubber and tin are coveted, it is certainly the Indonesians who must be befriended and no longer the Dutch.

It is true that the Marshall Plan has facilitated importation of the raw materials of Europe's colonies. To get Malaya's rubber and tin it has been advisable to work through Britain. Aid to France has offered the best short cut to Morocco's strategic materials. The Congo's uranium has been obtained through Belgium. Nevertheless, these strategic materials would have been readily available without the elaboration of the "Europe-first" concept and the Marshall Plan. In fact, without the dollars provided by the Marshall Plan, the dollar-short countries of Europe would have been under even greater pressure to sell the raw materials in their control to the United States.

The Marshall Plan's intensive studies of the dollar shortage have demonstrated how dependent Western Europe is on its colonies and former colonies. Britain was able to discontinue Marshall aid at the end of 1950, not because of any great improvement in its own productivity but because of the billion dollars contributed to the London "dollar pool" by Malaya's tin and rubber, West Africa's cocoa, British-controlled Middle Eastern oil, and Indo-Pakistan jute. Similarly, Holland's current economic crisis is due to its loss of Indonesia, whose exports formerly financed a third of the mother country's dollar imports. France's colonies, too, are better dollar-earners than France itself.

The Truman-Eisenhower contention that the military loss of Western Europe would almost automatically mean the loss of its raw-materials-producing colonies and former colonies is not borne out by the experience of World War II. Although Belgium was occupied by the Nazis, the Belgian Congo remained in Allied hands. And if another war breaks out, an American task force will certainly be on the spot in a few hours to preserve the Congo's uranium. In point of fact, the chief deterrent to Soviet penetration into the raw-materials producing areas today is not the presence of European troops but the conviction that it would mean war with the United States. It is not the small contingent of British troops in the Suez Canal zone that keeps the Russians from marching into Persia, nor the French army in Indo-China that is holding back the Chinese Communists. It is the knowledge that a Russian or Chinese advance would start a third world war.

No one can deny that, after the United States, Western Europe is preeminent in industrial capacity and that it has useful colonial connections. But this fact does not warrant a completely one-sided emphasis on Europe in American strategy. Eastern Europe has today five times the steel production of China, but no commentator would suggest that the Soviets should follow a "Europe-first" policy.

The puzzling factor in the Europe-versus-Asia contro-

versy is the failure to realize that at the present stage of the world's development Europe and Asia are roughly equal in importance. The diagram of power in the modern world might be represented by two isosceles triangles. At the base of the non-Communist world is the United States, with Western Europe and South Asia forming the equal sides. At the base of the Communist world is the U. S. S. R., with the rest of Eastern Europe as one side and China as the other. The effort to make the equality of the two sides clear reminds one of the argument between a British general and the Pakistani commander in Kashmir. The British general warned of the futility of Pakistan's effort, pointing out that India had more men, more arms, more planes, and more factories. The Pakistani officer replied: "If wars were determined by statistics, we should not have to fight them. All we should have to do would be to sit down and present our statistics; the victory would then go to the side with the most imposing figures."

In terms of industrial power Western Europe is clearly superior to Asia and probably will remain so for the next decade at least. In raw materials South Asia, together with the Middle East, is just as clearly superior to Western Europe. A comparison of the human resources of the two regions must take into consideration not only quantity and quality but morale and mobility. Against the 175,000,000 people of Western Europe there are the 620,000,000 in South Asia. The proportionate and even the absolute number of skilled industrial workers and scientists and experienced administrators is of course higher in Western Europe, but the advantage of tremendous superiority in the number of hands should not be minimized.

There is another fact in Asia's favor. Paradoxically the "energetic" peoples of Western Europe are for the moment passive, immobile, while the usually passive peoples of South Asia are on the march. It is significant that Washington had to send the highly popular General Eisenhower to Europe to raise Europe's morale. He reported "heartening evidence of a regeneration of Europe's spirit," but this itself suggests that the spirit had died. No one complains these days about Asian inertia. Quite the contrary—the post-war scene has been dominated by the resurgence of the Asian peoples. Several of the countries of Western Europe have been engaged in political and military conflict with an Asian country, and not one has obtained a decisive victory single-handed.

The cold war has obscured and distorted the revolutionary increase in Asia's importance. If the importance of Europe has not yet declined to such an extent that it now corresponds to the geographical picture—Europe a mere peninsula jutting out from the Asian land mass—it is on the way to doing so. And because the situation in Asia is more fluid, it is there that strength can be added or subtracted most rapidly.

Science Notebook

BY LEONARD ENGEL

AS Merck and Company, the manufacturer, has conceded in newspaper advertisements, an acute shortage of the valuable drug cortisone has developed during the past two months. A black market has made its appearance; price-kiting is widespread. Sufferers from rheumatoid arthritis and other cortisone users—to some of whom a continuous supply of the drug is a matter of life or death—are frequently unable to obtain it without paying outrageous mark-ups.

This is one shortage which cannot be laid at the door of the defense program; the armed forces are taking only a small part of the cortisone supply. The immediate cause is the soaring demand, which has been stimulated by the fact that cortisone is much less expensive than ACTH, a drug with similar effects, and can be taken by mouth, whereas ACTH must be injected.

The shortage will continue for a good while. Merck is building a new plant at Danville, Pennsylvania, which will triple the present production, but that will merely ease the shortage; to end it, ten times the present production is required. Unfortunately, an increase of that order is barred by the limited supply of ox bile, the starting material for the present process of making cortisone. When a complete synthesis or a process based on a more plentiful starting material will be worked out is anybody's guess.

What are patients who need cortisone to do? For the moment, those with the price can switch to ACTH, which is still in good supply. However, ACTH, a hormone of the pituitary gland, is likewise too complex for synthesis and is obtained by extraction from the pituitary glands of livestock, another raw material of limited availability. A shortage of ACTH is therefore also likely.

From time to time during the past eighteen months there have been enthusiastic announcements of alternatives to cortisone and ACTH in the treatment of rheumatoid arthritis. Four that may be mentioned are pregnenolone, acetoxypregnenolone (artisone), DCA (desoxycorticosterone acetate) plus vitamin C, and placental blood. Though scientists of standing were among their proponents, there is now general agreement that none of these work. Consequently many arthritis patients may have to go back to gold salts, a highly regarded but by no means entirely satisfactory method of treatment.

What is needed is drug controls of the kind in effect during and immediately after the war. In that far-off day doctors obtained scarce drugs like penicillin and streptomycin by applying to certain doctors designated by the National Research Council. The system successfully channeled the new medicines to those who needed them most, and minimized frivolous use—of which there is always a great deal, even of such costly and potent drugs as cortisone and ACTH. If cortisone and ACTH were similarly rationed, there would undoubtedly be enough to take care of those who need them most.

The Vatican Versus the Public Schools

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

IV. Belgium and Beyond

Brussels

THE two hottest subjects in Belgian politics today are the survival of the monarchy and the expansion of Catholic schools, and now that the issue of a king has been shelved by the decision to have Baudoin rule as prince royal in place of Leopold III, *la lutte scolaire* has become the focus of political agitation. Belgium is being torn apart by the drive of the Catholic hierarchy to get financial parity for its high schools in the national tax program and by the Socialist resistance to that drive. The issue of the Vatican versus Belgian public schools is at least one hundred years old, but it has flared into new intensity since the Catholic (Christian Social) Party captured both houses of Parliament by a narrow margin in "the Leopold election" of last June.

On this issue the nation's policy is what one would expect from its geographical position—about halfway between the French separation of church and state and the Dutch policy of complete financial support for Catholic schools. The northern, Flemish-speaking sections along the Dutch border are pro-Catholic and anti-public school. The capital and the Walloon regions of the south have felt the liberalizing effect of the non-clerical culture of France. While the population is nominally 95 per cent Catholic, student enrolment in Catholic and public schools is in the ratio of perhaps 55 to 45—it is difficult to be accurate because of the many complicating factors. Elementary education in the north is about 65 per cent Catholic; in the south about 50 per cent. Secondary education in the north is a little more than half Catholic and in the south about equally divided. The whole country seems evenly split on the question of increased appropriations for Catholic schools.

The struggle reached a temporary climax last November when Belgium's first Catholic Minister of Education since World War I, Pierre Harmel, presented to Parliament a budget demand for $6,000,000 for Catholic high schools. The sum was finally granted, after a long and bitter debate, but no one considers the issue closed. Twice during the battle the Socialists almost brought about the downfall of the government by walking out of Parliament in protest. If they can force a new election on the issue, the result may be reversed. The Catholic hierarchy long ago succeeded in winning parity in government appropriations for its elementary schools. Catholic technical and secondary schools usually get their teachers' salaries from the government, but not their building and equipment costs. The issue now is whether the taxpayers shall support Catholic high schools on the same basis as public high schools.

As in France and Holland, the Socialists have shouldered the burden of the battle for the public schools, and in the past they have insisted on Socialist ministers of education to protect the public schools against sabotage. But they have never been able to score a victory like the French law of 1905 separating church and state. The Belgian Socialists, in fact, have abandoned their fight against the principle of state support for church schools and are concentrating their whole strength in a rear-guard battle against the size of the Catholic bill.

They have also lost the battle for neutrality on religious matters in the public schools. Religion is taught in public classrooms by priest-teachers who are paid from the public treasury, and the students receive school credit for this instruction. The Catholic victory on this point is not quite so complete as in Italy, since non-Catholic children may get religious instruction in their own faiths where there are enough of them to justify the expense, and no pupil is compelled to take religion in a public school if his parents ask exemption. A child may choose, instead, a course in "morals" given by his teacher.

The new militancy of the Belgian Catholic Party on the school issue is partly a matter of general strategy. The Catholic leaders have seized upon the issue as virtually the only one capable of galvanizing the party into unified self-assertion after the humiliating general strike last summer, which forced Leopold to withdraw as king after the Catholics had won an election in his behalf. That defeat split the Catholic forces into two recriminatory camps, and the breach has not yet been healed. A powerful minority of Catholic diehards, scorning Socialist power in key industries, wanted to hold out against the anti-Leopold strike to the bitter end, but the responsible leaders sensed the probability of a revolution if they forced the issue and accepted Baudoin as a compromise. What could be more effective in restoring Catholic unity than the ancient battle-cry of down with "godless" education?

The children are the sufferers—and the nation. The

PAUL BLANSHARD, author of "American Freedom and Catholic Power," returned recently from a year in Europe. The four articles of this series, with an introduction showing how their facts bear on the struggle between the Roman Catholic church and public education in this country, will be reprinted in pamphlet form. Copies may be obtained from this magazine.

children of liberal families are segregated from the children of clerical-minded families. The Catholic technical schools, poorly equipped and staffed with priests who lack adequate appreciation of the scientific outlook, are turning out graduates ill prepared for advanced scientific study. Priests are trying to stem the resultant drift of the better-educated classes to public higher education by their campaign for financial equality.

They are aided by the deep feelings generated by the language issue, which they are using almost as effectively as their confrères in Quebec. Brussels has been a center of liberal sentiment, and its university has produced ammunition for the anti-clerical forces, but the city itself is an island in a Flemish-language black-Catholic sea, since it lies about twenty miles north of the language line which separates the more liberal, French-speaking south from the conservative north.

The tension between the two sections is mounting. The bishops cultivate fear of the Socialists and "godless" education, and the liberals and anti-clericals look with apprehension on the growth of Catholic power. The Flemish population is increasing faster than that of the Walloon sections, and the priests are encouraging the competitive increase. (The three top leaders of the regular federation of labor have one child among them, and the three top leaders of the Catholic labor federation have twenty-six!) The cleavage between Catholic and liberal runs from top to bottom of Belgium's social structure. The Catholic labor unions are smaller than the regular labor unions, but they claim half a million members and constitute a genuine challenge. Belgium is the birthplace and capital of the Young Christian Workers (Jocists), who have cells in every Belgian industry and labor union. Their purpose is to deliver the nation to Catholic control, and they are doing an even more successful job than Catholic Action.

THERE are, of course, leaders on both sides who believe that the issue can be compromised, and perhaps if the important decisions could be made in Belgium instead of at Rome, a reasonable solution could be found. Paul-Henri Spaak, former Socialist Prime Minister, recently declared that Socialists and Catholics should recognize that they cannot destroy each other's educational system. But many of his Socialist comrades say that destruction of public education is exactly what the Catholic hierarchy seeks, and that Belgian Catholics cannot force the Vatican to change its policy. "The bishops," one Socialist leader said to me, "will not actually permit equality in the high-school construction program. They constantly use their position to create a clash of interests in the belief that they can win by appealing to the faith of the people. Their agents in Parliament find out where every new public high school is to be built, and then they force a delay of three or four years in its construction. This gives them time to build a competing high school. Then they ask us to finance it."

While the Catholic majority in Parliament is very small—only one vote in the lower house—the trend seems to be in the direction of full government support for Catholic schools. The larger Catholic enrolment is a tremendous argument for such support. And the great convents and monasteries provide a host of influential religious devotees who have close relations with Belgium's ruling classes. The church suffered slight losses and almost no embarrassment during the occupation.

Grizzled, eighty-year-old Camille Huysmans, former Prime Minister and Minister of Education and for many years one of Europe's foremost Socialists, summed up the situation for me in a parliamentary anteroom as the great debate on this year's educational budget began. He said:

> Catholic leaders have been the saboteurs of the public school since 1831. We are in favor of an agreement for genuine equality of support for public and private education, but the bishops want a Catholic monopoly in the control of the schools. They did not act this way in the beginning. They were moderate then. A Catholic is a gentleman when he is in the minority. Let America take warning. You must not be foolish as we have been. Every father and mother should have a fair choice in matters of education, and the Catholic hierarchy is attempting to defeat that fair choice.

Huysmans' statement epitomizes the crisis in Western Europe. In West Germany public appropriations to Catholic schools are causing the public schools to suffer. The division of the country has vastly increased the Vatican's influence in the government, and under a Catholic Chancellor the Catholic population is being used as a cultural-biological-political bloc to further Vatican interests. The American occupation authorities might have had the public school favored after the war, but they chose to go along with the old dual system. Neither in West Germany nor in any other part of Europe are American leaders recommending the separation of church and state as an organic part of the democracy they preach. That part of our constitution, in fact, is considered not exportable; the emphasis is on less beneficial features of the American way.

While our representatives in Europe avoid the question, apparently out of fear of Catholic criticism at home, public money for Catholic schools is the first plank in the platform of every Catholic political party in Europe. In the light of European experience, the small but fierce skirmish in Washington over federal money for parochial-school buses must be regarded as only a foretaste of a more severe struggle—the struggle of a free culture for continued freedom from ecclesiastical controls.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The St. Lawrence Seaway, II

WAY back in the days of President Wilson, when plans for a St. Lawrence seaway had been kicked around only for about twenty years, Franklin K. Lane, then Secretary of the Interior, noted that "individuals, corporations, and communities may rise up to object" to the project; but, he added, "such objections would have only the unstable basis of selfishness on which to rest." Alas, Mr. Lane grossly underestimated the stability of organized self-seeking minorities. For over thirty years the various sectional interests which fear they would be adversely affected if the Great Lakes were opened to ocean traffic have maintained a strong and successful opposition to the seaway. And now they are back at the old stand, grinding their axes to cut down another effort to obtain Congressional approval of this greatly needed development.

Among the interests banded together in the anti-seaway lobby, the Eastern trunk-line railroads and the seaport cities from Boston to Galveston are well to the fore. Both groups claim that they would suffer from a diversion of traffic if the seaway were built. They visualize an outflow of goods from the Middle West—grains, automobiles, steel products, farm machinery—and a return stream of imports—iron ore and other metals, rubber, textiles, cocoa, and so forth—none of which would pay toll to the seaboard ports or freight on the railroads.

In their public utterances, however, opponents of the seaway are usually careful not to overstress this competitive aspect of the situation, for to do so would vitiate their claims that they are seeking to prevent expenditure of public funds on a project which would never attract enough business to justify itself. They will agree, perhaps, that if the Department of Commerce's top estimate of seaway traffic were realized—87,000,000 tons annually—the railroads and the Eastern ports would be hard hit. But they assert that this estimate is fantastically inflated, especially in view of the fact that the seaway would be ice-bound for five months of the year.

This last point is a great favorite: in the literature of the anti-seaway lobby it appears again and again. But while the annual freeze will indubitably restrict the usefulness of the seaway, we must remember that this same condition has not prevented Montreal from becoming one of the great ports of the world, handling more tonnage than Philadelphia or New Orleans. Moreover, although the Soo Canal is out of action for five months of the year, it carries more traffic than the Panama, Suez, and Kiel canals combined.

The original St. Lawrence scheme provided for a toll-free waterway like the New York Barge Canal. Since this meant subsidized competition, the griping of the railroads was understandable, although that of the seaports, which have benefited from immense federal expenditures over the years, had less excuse. However, in 1947 Senator Vandenberg proposed that the whole project, in both its power and its navigation aspects, be placed on a self-sustaining, self-liquidating basis, and this principle was accepted, albeit rather reluctantly, by the Canadian government. The concession did little to mollify the opposition: now the argument was that even if costs were kept within estimates, the seaway would not produce enough revenue to pay its way.

The latest assessment of costs, made in 1948, is $805,000,000, to which must be added $165,000,000 already spent, mainly by Canada, on such sections of the seaway as the Welland Canal, which by-passes Niagara Falls. This gives a total of $970,000,000, about $375,000,000 of which would be attributable to the hydroelectric works harnessing the immense and steady flow of water through the International Rapids. Nobody contends that this part of the scheme, which will make available annually 5.6 billion kwh. at a cost of 2.92 mills at load centers—about half the cost of steam-generated power in the same area—can fail to be self-sustaining.

The question is therefore whether shipping tolls would cover both operating costs and capital charges on the $594,000,000 investment in the seaway itself. In view of increases in material prices and wages, we should perhaps raise this figure to $650,000,000. Interest and amortization at 3½ per cent would require $22,750,000, and with operating costs added, annual expenses would probably total around $30,000,000. Assuming average tolls of $1.25 a ton, this means that the seaway would have to carry 24,000,000 tons each year to be self-supporting.

Considering that the Quebec iron-ore deposits offer a prospective 10,000,000 tons a year after 1956, this does not seem an impossibly high target. Other Canadian mineral developments, such as the low-grade copper of the Gaspé Peninsula and the rapidly spreading oil fields of the prairie provinces, now connected by pipeline with Lake Superior, should also yield growing tonnages for the seaway. And let it be noted, this is not business taken from existing modes of transport but new traffic, to which the improvement of communications will give an immense stimulus. No doubt, in the short run the Eastern railroads and the seaports will suffer some loss in shipments to and from the Midwest if the seaway is constructed. But in the not-so-very-long run they will receive full compensation from the general expansion of trade which is bound to follow when the Great Lakes system stretching to the heart of our continent becomes an inland sea comparable to the Baltic or the Mediterranean.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

In Memoriam

Look, till all of his years,
Foreshortened in your gaze,
Become, as under glass,
A few intensest days.

See? The courageous head—
The brown one—the white—
It flickers like a single
Star in densest night.

Listen. But no sound.
Not even glancing here.
The fever in him flashes:
The love against the fear.

Anxiety in this man
Yet could not kill the heart,
That now is burning coal,
And his immensest part.

The panic, the distress—
Oh, brothers, do not cry.
His love alone is climbing
The fences of the sky.

MARK VAN DOREN

Historical Sources of Totalitarianism

THE ORIGINS OF TOTALITARIANISM. By Hannah Arendt. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $6.75.

IN "The Origins of Totalitarianism" Dr. Hannah Arendt—a trained philosopher, a discerning critic, and a recognized authority on anti-Semitism—has produced what is without question a remarkable book. It is certainly the most important work on totalitarianism that has appeared since Franz Neumann's "Behemoth." Like "Behemoth" it is the product of a rigorously trained and scrupulously honest mind, impatient with easy explanations and verbal fluency. It reflects the high intellectual level of the German emigration of the 1930's, which has done American thinking an inestimable service by setting a standard that the native-born have rarely been able to match. To a reader surfeited with the vacuous rhetoric that is currently doing service as the discussion of public affairs, Dr. Arendt's book comes as a salutary mental shock. It is good to find a writer who offers her readers no compromises, no escape from the hard necessity of thinking. This is no book to leaf through in an idle hour. It is one to read and ponder during many long evenings. Those who have the patience to do so will emerge much the wiser.

Dr. Arendt approaches her subject from three directions. In the late nineteenth century, she argues, three movements, seemingly unrelated, were converging to produce the type of mind and political activity that was to evolve into totalitarianism only after the First World War. What united these movements was that they all reflected—and accelerated—the collapse of the European class structure and nation-state concept. Class and nation-state had alone given reality to the "rights of man." Without them, these rights were reduced to mere abstractions. With the dissolution of the basic institutions of European society, there were no barriers left against what "became this century's curse only because it so terrifyingly took care of its problems."

The first of the preparatory movements was anti-Semitism. This subject Dr. Arendt attacks with characteristic courage and originality. Refusing to accept the conventional explanation that the Jews simply became the "scapegoats" for unscrupulous demagogic agitation, she seeks out the reasons why they offered the logical target. It was their intimate connection with the nation-state, she finds, that marked the Jews for destruction. As financiers of all European governments, they had won for themselves the hatred of the political movements that saw in the state the enemy to be conquered. But the irony of the case was that the real growth of anti-Semitism should have come only after the Jews had ceased to be influential. With the advent of imperialism in the late nineteenth century they had lost their near monopoly of state business. European Jewry had become "an object of universal hatred because of its useless wealth, and of contempt because of its lack of power."

Meanwhile the second movement, overseas imperialism, had "undermined the very foundations of the nation-state." As a doctrine of "expansion for expansion's sake" imperialism brought under the control of the nation-state backward areas that simply could not be integrated into the traditional political framework. Moreover, the novel experience of confronting vast assemblages of primitive and totally alien human beings taught the Europeans to forget their moral scruples. In the exploitation of Africa mass murder and unspeakable brutality became the rule. For the first time in history racism attained the status of self-conscious doctrine and practice. And it was racism—with its "contempt for labor, hatred of territorial limitation, general rootlessness, and an activistic faith in one's own divine chosenness"—that was most deeply to mark the movements of the future.

Overseas imperialism had one saving grace. It at least "drew a sharp line between colonial methods and normal domestic policies." With the third movement—what Dr. Arendt calls "tribal nationalism"—this line disappeared. In Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism the "concept of cohesive expansion does not allow for any geographic distance between the methods and institutions of colony and of nation." Under the ostensible aim of uniting all individuals speaking a common language, this new form of nationalism actually preached the world supremacy of a master-race. Its tone was vague and messianic from the start. It gave to those whose national and personal ambitions had been frustrated the consoling assurance of their own superiority.

Out of these three movements came totalitarianism—an unprecedented "madness," originating in the "mob," the "refuse of all classes," and led by déclassé intellectuals. With the subsequent declassing of vast segments of the population, the "mob" dissolved into the "masses." These masses—the "superfluous men" of our era—had nothing to lose by following their leaders into the most irrational and reckless of ventures. All they sought was to merge with something larger than themselves, to give up their useless indi-

vidualities to a movement that "thought in continents and felt in centuries." And their leaders were happy to offer them a fictitious world that could "outrageously insult common sense" by imposing its own crazy consistency upon a real world where common sense had lost its validity.

Dr. Arendt's interpretation of totalitarianism is at the same time illuminating and open to serious objections. The chief of these is that like totalitarianism itself Dr. Arendt's definition has too much internal consistency. It is insufficiently flexible to allow room for local and ideological variation. On the one hand it leads her to neglect the milder forms of fascism and to concentrate on Nazism—the extreme and hence for her the most significant case. In passing over as pre-totalitarian the one-party tyrannies of Mussolini and Franco she slights what may actually be most relevant to the history of the 1950's. For as examples and prototypes Italian and Spanish Fascism, far more than Nazism, can exert attraction today.

On the other hand, this unitary view of the totalitarian phenomenon causes Dr. Arendt to slur over the differences between German and Soviet totalitarianism. Obviously she knows more about Germany than about Russia, and we get the impression that she not infrequently extrapolates from Nazi to Bolshevist experience. For Nazism she provides a full ideological background. But in the case of Bolshevism we are left with a near void of a quarter of a century between the agitation of the Pan-Slavists and the triumph of Stalin. We are suddenly confronted with Soviet communism as the totalitarian equivalent of Nazism without any adequate account of how it got to be that way. The fate of classic Marxism in Russia, the complex process by which Pan-Slavism transformed it by fusing with it in the Stalinist credo—all this is telescoped into a few sentences.

For her knowledge of Soviet economics Dr. Arendt has relied heavily on such highly personal accounts as Kravchenko's "I Chose Freedom." If she had consulted some of the professional economic analyses, she might have been less ready to dismiss the first Five-Year Plan as "insanity." For Bolshevism conflicts with her definition by being *both* more totalitarian and more rational than Nazism. In Nazi Germany the average individual enjoyed more freedom than in the Soviet Union, but if he happened to be sent to a concentration camp he was probably worse off than someone meeting a similar fate in Russia. We may agree with Dr. Arendt that the police mentality is the decisive influence in both regimes. But we should like to see some analysis of the differences that have given to Soviet communism its greater resiliency and staying power.

Some critics would go on to say that it is Dr. Arendt's whole method that is at fault—that her procedure of constructing imaginary "ideal types" cannot fail to do violence to the facts. Here the present reviewer vigorously dissents. No doubt Dr. Arendt does push her data to the farthest limits of verisimilitude. Her account of the racist tradition in South Africa, for example, is exaggerated even for that unhappy country. But this method has the virtues of its faults. It lights up in marvelous flashes of understanding the dark corners of recent history where the documents can never penetrate. In turning to new and unsuspected purposes such familiar literary masterpieces as Conrad's "Heart of Darkness," Kipling's "Kim," Lawrence's "Seven Pillars of Wisdom," and Proust's "Remembrance of Things Past," she has struck out for an uncharted domain where history and fantasy can meet on common ground. The result may be unconventional history, but it is a magnificent effort of creative imagination.

For all her exaggerations, then, Dr. Arendt has written a great book. Deeply thought-out and conscientiously documented, "The Origins of Totalitarianism" will take its place among the major writings of our times. The record could scarcely be more dreadful. But as she concludes her melancholy account, Dr. Arendt rises above a conventional despair. In the very futility of totalitarianism she sees hope for its eventual destruction. To the totalitarian threat to change "human nature" itself she opposes an equally total declaration of human responsibility. Her book is a moving testament of solidarity with all the "superfluous people" now living out their meaningless days in all the concentration camps of the earth.

H. STUART HUGHES

The Art of Willa Cather

WILLA CATHER. A Critical Introduction. By David Daiches. Cornell University Press. $2.75.

WILLA CATHER was very reserved about her private life, and her literary executors have never released such documents as they possess. That is one, though it is certainly not the only, reason why Mr. Daiches has made his study critical rather than biographical. Known events are cited when they are relevant, but the emphasis is always on a systematic analysis of the novels and stories themselves.

Notoriously the text of a work of fiction is usually too long to lend itself readily to the sort of examination in which the "new criticism" delights. What two different readers remember is never quite the same novel. One must pick and choose passages; there can never be complete agreement as to which ones should be chosen, and never, therefore, any pretense that every detail of the whole has been taken into consideration. Nevertheless, and without any undue pretensions, Mr. Daiches does demonstrate how much can be accomplished by a qualified critic who refuses to be content with the impression produced by a whole and resolutely determines to discover by the analysis of specific passages how certain effects were achieved. If in the end there is something which continues to elude both him and us, if there is some lingering doubt as to what Miss Cather finally intended, that is probably because, as the reader of her last novels inevitably suspects, it eluded her also.

Mr. Daiches's minimum achievement is to establish solidly and in very clear outline certain characteristics which go to make up the general impression the attentive reader gradually formed as the novels appeared one after another. In the first place, and despite the fact that Miss Cather was properly praised for her "American" attitudes and themes, there was nothing of the folk writer about her. She was already definitely "literary" in her college days; professionalism was part of her ideal; and as managing editor of *McClure's* she must have gained considerable familiarity with the methods of popular fiction. That may even account for the fact that she sometimes conde-

scended to employ conventional devices to solve difficulties in the handling of a plot and that she could even, as Mr. Daiches somewhat ruefully points out, begin a novel with the good old solitary horseman who might have been seen, and so on. Her first novel was not about pioneers but about a Jamesian exile to Europe, and James remained her most obvious model. She did not become a writer because she was determined to capture a part of the recent American past but wrote about the American past because, being a writer, she discovered in it a theme.

In the second place, at least one aspect of her favorite theme was related to that revolt against the village which other writers were exploiting in cruder terms. What sets her apart is both her stylistic subtlety and the balance, almost the ambiguity, of her sympathies. Against the epic of the pioneers and their primitive heroism she continually sets two things which are related to each other but not quite identical. One is simply the richer common culture which the immigrants brought with them, their memory of a more orderly, less rugged life. The other is the bright medusa art which causes those who gaze upon it to develop virtues and perform feats of endurance the very antithesis of those appropriate to the pioneer. "My Antonia" is the story, almost the celebration, of a woman who acquiesced completely when fate cast her in the role of pioneer; "The Song of the Lark" is the story of another woman who resolutely chose instead the so different world of professional art. But Miss Cather never plumps for the one or the other. She is not an apologist for those who accepted or for those who refused the pioneer role. As Mr. Daiches points out, the unequivocal failures among her characters are those who either spend their lives futilely remembering the Europe from which they came or forget it so completely that neither that memory of the past nor any vision of a possible American future leavens the brutal routine of their lives.

The most difficult problem is presented by the later novels—perhaps from "The Professor's House" on—in which both the central characters and the novelist herself seem to be progressively withdrawing themselves from any commitment to active life in the world. Ever since her maturity there had been some tendency in this direction, at least so far as method was concerned. She came to agree with the publisher Heinemann, who remarked apropos "The Song of the Lark" that "the full-blooded method which told everything about everybody was not natural to her." Her well-known remarks about what she called the "novel démeublé" are also relevant. And in any event the chief character in "The Professor's House" is a man who gradually detaches himself from his family, his friends, and his career to devote himself to contemplation. "Death Comes to the Archbishop," though it seems to be concerned primarily with the not unadventurous life of its hero, nevertheless suggests by the title that for him too the final gathering together in the mind is the really important thing. The atmosphere of nostalgia grows more pronounced; everything seems to be fading away into a kind of dream; and there is a Proustian suggestion that the past existed only in order that it might be reconstructed in memory.

Mr. Daiches makes this development clear, but I am not sure how he accounts for it or to what extent he regards it as sign of weakening powers. Perhaps it is only what might be expected as the final result of that refusal to make a commitment which is also partly responsible for the richness and maturity of Miss Cather's finest books. In them it produces a tension not yet resolved, as it finally was, by the adoption of a fully conscious detachment and resignation. If so, Miss Cather is at least not the only writer whose most interesting work was done while the ambiguities of his attitude still generated drama.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Land of Revivals

THE BURNED-OVER DISTRICT. The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850. By Whitney R. Cross. Cornell University Press. $5.

THE "burned-over district" may be roughly defined as New York State west of the Catskills and the Adirondacks. It received its name because in the early years of the nineteenth century it was "burned over" by one religious revival after another. But its fame depends on much more than its unusual susceptibility to revivals. "The burning-over process," as Whitney Cross puts it, "fertilized luxuriant new growths rather than merely destroying old ones." In the quarter-century from 1825 to 1850 this region proved to be the richest source of new religious and social doctrine known to American history. Out of it came not only Charles G. Finney and his great revivals but Joseph Smith and Mormonism, the anti-Masonic movement, John Humphrey Noyes and the Oneida Community, William Miller and his followers, who expected the end of the world in 1843, and the Fox Sisters and spiritualism, not to speak of dozens of minor varieties of ultraism and perfectionism, plus a whole gallery of unusual individuals, such as Albert Brisbane the Fourierite, Orson Fowler the phrenologist, and Orestes A. Brownson the champion of many faiths.

This remarkable flowering of spiritual activity has long puzzled historians; but it has never until now received full-length treatment. Professor Cross has roamed the archives and manuscript repositories of western New York; he has gone through the files of obscure country newspapers and forgotten religious magazines; and the result of his patient and exact research is a major contribution to American social and intellectual history. He has drawn the social background of the burned-over district in rich detail and amplitude. Moving out of this background, he can bring revivalism, Mormonism, and the other new sects into fresh and enlightening perspective. His comments on Joseph Smith, on Mormonism and the frontier, on the development of Finney's theology, on the entry of Swedenborgianism as a catch-all for the ultraist faiths, and on the vagaries of spiritualism are the product of sharp insight and steady judgment.

Professor Cross's style is sometimes heavy and forbidding; and he has a scholar's prejudice against the audacious and far-reaching speculation, particularly in the field of abnormal psychology. Occasionally his own generalizations are not convincing: I think he is more to the point, for example, when he describes Millerism as the product of

"deep pessimism" than when he claims generally that "in religion, optimism took the form of belief in an early millennium." But this does not detract from his positive accomplishment in putting together the tangled and complicated stories of enthusiasms which a century ago burned across upstate New York like prairie fires. Professor Cross has written an indispensable chapter in our intellectual history.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

Oh, Play That Thing!

MR. JELLY ROLL. By Alan Lomax. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. $3.50.

THEY ALL PLAYED RAGTIME. By Rudi Blesh and Harriet Janis. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

SOME twelve years ago, in Washington, D. C., one of the more salutary undertakings in recent musical archivism was unpretentiously set in motion. Alan Lomax, folklore expert of the Library of Congress, adjusted a microphone near a piano in the Coolidge Chamber Music Auditorium with the intention of making a record or two with a once-famous Creole singer, pianist, composer, arranger, band leader, and self-styled "originator of jazz," the late Ferdinand Joseph "Jelly Roll" Morton.

It was the period of big-band swing music, a debased and smoothed-out variant of Morton's mature ideas; Morton himself, the most creative intelligence among early New Orleans jazzmen, had come down, through a series of catastrophic events, from a life of productivity, wealth, fame, Lincoln sedans, Victor contracts, diamond sock-supporters, and custom-made silk shirts, to an obscure and seedy existence as a performer in a Washington nightspot notable for recurring periods of insolvency. Beset by asthma attacks and a bad heart, with death little more than three years away, Morton still preserved the spirit of a Renaissance lord, an undimmed talent at the keyboard, and the charm of one of the most gifted—though highly unreliable—raconteurs of the time. Lomax, a discerning judge of what to put on acetate, kept the sessions going for almost two months, while Morton uninhibitedly poured out the story of his life, interspersing reminiscence with vital piano-and-vocal work on such memorable compositions as The Animule Ball, See See Rider, Kansas City Stomps, King Porter, Creepy Feeling, Michigan Water Blues, and Winin' Boy. The records, later released to the public in a twelve-volume set by Circle, form a unique and fantastic mélange of autobiography, music, and altogether personal history of New Orleans jazz.

Lomax has now produced a book on this remarkable figure. "Mister Jelly Roll," a series of notes masking as a biography, consists largely of printed approximations of Morton's recorded talk, supplemented with Lomax's own sketchy and pot-luck research. (The number of unconsulted persons who knew Morton is an army on the march.) These notes are fascinating, certainly, but in no sense the real right thing. Mr. Lomax's recently proclaimed theory that the age of the wire-recorder will result in a golden age of biography, through an upsurge of on-the-spot verbal autobiographers, rests on a notion that effective oral monologue—of which Jelly Roll Morton was a master—is equally effective when transcribed as writing. But speech and writing, regrettably—at least for Mr. Lomax—do not work at all in the same way. Morton's spoken words, stripped of their intonations, inflections, and pauses, lose a major part of their charm. The book is heavy with a vibrancy muffled and deadened, "the tinkling piano in the next apartment," the band turning the corner four blocks down the street.

Morton stands in relationship to most other jazz artists as Bartók, Schoenberg, and Stravinsky relate to the raft of thin and derivative "serious" men who thinly and derivately follow in their wake. He was not only one of the best singers and pianists of a period when talent was prodigal but a composer and arranger of a far more impressive and original nature than any of his contemporaries—and there have been no successors. The list of his songs, rags, stomps, and blues documents a worker as prolific as Spencer Williams or Gershwin. His best records—enough to pack an Old Overholt carton—are, measure after measure, saturated with an unmatched insight, variety, and sense of construction, with maximum attention to the resources of polyphony, rhythmic complexity, and instrumental contrast. Along with Kid Ory, Louis Armstrong, and a few other men, he kept the lyrical side of jazz, in recent years so little in evidence, alive.

Writers on jazz are not infrequently of a kitschy and razzmatazz order, substituting spurious elations for sterner and more essential requirements. Mr. Lomax is on a higher plane than this; his prose is serviceable and in general avoids sounding, as such work so often sounds, as if it were written with an old discarded reed of Pee Wee Russell's on some rapidly moving object. But a first-rate study of such a life as Morton's—as rich in "material" as the lives of Cellini or Baron Corvo—would seem to call for the talents of an Enid Starkie or a Francis Steegmuller, with allegiances to writing instead of wire-recorders.

Rudi Blesh, a dedicated and industrious jazz historian, whose writings have in the past featured a Brancusi-like purity in their devotion to the New Orleans school, has now joined forces with Harriet Janis to break rockier ground than that of Mr. Lomax. "They All Played Ragtime" is a pioneering study of the infectious syncopated piano style that swept the country in the late 1890's and declined and fell in the early 1920's. Working chiefly through personal interviews with surviving rag-

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR

Just Arrived! MAXIM GORKY

"MOTHER"—Illustrated

In English — 717 pp. — $1.50

Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts

1951 Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals

Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

55 W. [redacted] Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*



Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular list price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the list price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

time composers, many of whom at times seemed as inaccessible as Judge Crater, Mr. Blesh and Mrs. Janis establish themselves as researchers of a high and tireless order. Their book's main drawback is a warty style that occasionally suggests a mound of dill burr gherkins. Yet its exhaustive working of untapped and important material is compensatory in the extreme.

Ragtime, a mixture of folksong, banjo syncopation, and complex African rhythm, is the vigorous, intricate, highly accented pianism that preceded jazz and has permanently affected "serious" Western music from Debussy to the present. In its classic phase it was a product of a handful of devoted composers, both Negro and white, who touched off a nation-wide ragtime craze. The principal hotbeds of ragtime composers were mostly in the North—Sedalia, Missouri, St. Louis ("the capital"), New York, and Indianapolis; and Blesh and Mrs. Janis have done a remarkable job in isolating and distinguishing the various schools, just as they have in treating such prolix and related phenomena as honkytonk and bordello pianists, cakewalk contests, the nature of early sheet-music publication, Negro Bohemia, the Sousa and Arthur Pryor phase, the blues-spiritual-ragtime cross-currents, ragtime's critics and defenders, and the ersatz ragtime promoted by Tin Pan Alley. Most attractive of all are the sympathy and insight they bring to their accounts of the lives of such composers as Scott Joplin, James Scott, Joseph Lamb, Jelly Roll Morton, and James P. Johnson, among dozens of others, who out of their bounteous and creative spirits have given us such enduring works as Maple Leaf Rag, Grace and Beauty, Sensation, The Pearls, and Carolina Shout. WELDON KEES

Out of Kafka

THE IMAGE OF A DRAWN SWORD. By Jocelyn Brooke. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.75.

MR. BYCULLA. By Eric Linklater. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

LIKE the Gothic romance, science fiction, and the detective story, what we may call the Nightmare Fantasy has now established itself as another of literature's symptomatic, "period" genres. It began to appear in the interim between the First and Second World Wars, and its prognosis for the next few decades seems to be excellent. Its master, of course, is Franz Kafka; its preferred technique, an oblique, hallucinatory naturalism; its subject matter, insecurity; its hero, Anyman; its wishful-thinking image, Someone to Watch over Me.

Jocelyn Brooke's second novel, though its opening chapters may suggest the creative-writing seminar, is an impressively imaginative experiment with these conventions. Its hero is a young man named Reynard who lives with his mother in a quiet English village and commutes to his job in a nearby bank. Since leaving the army, he has felt increasingly restless, rundown, and unfocused. His cigarettes have become tasteless, his Mozart mechanical, and he suffers—unfortunately Mr. Brooke keeps telling us this in so many words—from a "disquieting sense of unreality."

Then he meets an army officer he once knew, and the latter suggests he reenlist. Or perhaps, as Reynard later reminds himself, he has only imagined this. And as the poker-faced narrative proceeds to describe his discovering and eventually joining a secret, half-cub-scout, half-fantastic army encamped in the neighboring hills, the reader, and in flashes of self-awareness even Reynard himself, suspects that this indeed is simply the wishful fantasy of a man who is exhausted with the responsibility of maintaining his own identity.

Some of the details, particularly the manner in which Reynard's unconscious homosexuality, without ever requiring him to acknowledge it, finds a softly mindless gratification in the robust barracks life, are very subtly handled. But then comes the sinister if slightly ersatz twist. What has appeared to be subjective fantasy gradually—but still, never explicitly—turns out to be objective reality. The undercover army and its tattooed emblem of a serpent and drawn sword were not merely props in a daydream of withdrawal but concrete facts in the New Order. Reynard's take-me-off-my-hands state of mind has quite literally yielded a now-everything-is-arranged state of society. For, as always, it is in the moist, decaying dark of the individual's refusal to be his own guardian, do his own choosing, create his own order, that the mushroom of fascism grows.

Though having, I'm sure, no such intention, Eric Linklater has written what amounts to a parody of Mr. Brooke's theme. But this time, instead of someone who wants to be watched over, the hero is a self-appointed watcher. A philosopher of sorts, he looks out for people who are unhappy, and when he is convinced that nothing else can be done for them, he discreetly breaks their necks. His technique is Thuggee, painless and very efficient. In 160 pages he relieves a judge, a streetwalker, and, lo, a psychoanalyst; happily, since after all he cannot pick his victims on a pocketbook basis, he has a substantial private income. ROBERT PHELPS

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

THE settings designed by Oliver Messel for the Wiman production of "Romeo and Juliet" (Broadhurst Theater) are extremely pretty, the costumes handsome and rich. The whole pictorial effect is very pleasing, and the production has other virtues. The pace is fast, the action is well contrived and makes sense, both common and romantic. In general this is a conscientious and loving interpretation of a masterpiece. But it also has flaws which keep it from being more than that—flaws in casting and characterization, above all flaws in the delivery of the poetry itself.

One may respect Olivia de Havilland's desire to play one of the great lyrical parts in English dramatic literature. But she is not Juliet in appearance—and the reason is not merely that her face is too mature. Its structure is too foursquare, has, one might say, too much character for the part. And unfortunately her reading is one of the least satisfactory in the play. She draws out the vowels, especially the o in Romeo, until they sound like long rounded moans or keenings. She seems to think that lyric means sad, and she makes of a poetic flight that soars and sinks and soars again a monotonous and rather heavy progress that scarcely rises above the earth. She does manage to maintain, most of the time, a ro-

mantic if slightly lugubrious mood, but not always; and at one point, in her recital of the terrors of waking in the family tomb, she relapsed into a realistic mode that made one think, involuntarily, of "The Snake Pit."

Douglas Watson's Romeo is a good workmanlike performance, and he becomes more sympathetic as the evening goes on. Jack Hawkins is an attractive and convincing Mercutio. His one lamentable error, which is patently the fault of the direction, occurs when he declaims the lovely airy passage about Queen Mab as if it were a funeral oration. The behavior of the nurse (Evelyn Varden) is, in the early sequences, more bawdy than earthy, and the difference is important. The Tybalt of William Smithers is, as he should be, a lively young nobleman with a chip on his shoulder; he is also a bit surly and so very irritable and irritating that one doubts that he can be as lovable as he is supposed to be. James Hayter as Friar Laurence seemed to me badly cast and badly directed. He is no friar, and his worldliness has a modern air about it that is distracting. The other members of the cast are well chosen and competent.

So lavish and scrupulous a production of "Romeo and Juliet" is not likely to come our way very often. The greater the pity therefore that the reading of the poetry throughout should sound as if it had been directed by an overzealous but misguided elocution teacher —for the poetry is the glory of the play.

As usual, I was bothered by small but crucial discrepancies and wondered again how it was that an experienced director could let them pass. Item: the hearty laughter of the elder Capulet a few hours after the slaying of Tybalt, which is supposed to have plunged the house in grief. Item: Juliet's mother is said to be only twice as old as her daughter, that is, twenty-eight, yet she is played by an actress—an excellent actress to be sure—who looks, and seems meant to look, like a stately dowager.

The most interesting thing about "Springtime for Henry" (John Golden Theater) is that Edward Everett Horton has been traveling up and down the country in this fragile vehicle for eighteen years. Here at least is one answer to the question how actors make a living between hits—or bits, as the case may be—in Hollywood and New York. Whether or not it was a good idea to subject the piece to the lights, and prices, of Broadway remains to be seen. I had a feeling that it might fall apart at any moment. And certainly it is only the drollery of Mr. Horton's face and figure, his speech and pantomime, that holds it together, though this is not to say that the other members of the cast are inadequate to their parts—they are, if anything, more than adequate. The time is said to be 1911 —an attempt to label the play a period piece—and the costumes of the ladies are amusing. So is the setting, which changes from an untidy roué's flat to a reformed bachelor's apartment and back again. But these furnishings do not go far toward filling the empty spaces of Mr. Horton's shay.

Art

MANNY FARBER

THOUGH a common critical practice is to grade Americans as high-, middle-, and low-brows, where taste is concerned, it is hard to tell a Philistine from a Brahmin when it comes to modern furniture. For instance, whenever a tycoon, a dry-goods merchant, a dentist, or an aesthete wishes to put the sophisticated whammy on a room, he invariably buys some of the furnishings manufactured by Knoll Associates, Inc. The first furniture concern to prove that experimental designs sell, this loosely collaborative set-up contracts people like Saarinen, Albini, Jeanneret to turn out fairly radical living equipment pretentious in the manner of an elegant bank vault. Their furniture is geared to the tastes of both the fastidious snob who selects a molded chair here or a floating chest there and the unimaginative show-off who "keeps up with the Joneses" by buying a showroom arrangement, complete to the potted rubber plant, much in the manner of mother who transported her dining and bedroom suites from the local department store.

The somewhat inhibiting spectacle of Knoll's showroom, with Mondrian's colors and Mies van der Rohe's free partitions, indicates the reliance of these designers on the aesthetic principles laid down in the '20's by neo-plastic painters and architects like Gropius, Oud, Mies. Their building style, often called "international," replaced massiveness with thin planes inclosing fat space, disposed of axial symmetry with the unbroken line of skeletal structures, departed from applied ornament in favor of color and texture. However, compared to the fluid integrity of the German and French pioneers in cantilever chairs or arabesque rockers, Knoll's objects depend rather frivolously on fancy colors, over-textured fabrics, and ostentatious hardware to camouflage easy, inelegant building methods.

It first achieved wide acceptance in the early '40's with a series of limply curved birch chairs, made by Jens Risom, which resembled noisy veranda furniture because of the dramatically wide webbing used on a shape slowed down to the speed of an apprentice carpenter. Mortising slightly hollowed struts to simulate a bentwood effect, Risom was forced into more cumbersome proportions than those achieved with curled plywood. The group's greatest defeats lie in their humdrum or miscalculated manipulation of machine-age materials. In her slate and steel table Florence Knoll blends two materials that are excitingly close in texture and tone, but utilizes a trite base and dimensions more appropriate to wood. The result is a heavily proportioned table, designed for demi-tasses and ashtrays, that could support a grand piano with no strain at all. Knoll exploded an inexpensive bomb on the market by refashioning the wooden folding chair with sling seat that had been used by Italian officers in North Africa. The new metal-rod version overdressed the skeletal idea with black and white paint and a leather hammock, and welded the joints with what seems to be a wad of gum left in each corner by your least lovable nephew. It has the form and beauty of a grounded butterfly, but is a bit low-slung for anyone taller than the average Italian officer.

Since relaxation is a vital luxury,

SCULPTURE
BY PAINTERS
March 27–April 21
PERIDOT 6 East 12th Street, N. Y. C.

Saarinen has worked on various means to accomplish the task. His pieces are so carefully molded to follow the positions of a human body that one has to look twice to make sure the chair is unoccupied before accepting its stubborn posture. By raising the shoulders and thrusting the head forward, this relaxing chair freezes you into the shape of a grasshopper about to leap. Unlike his former collaborator, Eames, Saarinen modifies his engineering theories with snob-appeal tactics. The curves of his newer "floating-leaf" chairs are supposed to relieve the need for upholstery, but along with foam rubber and miles of tweedy fabric, there are loose cushions front and back to attract people who tie plush living around their necks with a triple knot. In spite of all this padding, the knubby fabric feels like coagulated oatmeal.

In general, Knoll's art does little more than follow the familiar pattern of what modern design appears to be—without successfully integrating function and form. Its biggest achievements have been to relieve many American interiors of dust-catching crevices, hysterical wall-paper, and claustrophobic décor.

50% OFF
On ALLEGRO L. P. RECORDS
Sale Ends April 7, 1951
Send for Free Catalog
ELAINE MUSIC SHOP
11 EAST 44th STREET bet. Fifth & Madison
NEW YORK CITY 17 MUrray Hill 2-6154

GOOD NEWS for Music Lovers
Pocket-Sized, Low-Priced Editions
BRAHMS: Violin Sonatas ..... .98
BEETHOVEN: All Violin Sonatas, 2 vols., each .98
BACH: 6 Cello Sonatas and 7 Flute Sonatas .... .98
CHOPIN: 2 Piano Sonatas; 25 Preludes; Fantasy .98
& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG
Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From
LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138 New York 32, N. Y.

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN
MARY MARTIN
RAY MIDDLETON
IN
South Pacific
Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with MYRON McCORMICK
MAJESTIC Thea., 44 St. W. of B'way
Evenings 8:30 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IN 1937, when "Card Game" was first produced, and as late as 1941, when it was done by the Monte Carlo Ballet Russe, I was blind as well as deaf, finding in the Balanchine choreography "thinness and brittleness" which I accounted for by the fact that "its point of departure is one of the worst of Stravinsky's pieces of synthetic music." The recent revival by the New York City Ballet Company provided me with an opportunity to perceive at last what a masterpiece Balanchine had created—what a profusion of delightful details he had contrived with dance movement in which his basic classical ballet idiom was enriched not only with amusing conceits derived from the cards and game but even more with the American musical comedy style that his eye, in 1937, had been observing for three or four years. And I was able to perceive also how intimately the movement was related to the Stravinsky music—each completing, enlarging, and intensifying the other's meaning and effect—which is to say that I could now appreciate what a fascinating score Stravinsky had produced. Also contributing to the delightful effect are Irene Sharaff's costumes and set. And then the indispensable contribution: the beautifully clear, precise, and sharp dancing of the company, the charming performances of Janet Reed, Herbert Bliss, and some of the other soloists, the outstanding performance of Todd Bolender as the Joker, which is in a class with his Phlegmatic Variation in "The Four Temperaments." (Important too, while I think of it: those accurate and beautiful high notes of the orchestra's solo horn.)

But if I was wrong in 1941 about Stravinsky I don't think I am wrong today about the sheer nothingness of Ravel's "Valses Nobles" and "La Valse"—the nothingness for Balanchine's creative imagination to respond to, which may be why he produced what seemed to me a mere filling in of time and space. Except when there were Tanaquil LeClercq's amazing gifts to stimulate his imagination, and we got her strangely perverse dance with Magallanes, her sinister encounter and dance of death with Moncion (one recalls her death-like face as she begins the dance). What Balanchine did was to bring into operation his powers as a theater artist, and to create with the color of costumes in a play of darkness and light the excitement there would not be in the movement alone.

Balanchine's "Pas de trois" was added for Eglevsky, only a guest (one hopes) with the company, who also appeared in the "Sylvia" pas de deux, and who exhibited shocking faults of deportment, style, and even technique—e.g. the beats that were, as Hightower once tactfully described Dolin's, "something special." "Pas de trois" also provided a role for Nora Kaye, who was reported to have joined the company permanently, and who looked better in the last performance of the piece than she had done in the first and in her early performances in "Symphony in C."

Tudor's new "Lady of the Camellias" was put on for Diana Adams and Hugh Laing—to give Laing a role in the special personal style of his roles in the Tudor repertory of Ballet Theater. The Tudor public cheered; and John Martin—for whom criticism is a matter largely of taking and maintaining public positions about dancers and choreographers—wrote that the work "may well touch the highest level of sheer artistry of any of the Tudor repertory"; but for me it provided one of the most painful experiences anyone can have—that of watching someone go through the motions of creating artistic life with powers that no longer have any creative life in them. What Diana Adams was given to do she did exquisitely; the feeble borrowings from "Romeo and Juliet" that Laing was given to do he did without his former intensity and projective force.

For the rest there were again the great Balanchine works and the beautiful performances I wrote about after the fall season—concerning which I will add only that the Moncion performance in the last "Prodigal Son" had overwhelming impact from its increased

brilliance in the opening scenes and expressive power in the later ones, and that LeClercq's performance in the second "Baiser de la fée" had become something to remember forever.

I report beautiful playing by Francescatti in a performance of Beethoven's Violin Concerto with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy on a Columbia record (bass too heavy, kettledrums thunderous); excessively impassioned throwing of his weight around with which Isaac Stern distorts Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto in a performance with the same orchestra and conductor on another Columbia record (Brahms's D minor Sonata on the reverse side); the radiant Heifetz tone, the dazzling Heifetz virtuosity, and the affected, arch, and wailing Heifetz phrasing in a performance of Tchaikovsky's Violin Concerto with the Philharmonia Orchestra under Susskind on an RCA Victor LP record; a muffled and heavy London LP version (LLP-1) of the excellent performance of Brahms's Violin Concerto by Renardy with the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra under Münch previously issued on 78.

Another London record (LLP-302) offers a fine-sounding performance by Rostal and the London Symphony under Sargent of Bartok's Violin Concerto, which I still find "an expansive piece of writing with all the outward appearances of connected musical discourse, but in an idiom that makes no sense to me."

CONTRIBUTORS

MARK VAN DOREN is well known as both poet and critic. His latest book is "Introduction to Poetry."

H. STUART HUGHES, assistant professor of history at Harvard University, is the author of "An Essay for Our Times."

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH, drama critic of *The Nation* now on leave, is Brander Matthews professor of dramatic literature at Columbia University.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, Jr., associate professor of history at Harvard University, is the author of "The Vital Center."

WELDON KEES, former art critic of *The Nation,* is a painter and poet.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Amnesty for the Spanish Refugees

Dear Sirs: In the first two months of 1939 more than half a million Spaniards, civilians and soldiers, crossed the Pyrenees and sought asylum in France. Charles R. Joy, in *The Nation* of February 27, described the sufferings of the quarter million still there. He did not describe, because it was not in the scope of his article, their futile attempts to return to their homeland under the protection of amnesty.

It has been traditional in Spain, after civil wars and political crises, for the victor to give a general pardon to his former enemies. The Franco regime has not done so. In the eleven years since the great exodus started, a few special pardons have been granted. But the great number of exiles remain exiles because the Franco regime has not granted them guaranties of safety. Not even the families of the refugees can obtain passports to France with round-trip visas. In all Spanish police stations authorizations to go to the frontier are refused to persons having relatives in exile—*denegado por tener familiares exilados* (denied because of exiled relatives) is the annotation.

In his New Year's message of 1948 General Franco appealed to the "Spaniards far from our land because of political resentment" to come back to Spain and offered to reestablish the expatriates in their "private or public activities." Some exiles dared to respond to this expression of good-will, but only a few of those who asked to resume "public activities"—teachers, ex-government employees, and the like—were reinstated.

The Franco regime has not only failed to grant amnesty. After the fall of France the Falangists—contrary to the extradition treaty between France and Spain, to say nothing of elementary principles of international law—forcibly repatriated thousands of Spanish refugees, sending them to death or imprisonment. Among the victims were Luis Companys, last President of Catalonia, Julián Zugazagoitia, former Minister and moderate Socialist, Cruz Salido, journalist, and Juan Peyró, trade-union leader. They were imprisoned and executed after a parody of a trial in which they were accused, ironically, of military rebellion against the Republican government. Never in the history of Spain has there been such a ruthless mockery of justice.

It has been said that the Republicans have not done anything to obtain amnesty for the refugees, but that is not true. The present ambassador of the Franco regime in Washington, José Felix Lequerica, can confirm what I say.

In the summer of 1939 a committee of Spanish Republicans led by Nicolau d'Olwer, last Republican ambassador to Mexico, determined to "sound out whether . . . the Franco government was ready to accept the Spanish refugees living in France (except for a few thousand who, for political reasons, would not go back), according them the necessary guaranties for life and liberty." Indalecio Prieto, the well-known trade unionist and Socialist leader, was intrusted with the task. He attempted to negotiate with Lequerica, then ambassador to France, and with other members of Franco's diplomatic corps in Paris. But as might be expected, the negotiations were suspended under categorical instructions from Madrid.

Any aid Mr. Joy obtains for the refugees through CARE can be but provisional. The only lasting solution—repatriation and amnesty—is in Franco's hands. It is never too late for a good gesture. Even Franco would be astonished with the results if he were to guarantee political security for these Spanish exiles.

JUAN L. ECHEVARRIA

New York, March 1

Gide Judged . . .

Dear Sirs: Not long before the war I spent ten days at Pontigny in Burgundy in the company of some thirty European intellectuals. The best known of these was André Gide.

We lived in the ancient monastery, dining in a vast Gothic hall. We talked singly or in groups from morning until night, wandering about the grounds or sitting under the trees. The afternoons were given to a more formal discussion of the subject chosen for the *décade* by our host, M. Paul Desjardin.

André Gide lived and talked in this company with the utmost freedom. He thrust at me numerous questions about America which I often found difficult to answer. He seemed always eager to

understand and was not to be put off with a superficial answer. I never found him pretentious or interested in imposing his own opinion upon anybody. He seemed to be inspired by that passionate curiosity about human life which fills his works.

I am glad that the day of Gide in France is over. His vogue was not healthy. But he still was a great writer, a great literary artist. All men are vain, especially celebrated writers. I could not see the "monumental vanity" described by A. W. in *The Nation* of March 10 or the Mephistopheles there presented. Some of the books which he wrote go far to justify such a picture. Others do not. The short portrait you give of Gide is ferociously hostile and one-sided. Gide's "sincerity" is unlovely and decadent. It is not "precious." Instead, it is sometimes terrifying and profound.

It would be well if France had never been able to produce an André Gide. The revolt against him is a good sign of what is to be hoped of the France of tomorrow. Nevertheless, this unhappy figure was not adequately or justly presented in your issue.

STEPHEN HAYES BUSH

Iowa City, Iowa, March 10

MEETING

Long Beach, Calif.

CAREY McWILLIAMS
Is the U. S. Going Militaristic?
Friday, March 30, 8 P.M.
Town Hall, 8th and Locust
Auspices: Long Beach Peace Council

FINANCING

FINANCING—
We will provide temporary
or permanent financing
of $500,000.00 or upwards
for large, established
industrial enterprises.
L. N. Rosenbaum & Son
Financing & Reorganizations
565 Fifth Avenue
New York 17

PUBLISHING SERVICE

WRITERS!—Book mss. wanted for publication, fiction, non-fiction. Free booklet. Write today! Daniel S. Mead Literary Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. C. 16.

TYPING SERVICE

MANUSCRIPT TYPING, theses, medical articles. Speed, intelligence, economy. AMBASSADOR OFFICE SERVICE, 17 East 48th Street. PLaza 5-1127.

PERSONALS

DON'T FORGET BIRTHDAYS, ANNIVERSARIES. Send dates, events, our notices insure remembrance. 15 dates, $2. LITTLE STRING REMINDER SERVICE, Box 6253, West Palm Beach, Fla.

. . . or Misjudged?

Dear Sirs: It is unnecessary to defend André Gide against such intemperate words as you printed in your editorial columns of March 10. Yet it may not be futile to protest against a certain kind of reporting. Your Paris correspondent has maligned the France press by setting out to tell us what the French are saying about Gide without indicating that he was reporting solely on the Communist press. From the hundreds of articles and tributes that have already appeared in Paris dailies and weeklies alone, it is possible to give the lie to each of A. W.'s statements, since he purports to record the opinion of "Frenchmen." I hesitate to ask *The Nation* to devote pages to such documentation, which I am prepared to supply to anyone who writes me at Columbia University.

Somehow A. W., in his summary of French attitudes to Gide, ignored the most widely read Paris papers. And, curiously, every point he makes is already found in a most unrepresentative article signed Dominique Desanti in *Lettres Françaises* for February 22—a weekly of Stalinist color against which both Victor Kravchenko and David Rousset recently won sensational libel suits. The originality of A. W. consists in extending such views to all Frenchmen; even the misnamed *Lettres Françaises* would have found this hard to do right there on the spot.

On the other hand, A. W. omits all reference to the core of the Communist attack, based on Gide's once embracing and then rejecting communism. Desanti picturesquely characterized such intellectual integrity—a quality A. W. seems to hold against Gide, since he twice mentions it scathingly—as "prekravchenkoism." Even without that touch, however, we now know clearly what your Paris correspondent—could his initials stand for Alexander Werth?—considers "the most vital elements in France."

JUSTIN O'BRIEN

New York, March 10

[A. W. is, of course, Alexander Werth, our correspondent in Paris. Usually when we carry a letter criticizing a contributor, we try to print his answer at the same time, but since Mr. Werth is abroad we could not hear from him in time. Mr. Werth's side of this controversy will appear in an early issue.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Fitzgerald and Money

Dear Sirs: Morton Dauwen Zabel, comparing F. Scott Fitzgerald with Stephen Crane in *The Nation* of February 24, said: "The two men were unlike in many important respects; but . . . their stubborn resistance to the power, selfishness, wealth, and lurking treachery of modern life brings them into a striking kinship."

It seems to me that Fitzgerald worshiped wealth and the power of wealth as much as any American writer I know. He was determined to get it, and enjoy it, and for a while, very early, he did. When he couldn't get it from royalties, he went to Hollywood and got it there.

UPTON SINCLAIR

Monrovia, Cal., February 27

Hope For the Best

Dear Sirs: In one breath you say that it is the North Koreans and the Chinese that have marched into South Korea backed by Russian aid. Then you proceed to criticize our forces for the total destruction of villages because of the activities of a few snipers. Even one sniper can knock off quite a few people before he is flushed out.

When *The Nation* feels homes are worth more than the lives of G. I.'s, I think it is time to call a halt and time to remember that our men are in Korea to save the people's freedom not to preserve their homes. I daresay that there have been instances of unnecessary destruction; there always are in war. But let's get the "big" picture: Somewhere in that little row of straw huts a sniper has a rifle; it has sights and you might be in them; you hope the villagers have cleared out. That's the best you can do.

JACOB D. HAMMER

Red Bank, N. J., March 14

Help Wanted

Dear Sirs: I am preparing two separate bibliographies: one is to treat the work of the German author Ernst Jünger; the other will cover the German resistance movement against Hitler. I shall be grateful to any reader possessing material on either subject—newspaper clippings, excerpts from periodicals or books—if he would send it to me at 68-43 Burns Street, Forest Hills, New York. Original material would be most appreciated.

KARL O. PAETEL

Forest Hills, N. Y., March 12

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 31, 1951 NUMBER 13

The Shape of Things

IF GENERAL MACARTHUR HAD SERIOUSLY wished to end the fighting in Korea, he would hardly have put his offer of a cease-fire in the form he did. It is one thing for the United Nations commander to suggest the possibility of a truce arranged by the generals in the field; such a device might in fact prove the best way of getting around Peking's objections to the Good Offices Committee set up by the United Nations resolution. But obviously MacArthur was not concerned with smoothing out difficulties. By linking his truce offer with threats of possible attacks on the Chinese mainland, and by explicitly ruling out such "extraneous matters" as Formosa and China's seat in the U. N., he practically invited a rejection by Peking. Nor was the offer made more palatable by his insistence on the present weakness and probable early collapse of the Chinese forces. The reaction to his move by the State Department revealed plainly the embarrassment it had caused in official quarters. The Department plainly stated that the political aspects of the Korean war were being dealt with "in the United Nations and by inter-governmental consultations." Which is to say simply that nothing the General said had authorization from any official source. But to repudiate an action is not to undo its effect. MacArthur's intervention, followed the next day by his announcement that United Nations' troops will cross the Thirty-eighth Parallel "if and when security makes it tactically advisable," has created an explosive situation which can only damage honest efforts to end the costly and prolonged struggle in Korea.

*

STILL MEETING IN CLOSED SESSIONS IN A desperate effort to reach agreement on the agenda for the Foreign Ministers' conference, the Big Four deputies found themselves as tightly deadlocked as ever. Consequently they recessed to consult with their governments, and as the fourth week began observers waited anxiously to see whether the talks between Ernest Davies and Foreign Secretary Morrison and the code exchanges between Andrei Gromyko and Moscow had resulted in any fresh instructions. Meanwhile, of course, certain minor concessions have been made by both sides. The Western representatives have yielded on several points. Mr. Gromyko, generally considered the most intransigent of the deputies, extended the concessions made on March 8 and 12, concerning the formulation of the agenda itself, by accepting on March 20 the idea of an international inspection of armed forces. This was regarded by the British as the greatest progress thus far made. The proposal was, however, dismissed as another propaganda trick by the United States delegation, never hopeful of an agreement. From the beginning the main difficulty has been the insistence of Mr. Gromyko on making the demilitarization of Germany a separate and leading item on the agenda. This has been firmly opposed by the United States delegation, which demands that consideration of German rearmament be subordinate to questions of world tensions and general limitation of arms. At one point it was thought that perhaps the only way out would be to make a list of subjects for the Foreign Ministers to discuss and to avoid any decisions on priority or substance. But this proved as useless as the closed sessions. The mere fact that while the deputies talk all kinds of new steps are being taken to secure and define the participation of Western Germany in the Atlantic Alliance has the effect of making Gromyko more stubborn in pushing to the front the issue of German rearmament. So far perhaps the only encouraging fact about the deputies' talk is that neither side is willing to be responsible for breaking them off.

*

ARRESTS IN BARCELONA FOLLOWING THE general strike have already reached the one thousand mark, although the authorities are trying by every means to give the impression of a complete return to normality. In Europe organized labor has rallied to the aid of the Barcelona workers. Jouhaux's non-Communist Force Ouvrière in France and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions with headquarters in Brussels have launched actions designed to exercise pressure in favor of the arrested strikers and to procure funds for their aid. We hope the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L., both affiliated with the I. C. F. T. U., know of these efforts and will study ways to help. Detailed reports from inside Spain confirm the tremendous stimulus given by the strike to the anti-Franco movement throughout the country and the concern and restlessness caused among people close

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 289
Imaginative Grumble 291
The Unanswered Questions 292

ARTICLES

Cast No Stones *by Willard Shelton* 293
The Mediterranean Is "Discovered" *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 294
Social Credit and C. C. F. *by Miriam Chapin* 295
Perón vs. a Free Press *by James H. Scheuer* 297
The Year of the Three-Eyed Sloth *by Carey McWilliams* 300

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Essays and Asides. Interlingua Is a Fact *by Albert Guérard* 302
A Lonely Life *by Frederic Ramsey, Jr.* 303
Power Is Not Old-fashioned *by Carey McWilliams* 304
Books in Brief 304
Drama Note *by K. H.* 305
Films *by Manny Farber* 306
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 306

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 308

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 406 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 308

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Contributing Editor: Robert Bendiner
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H Haggin
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

to Franco. One of the incidents related is amusing and revealing. A student pursued by the police lost a shoe just as he managed to find refuge in the University of Barcelona. A man walking by picked up the shoe before the policeman could get hold of this piece of evidence and disappeared with it. The police decided to wait at the door of the university until a student came out wearing only one shoe. At the luncheon hour, however, two hundred students left the building and not one was wearing both his shoes.

*

A CUNNING LOBBY HAS BEEN QUIETLY operating in recent months in various state capitals to saddle a soak-the-poor tax system on the country. This group, calling itself the Western Tax Association, has picked up a drive—repudiated six years ago at a time when its chief sponsor was the Committee for Constitutional Government—to limit federal income taxes to a maximum of 25 per cent. In Montana, Minnesota, and various other states where legislatures are now in session, the "tax association" has revived the campaign to get two-thirds of the states to memorialize Congress for a constitutional convention to write a tax-limitation amendment. The lobby's argument is that "initiative" is destroyed when the incomes of corporations and individuals are taxed at more than 25 per cent and that the way to save "initiative" is to limit Congressional taxing power.

*

THIS SOAK-THE-POOR PROGRAM REACHED its previous high mark in 1943, when seventeen states had indorsed the proposal; it was strongly repudiated in 1945 when five state legislatures rescinded earlier resolutions of approval. The proposal cannot stand open discussion; in 1945 the spotlight of publicity easily exposed the scheme as a shameless effort to destroy the traditional and democratic American system of taxation based on ability to pay. In 1945 it was enough to point out that, in the desire to escape a fair share of taxes, a right-wing lobby was attempting to do through state legislatures something that could never be done through Congress. The Constitution permits amendment through the initiative of two-thirds of the state legislatures, but the device has never been used in history. Adoption of the proposal would mean today that the federal government would lose $15,000,000,000 in revenue that could be balanced only by higher taxes on low-income families, by higher excises, and by a general sales tax. The Western Tax Association wants to cut the living standards of millions in order to give more luxuries to a few. State legislatures would be well advised to guard carefully against this attempt to reverse our tax policy by constitutional convention.

FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE CURRENT witch hunt got under way in Hollywood, an open attempt is being made to influence awards for performance in the making of motion pictures. Ward Bond, treasurer of the Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals, was quoted at length in a recent issue of *Daily Variety* on how he had managed to block an award which the California Teachers' Association had intended to give José Ferrer for his performance in "Cyrano." Mr. Bond said he told the teachers' group that it would be "blasted from coast to coast" if the award was presented. It should be noted that this intervention took place after Mr. Ferrer had publicly denied that he was a member of the Communist Party or a sympathizer with any of its aims. Mr. Bond not only dismissed this denial as "perjury" but said he would have "very grave misgivings about the membership of the Academy" should Oscars be awarded to Ferrer, Sam Jaffe, or Judy Holliday. At the same time he conceded that Mr. Ferrer's performance in "Cyrano" was "magnificent." Joyce O'Hara, speaking on behalf of the Motion Picture Association of America, has announced that film personalities who do not firmly deny any association with Communist-front organizations at the scheduled Washington hearings will undoubtedly find it difficult to get employment in Hollywood. Thus the policy of the black list has been extended to deny recognition to persons charged with subversion, though they have denied the charge and stand clothed with the presumption of innocence. The possibilities opened up for blackmail, log-rolling, and the systematic destruction of rivals and competitors are endless; yet we are asked to believe the internal security of the American people in a time of crisis will be promoted by this sort of inquisition.

✶

THE NATION HAS INSTITUTED A LIBEL SUIT against Clement Greenberg and the *New Leader*. This action was occasioned by the appearance in the *New Leader* for March 19, 1951, of a letter by Clement Greenberg in which he made false allegations against *The Nation* and its foreign editor, J. Alvarez del Vayo. Mr. Greenberg had previously submitted the letter to us in two versions. *The Nation*, in conformity with general publication practice, refused to print it because it was clearly false and defamatory: a periodical has a public as well as a private duty not to spread untrue and malicious statements. We advised Mr. Greenberg that the publication of his letter elsewhere would be actionable. We repeated this notification to the *New Leader* when it informed us that it was publishing the second version of the Greenberg letter. After its appearance in last week's *New Leader* we immediately started suit against Mr. Greenberg and all involved in the publication and distribution of the letter.

An Imaginative Gamble

A TREATY embodying the Schuman Plan—which should perhaps be called the Monnet plan after its real author—has now been initialed by representatives of France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg. Despite the many modifications made in the course of ten month's negotiations, the plan retains most of its original features, and fears that it would be twisted to provide the framework for a glorified cartel have been partly set at rest. MM. Schuman and Monnet held fast to the idea of a single, unobstructed market for coal and steel, which, they believe, will prove an instrument for European unity by removing a major source of friction between France and Germany

Subject to ratification by their Parliaments, the six powers have agreed to abolish completely, after a five-year transitional period, all tariffs, trade restrictions, state subsidies, and other discriminatory measures affecting coal and steel. A new High Authority, subject to very elaborate checks and balances, will be created to supervise these industries, and the several states will undertake to enforce its decisions. The Authority will have power to allocate coal and steel in times of shortage and to set production quotas should unwieldy surpluses appear. It will be able to fix maximum and minimum prices, to force employers to raise abnormally low wages, to ban mergers that tend to limit competition, and to borrow money in order to finance expansion or to assist reemployment of labor displaced as the result of the removal of tariffs.

On paper the plan has many excellent features and, if it becomes effective, will certainly prove an interesting experiment in supra-national planning. But doubts remain about the willingness of French and German industrialists to cooperate whole-heartedly in making it a success. Both welcomed M. Schuman's initiative in May, 1950, because at that moment overproduction seemed to be an imminent danger for European steel. The post-Korea sellers' market has noticeably dampened enthusiasm, particularly in the Ruhr. Nevertheless, two practical considerations—the French steel industry's need for an assured supply of German coal and the German steel magnates' desire to free themselves from all restrictions on production—have proved persuasive.

In addition, both national groups have been influenced by the belief that implementation of the Schuman Plan might do something to attract American capital. Certainly it has been strongly favored by the American authorities, and it was pressure by our High Commissioner in Germany, John J. McCloy, that removed one major obstacle—the reluctance of the Ruhr industrialists to break up their central coal-sales agency and to allow the steel plants to free some of their captive coal mines.

It is by no means certain, however, that the Bonn

Parliament will ratify the treaty, since opposition has been voiced by both right and left. Dr. Kurt Schumacher, the Social Democratic leader, has threatened to fight it to the limit, claiming that it will create unemployment in the Ruhr and promote French hegemony of Europe. Our own view is that France has more to fear than Germany, for owing to favorable geographical and other factors the Ruhr seems likely to be the chief gainer from the unified market. Thus the promoters of the Schuman Plan are staking much on their belief that economic integration of Western Europe will eliminate the proved dangers of concentration of industrial power in West Germany. It is a bold and imaginative gamble, and we hope it pays off; but we must confess to more than a little skepticism in view of the Bourbon-like qualities of the German steel magnates.

The Unanswered Questions

IF THE Senate Crime Investigating Committee has done nothing beyond jolting the American public out of a cynical apathy, it has much more than justified its existence. No one above the level of a high-grade moron has doubted that our cities have been plagued by racketeers or that our municipal governments have been infested by leeches who take in more in a month by protecting criminals than they can earn in a year's protection of the law-abiding. But we think Senator Kefauver's committee has done more than this—more even than to stimulate one of those periodic clean-ups that make our city governments a system of corruption tempered by intermittent reform. Thanks in part to television and in part to the decency with which it conducted its operations, the committee has raised a number of far-reaching questions which an unusually aroused public will want to have answered.

The first of these—TV or not TV?—is one on which informed people appear to be most evenly divided. Clearly it was the televising of the hearings in New York which did most to rouse an unprecedented public interest in the substance of the committee's work. There was something inspiring about the way in which the routine of the country was disrupted while housewives and as many others as were able to do so glued themselves to their television screens to watch an agency of government at work. They were there to see for themselves how a committee of the United States Senate went about stripping power from the Costellos, those shadowy underworld figures who, for years immune to the processes of the law, had made and broken public officials.

Here was an exciting extension of democracy. And yet there was no disputing the new dangers it created. Less scrupulous investigators—and Congress is full of them—could easily have turned the proceedings into a carnival of demagogy for their own advancement and the wilful confusion of the public. It is true, too, that the rights of a witness—theoretically no one in these investigations is a defendant—might be gravely prejudiced by the very process of televising. The fierce lights, the general air of excitement, and the stage fright induced at the thought that millions are watching every twitch of one's facial muscles are not likely to increase the poise of any but the most self-possessed and histrionic witness. If television is good for investigating committees, moreover, why not for sessions of Congress? But here the dangers are even more apparent. If Senator McCarthy can libel a citizen now or Representative Rankin an entire race, how much more poison could they distribute if allowed to appear in millions of living-rooms under an immunity that allows them to slander at will?

Another question, at least as hard to answer and one already too long evaded, is whether or not the laws on gambling are due for drastic revision. We are fully aware of the traps involved in any attempt to widen the area of legalized gambling, but the arguments, for and against, are certainly due for serious review by responsible civic groups. The present pattern of corruption is clear. Given the strong human impulse to bet rooted in whatever deep social, economic, or psychological causes, there are always racketeers ready to provide the means, policemen ready to protect the racketeers, and officials ready to protect the police—all for a share of the take. And given this system, there will also be blackmail, extortion, gangsterism, and the easy manipulation of vulnerable politicians by criminals. The question of legalizing off-the-track betting is certainly not a moral one, as Willard Shelton shows plainly enough in his article Cast No Stones, published elsewhere in this issue. Gambling is legal now—at the track, in the normal workings of business, and, not least, in Wall Street. The need is for a sober study of the whole problem, free of cant and hypocrisy.

Finally, the Kefauver hearings confront many liberals with the need to reconsider the major political parties as vehicles for good municipal government. The committee leaned over backward to be non-partisan, and its findings will reflect discredit on Republicans and Democrats alike. This is clearly as it should be, Philadelphia affording no prettier a picture than New York, and Saratoga having been just as much a gamblers' paradise under Democratic governors as it has been under Thomas E. Dewey. But in terms of the liberal vote the revelations will hit the Democrats harder, since supporters of the New Deal and the Fair Deal have tended to extend their allegiance to the Democratic Party on the local level. Testimony before the Senate committee strongly indicates that the difference between the administrations of James J. Walker and William O'Dwyer was one of degree rather than of kind. The result should be either a

tremendous strengthening of independent groups, like the Liberal Party in New York, the rebirth of a fusion movement of the kind that kept Mayor LaGuardia in office, or a growing demand for the elimination of all parties in municipal government and substitution of some kind of city-manager arrangement.

None of these questions can be dealt with quickly or easily, but they are the really important products of the Kefauver committee's work. It would be a tragic waste of time, effort, money, and public interest if they were lost sight of in a flurry of indictments for perjury and income-tax evasion, followed by a return to apathy and a tired cynicism.

Cast No Stones

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, March 22

AS THE gaudy Kefauver "road show" has paraded some of the unsavory facts of American political life across millions of television screens, the predominant feeling in the vast audience has been shock at the blatant confirmation of the familiar charge that large-scale illegal gambling cannot be carried on without the toleration or connivance of public officials.

In a semi-final report issued two weeks ago Senator Kefauver's committee declared that two major syndicates control gambling throughout the country, that these syndicates have steadily invested their profits in "legitimate" enterprises, and that racketeers' money supports political campaigns. Evidence obtained since then in New York and elsewhere shows that respected public figures rub elbows with hoodlums, reformed and unreformed, and that beneath our visible society governed by elected officials there is an underworld ruled by the law of the jungle.

On the Jersey and New York waterfronts this law is administered by the ruthless Anastasia; murder is a commonplace, and respectable corporations, in order to "control" labor, pay tens of thousands of dollars to strike-breaking thugs. Frank Costello apparently needs to use no more than a whispered word to enforce his rule; his order banned the bookies from Roosevelt Raceway in Long Island when the responsible authorities were helpless.

Senator Kefauver's committee has performed a public service beyond challenge in revealing facts to which the people were entitled. Kefauver himself, a Tennessee Democrat, and Senator Tobey, a New Hampshire Republican, are generally considered outstanding men in the Senate. The committee has leaned over backward to avoid persecuting Republicans or whitewashing Democrats. It could easily have chosen to expose gambling and corruption in Philadelphia, famous for its malodorous Republican rule, instead of in New York, a better-governed city. And just as Ambassador O'Dwyer was forced by the pressures the committee built up to subject himself to its relentless interrogation, so Governor Dewey could have been forced to explain "voluntarily" why, under his racket-busting regime as under previous Democratic rule, gambling has flourished openly in Saratoga Springs.

Comparable in value to this non-partisan approach has been the highly successful demonstration of how a Congressional inquisitorial committee operates. No reporter, however colorful his touch, could have pictured the sessions with the vividness of television. The croaking voice of Costello, the badgered, defiant performance of O'Dwyer, the scholarly insistence of Jimmy Carroll, the St. Louis bookmaker, that "gambling is a biological necessity" and eventually will be legalized—these things reached the public with all their original impact. More intimately than ever before, the people saw and heard an agency of government in action.

It must be noted, however, that Senator Tobey's own state of New Hampshire has a racetrack at which there is legal betting, and that reports of illegal gambling in unlicensed bookie joints can hardly be doubted. Yet New Hampshire, with its relatively small and homogeneous population, presents a far less complex problem than the polyglot cities. In New Hampshire or anywhere else it is nauseating to pretend that betting on the nags is moral and socially permissible for people with money and time to go to the tracks but wicked and corrupting when engaged in by a housewife in an off-track "horse parlor."

In Illinois, among other states, gambling is forbidden by the state constitution, but parimutuel betting at the tracks is permitted by statute on the devious pretext that it is not really gambling—and, besides, state treasuries benefit from a percentage of the on-track betting profits. Why did the managers of Roosevelt Raceway hire Costello to drive away the bookies? Not because betting through the bookies was less moral than betting through parimutuel machines, but because the bookies' operations decreased the take of the machines and the share of the track's owners. There could be no more clear-cut example of economic determinism dictating an alliance between the racketeer and the licensed profiteer.

The gangsters grew rich during prohibition. Afterward they put their accumulated wealth and expert talents into gambling. Gambling is in truth a "biological necessity" for some people. There is a real gambling demand, nourished by the legalization of on-track betting and by the printing of betting news in respected newspapers, as well as by the operation of "horse parlors." Enterprisers of the underworld find it profitable to supply the demand.

The task before Senator Kefauver and his committee is to suggest national legislation which while fitting har-

moniously into American habits will curb illegitimate and corrupting influences. The public interest aroused by his investigation may affect national political contests. Fines and prison sentences will almost certainly be meted out to both hoodlums and politicians on subsidiary contempt and perjury charges. It is less certain that the racketeers and murderers of the waterfronts and the buyers of political power can be successfully prosecuted for their crimes. It is not clear whether a statute can be devised to forbid the transmission of racing news over special wires to the "horse parlors" and thus check off-track illegal gambling while on-track betting remains legal. It is not clear whether the ultimate effect of the committee's work will be to "clean up" gambling or merely to produce a cynicism about our political life infinitely more dangerous than gamblers' campaign gifts to the politicos.

The Mediterranean Is "Discovered"

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

BEFORE embarking for the United States with President Auriol, Foreign Minister Robert Schuman disclosed that the United States, Great Britain, and France would confer on Mediterranean defense. It is known that France has been greatly disturbed by rumors of British-American plans for a Mediterranean treaty. The purely military reasons for strengthening what is regarded as the right flank of the forces of the Atlantic Pact have been frequently stated. These were, originally, to assure the protection of Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Turkey; to enable troops to be moved freely through the seas and straits of that area; to assure the defense of the vast oil fields of the Middle East; to acquire new air bases which would reduce the distance between Western Europe and the Eastern bloc; and to gain the political advantage of an anti-Russian front comprising all the countries of Europe except those behind the iron curtain and such an impenitent partisan of neutrality as Switzerland.

The military experts are especially interested in the Mediterranean because of the increasingly precarious situation in the Middle East. It will be remembered that as long ago as May, 1950, before the Korean war started, the Foreign Ministers of the United States, Great Britain, and France conferred at length on this subject in London and finally issued a statement recognizing the need and the right of both the Arab states and Israel to be furnished arms with which to safeguard their internal and external security. Behind this statement was the decision of the Western powers to end the threat of social unrest in the Middle East. But the gulf between intention and reality has been pointed up by recent events in Iran. Even before the assassination of Prime Minister Razmara, conditions in Iran dispelled any illusion about its capacity to resist foreign attack; Iranian army officers were quoted as saying that the Soviet army could overrun the country in four or five days, even the British oil fields in the south—now nationalized.

Egypt, inflamed with nationalism, has demanded cancelation of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936, which permits Britain to garrison the Suez Canal zone and gives it the right in case of war to occupy the whole country. And last week it was announced in Cairo that a bill would be introduced in Parliament to nationalize the Suez Canal Company. Egypt's feeling against Britain was the main reason for its neutrality on the question of Korea at Lake Success, a position which it maintained the more stubbornly after Foreign Minister Salah el-Din failed to induce Washington to bring pressure on London. Great Britain not only rejected Egypt's demands but stiffened its attitude toward Cairo to the extent of holding up a shipment of war material already ordered. In consequence, anti-British sentiment in Egypt has been intensified, and it will be difficult to win Egypt's support for a policy of solidarity with the Atlantic coalition. European experts believe that the Middle East will play a more passive than active role in the struggle between the two blocs.

The country on which the Western powers can count most safely is Turkey. They have shown it many favors ever since signs of tension appeared between East and West, and it was in Turkey and Greece that the Truman Doctrine of containing Communist expansion was first applied. Turkey undoubtedly regards Russia as a dangerous neighbor. Also, a collection of pro-German politicians runs the Turkish government; the President, Djelal Bayar, when Minister of Commerce in the thirties, advocated close collaboration with Nazi Germany. On the day that Germany definitely enters the Atlantic coalition, it will begin to trade with Turkey again and to supply it with military technicians.

Of all the countries outside the Atlantic coalition, Turkey has demanded admission most insistently, and its diplomatic feelers, according to the Washington correspondents of American papers, have been received sympathetically in the Pentagon. Moreover, since the great change in American policy toward Spain, Turkish diplomacy has realized that it holds the key to the problem of how the United States is to obtain Spain's admission to the Atlantic Treaty Organization. This problem has become more difficult since the recent Barcelona strike, for now the other nations can argue not only that association with Franco is repugnant in principle but that the explosive situation in Spain makes his aid of doubtful value.

But the military planners in the United States who are

in favor of utilizing Franco will not be easily convinced. They are determined to have the Spanish army fight at the side of the Western forces. Their answer to European objections is to form a Mediterranean pact, with Spain as one of its cornerstones. Turkish diplomacy, encouraged by the Pentagon, is dedicated to this purpose. It is prepared to assist in "discovering the Mediterranean" —which in Spain means revealing the obvious.

Even this proposal, of course, may run into difficulties; French objections may prove a serious obstacle. If so, Washington is prepared to make a bilateral arrangement with Franco, providing modern arms in return for the Spanish dictator's agreement to support the Atlantic alliance. Whether this plan could be put into effect without creating still greater political problems remains to be seen.

Social Credit and C. C. F.

BY MIRIAM CHAPIN

TWO of Canada's enormous prairie provinces are governed by maverick parties—Alberta by Social Credit, Saskatchewan by the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. Both parties came into being during the farm depression of the twenties, but they have traveled different roads. Social Credit has become a Conservative party with Moral Rearmament trimmings. The C. C. F. is a middle-class social-democratic party which has built important connections with the working class through the unions in the Canadian Congress of Labor. According to eastern Conservative papers, Social Credit is planning an "invasion" of Saskatchewan at the coming provincial election which will bring the two ideologies into direct conflict for the first time. The choice will be not only between a cloudy and reactionary political doctrine and socialism, but also between fundamentalist religion and religion directed toward social welfare—and this in a notably religious country where all organized churches are venerated.

Social Credit permeated Alberta when wheat was rotting on the ground, when people were cold and hungry and living in shacks in a land of oil and forests, grain and cattle. "Bible Bill" Aberhart, a schoolmaster who gave Sunday afternoon radio talks from his "Prophetic Bible Institute," put forward his belief that the ideas of England's Major Douglas would solve Alberta's problems. Douglas had spoken in Alberta years before to little effect, but under Aberhart's spell the province took to his Social Credit theories with revival-meeting fervor. Study groups sprouted, meetings were held, committees set to work, and in 1935 Aberhart swept into the premiership, and his supporters elected all but seven members of the legislature.

Billions of words have swirled around Social Credit, but probably most of its adherents grasp little of its content except the promise of the "dividend," $25 a month to everybody—a promise never as yet fulfilled. The body of its doctrine springs from Proudhon, as C. B. Macpherson has pointed out in the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*. Douglas sees "poverty in the midst of plenty" and finds it caused by the lack of purchasing power. He blames "finance," now called "Jewish-Bolshevik finance," for the gap between production and distribution. This gap can be filled, he says, without disturbing capitalism, the profit system, private ownership, or capital-labor relationships by a simple monetary reform. All that needs to be done is to borrow money on future production, "social credit," and with it either pay cash dividends so the people can buy what they have produced or subsidize producers so they can sell cheaply enough for consumers to buy. Either or both plans may be used. No class struggle, no need for labor unions or price controls—the printing-press will solve all problems.

Along with this social theory goes a political philosophy which, however unworkable the monetary scheme, still attracts adherents, gradually disclosing its likeness to fascism. Parliaments are a fake; to get rid of international Jewish finance, whose ally is communism, the people should vote only for general principles and a leader who will decide on methods. He will abolish the rules that maintain scarcity. The Union of Electors —all voters—will watch the government it sets up and press for action. The people all want the same things, food and homes and peace.

This was heady stuff in Alberta, though its full meaning was not clear. It took hold. After 1935 the people waited eagerly. The federal authorities did the new Premier a great favor by disallowing all his banking legislation in '37 and '38; he blamed the familiar bankers' conspiracy the more loudly. But times were now easier. Oil had been found, the ranches were prospering; with the outbreak of war the price of wheat went up and Alberta was happy. Edmonton became the big American base it still is, a boom town. The farmer and the small

MIRIAM CHAPIN is a Canadian journalist now living in New York.

business man are notoriously unreliable material for any radical movement, since with a whiff of profit they freeze into conservatism. Neither Alberta nor Saskatchewan has a powerful organized labor group.

BY THE time Aberhart died in 1943, the newspapers and bankers who had excoriated him were solidly behind him, and the left-wingers in his following were turning to the C. C. F. or communism. Solon Low, then as now leader of the Social Credit delegation in Parliament, visited Wall Street to negotiate loans from men who bore a strong resemblance to bankers. The late Norman Jaques, another M. P., addressed America First meetings in St. Louis. It was bad form to talk about the dividend. The province's abounding prosperity was held due to the special favor of the Almighty. The Reverend E. G. Hansell, M. P., suggested recently in Calgary that Providence had willed that oil should not be discovered until Social Credit was on hand to take charge.

Actually Alberta could be a tax-free paradise if the oil were under public ownership or even if it were heavily taxed. Imperial Oil, a Standard subsidiary, owns about 70 per cent of the reserves, estimated at a billion barrels. Twenty-one-year leases on crown lands are auctioned off with small care for conservation, and the cash is used for current expenses. About twenty-five million barrels were produced in 1950.

It is expected that 40 per cent of the 1951 budget of $94,000,000 will be met by revenue from oil and natural gas. Thus Alberta will be spared a sales tax. Better roads —in rural areas roads are very bad—are promised, and higher pay to civil servants. But as in the past the burden of schools and hospitals is still left too much on the municipalities. The government pays no relief except to transients; it furnishes no free treatment for the insane. Social welfare in Alberta received some undesirable notice two years ago when a report by a well-known social worker on adoption practices in the province was printed in a weekly. Writers and editors were hauled out to Edmonton to stand trial, but the case was soon dropped. In Aberhart's day a good deal was spent on the schools; their sad physical condition was remedied, and teacher training was improved. Recently, however, a blight has fallen on research and training as a result of the imposition of fundamentalist orthodoxy and a censorship which excludes certain books dealing with collectivism and films which advocate racial equality.

Premier Ernest Manning, Aberhart's lieutenant and successor, is a skilful politician who has kept a firm hold on his organization and smoothly eliminated the Douglasites, the anti-Semitic wing. In 1948 he discontinued the Social Credit Board, a government-supported propaganda agency for Douglas ideas, purged his economic adviser, and put his own man in charge of the *Canadian Social Crediter*, the official magazine. The same year the Alberta party disowned the Quebec group, l'Union des Electeurs, because of its French Canadian nationalism, anti-Semitism, and anti-imperialism. The Alberta group has always been firmly British. It has some connection with British Israel, whose pamphlets are on sale at Social Credit conventions. Premier Manning's lectures are flavored with Moral Rearmament, stressing the need for Christian love between employer and employed.

In Quebec the Union spread rapidly after 1942, under the leadership of Louis Even and his magazine *Vers Demain*, which pounds on the obvious injustices in housing, wages, and relief administration and uses the Protocols of Zion as a filler. Some Catholic bishops spoke against Social Credit and refused the use of church halls for its meetings, but none the less the movement gathered in many Catholic nationalists left homeless by the collapse of the Bloc Populaire, a reformist third party. In 1946 these Quebec Social Crediters elected to the Dominion Parliament a brash young garage worker from a northern mining district who campaigned with the slogan "I'm your hired man." Social Credit, he declared, was the only doctrine really fighting communism, under which he included selective service, meat-grading, and price controls.

But, alas, in 1948 the Union des Electeurs failed to elect a single member to the Quebec legislature, though it polled a fifth of the votes, and the following year the Liberals recaptured the seat it had held in Parliament. Now the Union has withdrawn from the political field to concentrate on educational work. It has a number of men propagating its theories in the Catholic syndicates. In line with its French Canadian nationalism, it has done some campaigning for peace, and a few members have been arrested for putting up peace placards.

THE C. C. F. won the 1946 Saskatchewan election because of the farmers' disgust with the Liberal policy of selling wheat to England below the world price rather than because of any widespread conversion to socialism, but it has used its mandate well. In the next election the frosts of last August that ruined much of the grain and the $150,000,000 drop in farm income between 1949 and 1950 will be a greater threat to a C. C. F. victory than Social Credit. However, if the Dominion government (Liberal) refuses the final 25 cents a bushel demanded by the farmers of the Wheat Board, the Saskatchewan Liberals will have hard sledding.

Premier Douglas has tried to safeguard the province's oil reserves. Imperial refused to drill under the conditions he set, and other companies have gone ahead slowly. His administration has rejuvenated the civil service; even the casual visitor notes the contrast between the eager and interested young men who hand out information at the government offices in Regina and the paunchy bureaucrats of Edmonton. It has installed a successful

health-insurance system. It has given adult education a tremendous impetus and made some improvement in the rural schools, though they are not yet good enough. For the first time Indians have had a chance. Saskatchewan now has a Bill of Rights making it a criminal offense to discriminate for race, religion, or color in offering employment. More than a thousand farm cooperatives are functioning, doing an annual business of more than $300,000,000, half of it in wheat. Crown corporations run power-distribution and telephone systems, buses, fur and fish sales.

Now Premier Douglas has thrown the question of Canadian foreign policy into the provincial arena. He says he is prepared to call an immediate election to demonstrate the popular support for C. C. F. attacks on the Liberals. The C. C. F., though with considerable dissidence among the rank and file, upheld U. N. action in Korea, but of late it has been demanding admission of the new China to the U. N. and settlement of the Korean war by negotiation. The Premier says his people would fight for freedom but "will not send their sons to be slaughtered in foreign fields to bolster up discredited regimes." He is a good speaker, and he means business.

Saskatchewan is the C. C. F. stronghold; both the national chairman and the national president hail from there. With Social Credit demanding conscription and voting with the Progressive-Conservatives whose foreign policy is the same as the Liberals', a Saskatchewan election this year would go far to show how western Canada feels on the issues of war and peace. It would be a three-way fight. If Social Credit could split the farmer vote, the Liberals might win, but as of now the C. C. F. is confident of victory.

Perón vs. a Free Press

BY JAMES H. SCHEUER

Buenos Aires, March 22

A WAR between the forces of dictatorship and the independent free press has entered its final phase in Argentina. After three years of "cold war" and attrition had failed to intimidate it, the critical voice of *La Prensa,* for eighty-one years one of the great newspapers of the world, has finally been silenced by President Perón, using thugs, police, judges, and Congress.

All branches of the Argentine dictator's administration have joined in preparing the necessary popular and legal affirmation of the paper's suppression. The judicial arm has charged scholarly Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz with personally carrying on "activities against the state." The executive arm controls the General Confederation of Labor (C. G. T.), which has called for expropriation of the paper by the government and its conversion into a workers' cooperative or appointment of a Peronista "interventor" to take over the complete management and editorial control of the paper. The three hundred subsidiaries of the C. G. T. greeted this demand with a chorus of approval: the bank employees' union promised that no check of *La Prensa* would ever be cashed, the tramway union that not a single copy of the paper would ever be distributed locally, the aviation workers' union that they would stop any copy of *La Prensa* from leaving Argentina. The legislative arm of Perón's political machine on March 20 gave the paper the *coup de grâce* by having a Congressional committee take it over. It barred Dr. Paz and his chief assistant from the paper's offices and plant and issued an order for the arrest of Dr. Paz on the ground that his objections to these actions constituted contempt of Congress.

Several weeks ago the visit of United States Assistant Secretary of State Edward G. Miller, Jr., kindled hopes that Perón might allow *La Prensa's* reappearance before the Inter-American Conference of Foreign Ministers convenes in Washington next week. It was thought that Perón might want to repair Argentina's prestige generally and to improve United States-Argentine relations. Miller had done a brilliant job of building Latin American confidence in the United States' objectives and fair dealing. He is completely at home in Spanish and has a profound understanding of Latin American customs and temperament. Even in the trying diplomatic climate of Argentina he maintained good personal relations with the powers that be. He has the knack of being able to "lay it on the line" with a friendly smile and without giving offense.

Embassy circles thought until recently that Señora Perón and the top Cabinet ministers were seriously concerned over the reaction to *La Prensa's* suppression shown by press and public in the United States and by the governments of all the Latin American states. Although no promises of any kind were asked for or given, they seemed honestly desirous of removing the causes

JAMES H. SCHEUER, a New York attorney, was formerly an economist for the Foreign Economic Administration. He has represented the Overseas News Agency in Europe and Latin America.

of conflict between Argentina and its sister states. Assistant Secretary Miller in informal, off-the-record conversations did not minimize the fact that *La Prensa* stood high on the list of sore points. Perón, however, refused to talk to Miller privately at any time during his visit. In the light of later developments, this must be considered a sign that the dictator had already decided to proceed with the suppression of *La Prensa*. He may have wanted his wife and chief Cabinet aides to discover how strongly the United States State Department felt on the subject, but he did not want to be hauled on the carpet by Miller in a private interview and be forced either to make promises which he did not intend to keep or to appear utterly insensitive to world opinion.

As a matter of fact, the Argentine dictator is known to be most sensitive to foreign criticism of either his private affairs or his political acts. Observers here have therefore speculated on what prompted him to use such unprecedented and violent methods to muzzle the renowned Buenos Aires daily. The answer may be the obvious one that his irritation with *La Prensa* had reached the boiling-point, and that his resentment of its continual criticism was greater than his sensitivity to unfavorable foreign views of its suppression. At any rate, he has brought to a climax a five-year campaign of official retaliatory measures, which included cutting the paper down from forty pages to sixteen and then to twelve and curtailing its circulation an arbitrary 20 per cent.

As a result of this guerrilla warfare *La Prensa's* circulation jumped in five years from 360,000 to 480,000, the greatest rate of growth in its history. And after the 20 per cent circulation cut was put in force in December, 1950, the newsstands were habitually sold out and block-long queues lined up in front of the paper's main office to get copies. It was clear at the turn of the year that *La Prensa* was growing in prestige and popularity and that attempts to intimidate it or weaken its voice were completely ineffectual. Perón decided that the time had come for decisive action.

TO SPEARHEAD the attack, he chose the *canillitas*, the Argentine newsboys who are employees of no single newspaper but work as independent buyers and sellers of all papers under conditions closely supervised by the government. Like other Buenos Aires papers, *La Prensa* was required to supply papers to newsboys at half the sale price and to make a small monthly contribution to the newsboys' union. In a communication dated January 23, 1951, the newsboys' union presented *La Prensa* with a demand for 20 per cent of all revenue from classified advertising and for cancelation of all subscription lists, making union newsboys the paper's sole means of distribution. It was quite clear that this was a political, not an economic, crisis; if the demands made were granted they would be followed by others, leading ultimately to the extinction of *La Prensa*.

In their capacity of simple buyers or independent distributors the newsboys could properly have boycotted the paper in the event of an economic dispute. There could be no question of a strike as they were in no sense employees. But on January 26, the day their note of January 23 was delivered, the newsboys' union, without any notice to its membership, called a "strike" with the backing of the General Confederation of Labor.

At eight o'clock that evening a delegate of the union went to the *Prensa* printing plant and urged the linotypists who were just beginning to set next morning's paper to walk out. The *Prensa* men indignantly escorted the delegate from the plant. Perón's henchmen who were directing the campaign, anticipating a similar reaction from the rest of the legitimate employees of the paper, quickly changed their tactics. By midnight the type was set and ready for the presses, but when the printers arrived for work, they found a score of armed hoodlums barring entrance to the plant.

A curious pattern developed. A federal conciliator stepped into the picture after several weeks, ostensibly to try to settle the differences between the newsboys' union and the management, but his stalling tactics soon became obvious. A committee formed by the newspaper's employees then wrote, wired, and finally met with Ministry of the Interior officials to explain that none of the actual employees of the paper were striking and to request police protection in their efforts to enter the printing plant. The police passed the buck to the Labor Department, which promptly shrugged off responsibility. Finally, on February 27, thirty-two days after the Peronista goons had been stationed at the printing plant, the employees announced that on the following day they were going back to work. Again telegrams were sent to Perón and the Ministers of Interior and Labor asking for police protection.

At two p. m. on February 27 nearly a thousand members of the editorial and press staffs started to walk the dozen blocks from the midtown office to the printing plant. Arriving in driblets, they found a squad of a dozen or so hoodlums still keeping guard at the plant. The first dozen workers entered the plant amid gun-flourishing, pushing, and epithet-hurling by the "pickets." A few eyes were blackened, but there was no real violence, and no shots were fired. Only after perhaps fifty staff members had shoved their way in did the goons realize that there was no way of stopping these unarmed but determined men short of violence. So when the next small group approached, it was met with a random burst of gunfire. When the smoke cleared, one *Prensa* worker lay dying in the street, shot over the heart, and a dozen others were wounded. Their furious companions pursued the killer to a nearby garage; there

a policeman appeared out of the blue in a matter of seconds and held the crowd at bay until a police car arrived and took the man away.

Although police headquarters for the area were only a block and a half from the newsplant, and although widespread publicity had been given to the return-to-work movement, not a single uniformed policeman was to be seen around the building for nearly half an hour after the shooting. Of course, the crowd was seeded with plain-clothes men. Several days later Basilio Serrano, legal counsel to the Ministry of Interior, in charge of all police forces, blandly told me that he had been on the spot observing the affair and making a report for the government.

After the shooting, the goons disappeared and the workers converged upon the plant in earnest. In another hour more than five hundred linotypists and printers were on the job, and by ten o'clock that evening the presses were nearly ready to start rolling. Just then, however, by direction of a local Peronist judge and the Chief of Police—it still is not clear who originated the order—police descended upon the plant and carted the five hundred workers off to jail on the suspicion of having murdered their fellow-employee—the fatal shot, it was claimed, might have come from their ranks. The plant was closed and padlocked by the police.

LA PRENSA is the antithesis of the American concept of a fanatical opposition paper, and no editor-publisher could be more different from the typical crusader-journalist pictured by Hollywood than the dignified, aristocratic Dr. Alberto Gainza Paz. By American standards *La Prensa* is a dull though sophisticated newspaper. Like the London *Times,* its front page and, in fact, the half-dozen succeeding pages are devoted to classified advertising. Far back in the paper is found the restrained, scrupulously objective, and thorough reporting of domestic and foreign events that has gained the paper the bitter enmity of Perón. *La Prensa* and *La Nación,* the latter still being sold on the streets, are the only two newspapers in Argentina not entirely dominated or controlled by Peronista interests. *La Prensa* alone did a complete foreign and domestic reporting job. It was the only paper in Argentina which reported accurately and fully the proceedings of the Perón-dominated national Congress. When the official *Congressional Record* was censored, *La Prensa* printed verbatim reports taken down in shorthand by its own men.

In no other paper was local news so complete and factual. When the railroad workers struck for the third time in January, 1951, and formed an independent "junta" in rebellion against their Peronista union leadership, Eva Perón stepped into the dispute and tried to use her influence to mediate the differences. Her appearances at union meetings, however, were greeted with boos and catcalls, and signs sprang up overnight reading "We Want Perón—as a Widower." *La Prensa's* faithful reporting of this strike—which seemed to mark the first crack in the dictator's solid labor support—was one of the things which finally drove Perón to violent action.

Another irritant was the fact that *La Prensa* was virtually the only unblocked conduit between Argentina and the outside world. Only in its pages could be found adequate coverage of foreign commentary on Argentine affairs, including excerpts from editorials in the North American, European, and Latin American press.



Señora Perón

Local observers have noted with interest that *La Nación,* with not nearly the financial resources or international reputation of *La Prensa,* has seen the handwriting on the wall and fears its own quick demise if the government succeeds in permanently silencing *La Prensa.* They have been moved by *La Nación's* courage in reporting the facts of its big brother's passing and the foreign commentary evoked. Its editor, the elderly Dr. Bartolome Mitre, told Mr. Miller that if his paper went down, it would be with all flags flying.

While there was a shadow of hope that *La Prensa* would be permitted to resume independent publication sometime, Dr. Gainza Paz kept the entire staff on the pay roll at a cost of $125,000 a month and maintained the paper in a constant state of preparedness to hit the streets on forty-eight hours' notice. He told me that the seventy-five-year-old tradition of *La Prensa* and his own convictions regarding the justice and decency of the Argentine people compelled him to believe that the return of a democratic free press was inevitable. One remembers his wistful remark last year when he received the Americas' Award for promoting closer inter-American relations: "There is something healthy and sound in a democratic system when the opposition has an equal chance to be listened to."

The fate of *La Prensa* will ultimately be decided by the tug of two conflicting forces—Perón's desire to be free of the paper's day-in, day-out criticism and his ambition to attain a place for Argentina in the family of nations. There has been no concrete expression of

public dissent—no student demonstration, the traditional Latin symptom of political unrest, no wall painted with the slogan "Viva *La Prensa,*" no banner raised, no picket line formed. Among the middle and well-to-do classes and intellectual groups many individuals are bitterly denunciatory of Perón and Peronism, but their opposition is totally unorganized.

Theoretically the coming Conference of Foreign Ministers of the American Republics could invoke economic sanctions against Argentina under the provisions of the Treaty of Chapultepec. But such action is not likely. Several governments sending representatives to the conference, including our own, have admitted that *La Prensa's* closing would not be on the agenda.

Discussion of any official, unilateral action by the United States on behalf of *La Prensa* was scrupulously avoided by Mr. Miller—who was disturbed only because public opinion in this country was making it impossible for our government to continue with "positive measures of cooperation with Argentina"—and will continue to be avoided like the plague by our officials. Any direct pressure would be viewed in Latin America as a return to the old policy of "Bradenism" and would be instantly exploited by the Peronista press, which is currently dripping venom on everything *Norte Americano.*

But the United States can easily apply several indirect pressures. Although we depend to a significant degree upon Argentinian foodstuffs, wool, beryl, and tungsten for our defense effort, Argentina, as was not the case a decade ago, is a great deal more dependent upon us. During the last war Argentina had Nazi and fascist friends with whom it could trade its raw materials for finished industrial products; it was a simple matter for it to play the Axis against the Allies and enjoy an advantageous trading position with both. Now Perón must look to the Western Allies to buy his products. And even more important, Argentina, while "dollar rich" from sales of its wool, meat, and wheat, is almost totally dependent on United States sources for tinplate in which to pack its beef and mutton, sulphur for its pharmaceutical industry and sanitation, and the vast array of farming, transportation, communications, and industrial equipment necessary to its economy.

The United States is thus in a position to exert a squeeze, official or unofficial, at various points. Whether or not anything like this will be done depends upon whether the State Department feels that such an approach would help *La Prensa* without creating resentment against Yankee highhandedness all over Latin America.

Perón today reigns in the worst traditions of *personalismo*—absolute rule based upon demogoguery and personal popularity with the masses—which has been the curse of Latin American politics for centuries. He alone will resolve the seemingly irreconcilable conflict between his desire to have the good-will and respect of his American neighbors, particularly of the United States, and his evident determination to carry Argentina farther down the road of totalitarianism by destroying the last vestiges of a free press.

The Year of the Three-Eyed Sloth

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles

I WAS bewailing the current dearth of good political stories—seldom has the volatile West Coast offered so little in the way of real political news—when my friend interrupted to suggest that we ought to follow the Japanese custom of recording time by the signs of the Chinese zodiac. For example, 1950, a time of danger and crisis, might be called the Year of the Wild Boar, and 1951, to mark the continuation of the crisis and the onset of a feeling of intense political frustration, the Year of the Three-Eyed Sloth.

Mention of a three-eyed monster immediately suggested the one new development in West Coast politics—the growing realization that the lack of political leadership is creating a major crisis. The lack itself, of course, is hardly news. The news is that the number of people who admit it is increasing rapidly. With little hope that a new political leader will appear on the horizon, these people now concede that only courageous group action can bring about the changes which the times demand. In other words, they have finally acknowledged that leadership is essentially a function of social groups.

This realization was hastened by the failure of the provocative statements of Herbert Hoover, Senator Taft, Joseph Kennedy, and, of all people, E. T. Weir, to touch off a real debate on foreign policy. Seeing this last hope vanish into thin air, various groups sent delegations to Washington to interview State Department officials and to talk with Senators and Representatives. On their return these delegates insisted that some means must be found to organize sentiment for "a third way."

West Coast liberals, of course, have long perceived that the two major parties were in substantial agreement

CAREY McWILLIAMS, is the author of "Witch Hunt: The Revival of Heresy" and other books.

on foreign policy, but they have continued to look for another Roosevelt to make things easy for them. They have been excited every time Justice Douglas has made a speech or published an article, but the excitement has soon subsided; Justice Douglas has a remarkable faculty for never quite bringing himself to say what his most ardent admirers want him to say—take his contribution to *Look*. James P. Warburg's pamphlets and articles have been greeted with similar eagerness, but nothing seems to happen after their appearance. During the last eight months I have been hurriedly summoned to many meetings of liberals called to discuss the successive crises, but after long-distance calls to Robert M. Hutchins and other favored messiahs, the conferences have ended on a note of complete frustration. In most cases, as a matter of fact, the long-distance communing has revealed that the "leader" was not only reluctant to lead but as baffled about what to do as the rank and file at the other end of the line.

The appalling lack of activity in purely local politics is one sign of the dearth of leadership. Consider, for example, the coming municipal elections in Los Angeles. Most of the incumbent city councilmen are extremely vulnerable because of their part in the débâcle of rent decontrol, but no organized opposition exists and they will probably be reelected without a struggle. The members of the Board of Education are vulnerable on a dozen counts, but few upsets are expected. This disinterest in local politics is primarily due to the absence of a real opposition in national politics. It seems rather silly to organize campaigns against city councilmen and school-board members when one has no opportunity to record one's opinion, in any significant way, on issues of life-and-death importance. On every issue there is an "official" view, and to challenge this official view—even on the subject of garbage collection—is to risk being denounced as a red.

AS MORE and more people feel silenced—that is, unrepresented—the situation becomes graver. Indeed, the need for leadership is now critical precisely because a large body of opinion has been denied a chance to express its dissent from the "official" policy or to have this dissent reported in the press or discussed on the radio. The apparent unanimity with which the "official" policy is supported derives from two factors—the denial of representation through the pending collapse of the two-party system, and the application of pressures which have not only silenced dissent but foreclosed any consideration of possible alternatives.

Evidence that a large body of opinion is now denied representation in Congress can be found in the newspapers. For example, the Denver *Post* of January 23 reported that Senators from New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana were receiving an "extremely heavy" flood of letters. The office of Senator Murray of Montana announces that the letter writers are lined up one hundred to one against the draft of eighteen-year-olds. The ratio of these who say this country should withdraw its troops from Korea to those who want to keep them there, this same office declares, is about fifty to one. The office of Senator Johnson of Colorado reports a clear preponderance of letters "opposed to the whole Korean idea," and so it goes. The size of this unrepresented block calls aloud for a leader.

That the denial of representation is due in part to the lack of a real opposition is confirmed by Walter Lippmann's observation that Secretary of State Acheson's political enemies set the pace for him. The same idea was expressed by Jean-Paul Sartre in *The Nation* of December 30. From the distance of Paris, Sartre was able to see quite clearly that the Administration had been "driven into applying a sort of exaggerated Republican policy." We do not have a bi-partisan policy today; we have an official policy. To be sure, unorganized political sentiment is not without some effect, but an organized opposition is what is needed. In its absence, debate is replaced by a competition in demagoguery.

The international crisis may have precipitated but it did not cause the present crisis in political leadership. This crisis stems from the concentration of economic power in a few hands in the United States. It is unfortunate that the interim report of the Buchanan Lobbying Committee, issued on October 20, as well as the excellent September report of the American Political Science Association, "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System," had to compete with the Korean headlines. For these two documents demonstrate with great clarity the extent to which representative government and the two-party system are endangered.

If the present vacuum in political leadership is not filled, the trend toward a one-party government may soon bring the United States within the McCarran act's definition of a totalitarian state. That more and more liberals recognize this danger is a good omen. An even better omen is the fact that liberal groups are beginning to understand that only through their own efforts can new political forces be set in motion.

Among West Coast liberals the question is not what to do, but how to do it; there is more general agreement than there has been at any time in the last three years that a genuine opposition must be organized. Writing "letters to the editor," interviewing Congressmen who confess that they are prisoners of the current demagoguery, and signing petitions destined to end up in the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities have come to be regarded as rather inadequate substitutes for direct political expression of opinion. Although it may not be audible in Washington, the volume of protest is increasing and the demand for new leadership growing.

Essays and Asides

INTERLINGUA IS A FACT

BY ALBERT GUERARD

THE international-language problem was not invented by crackpots. It is a plain fact, and has to be solved, in a more or less haphazard fashion, at every international gathering. The United Nations admits five official languages. But the list cannot be closed. It is obvious that German, Italian, Portuguese, Japanese, Hindu-Urdu, Arabic, Malay, cannot indefinitely be treated as negligible dialects. The system of simultaneous translations, with selective audiphones, is a clever, costly, and clumsy makeshift. Language, I hasten to say, is not the worst obstacle to world unity: ideological fanaticism, "My way of life, right or wrong!" is responsible for abysmal waste and murder on the epic scale. But both as an instrument and as a symbol of world understanding the linguistic problem cannot be overlooked.

Centuries ago philosophers like Descartes and Leibnitz explored the possibility of a more accurate instrument of thought, at a time when there were actual international languages, Latin and French. With the increase of linguistic nationalism the problem has grown more acute. Monsignor Schleyer's Volapük was the first scheme to be practically used: there were international congresses and periodicals in Volapük. For three generations Esperanto has provided a triumphant refutation to many a priori objections. It has proved that people from all parts of the world could learn the language by themselves, come together, and understand one another. It has proved that a "manufactured" language was adequate, not merely for simple business, but for the accurate presentation of scientific and philosophical subjects. It has proved that unity could be maintained in space and time: the Esperanto of today is the same in all countries, and the same as half a century ago.

Esperanto is a demonstration. It is an acceptable solution. It is not the only one. Interlinguistics is a science, and no science springs full armed from the brains of a single genius, whether his name be Marx or Zamenhof. Already the Italian mathematician and logician Peano, in the *Discussiones* of his *Academia pro Interlingua,* had provided a forum for investigation and experimentation. The International Auxiliary Language Association (IALA) finally made the foundations of interlinguistics secure. (It owed its inception to Dr. Frederick Cottrell, and its growth to the devotion and generosity of Mr. and Mrs. Dave Hennen Morris.) Only the ignorant, and those who deliberately choose to ignore, can smile at interlinguistics as a hobby for half-educated dreamers. Thorough scholars—Jespersen, Meillet, Sapir, Vendryès—have whole-heartedly indorsed the idea. The result is before us, a dictionary of 27,000 words, in the form found most practicable for international use.*

Nearly all modern auxiliary languages start from this common hoard, already ably explored by Peano. But Schleyer altered the international terms beyond recognition—would you guess that "Volapük" comes from "world speech"? Zamenhof was not free from ruthlessness. Peano clung to the pure Latin form. Rosenberg, Molenaar, de Wahl, Jespersen, Heimer, more cautious, were still guided by their individual taste. Here, after the labor of a competent staff over many years, we have at least the basis for a reasonable choice. The solution is not automatic: I still prefer Peano's methods and results. But the range of dissent has been so reduced as to become immaterial. Interlingua is already a fact; all the various schemes are but its variants. As soon as the need is recognized by a competent authority—perhaps UNESCO—standardization and permanency will immediately follow.

This Interlingua is frankly a Western language. Furthermore, it is a Latin language. It ignores the billion men who live in Asia. This, at the present stage, is inevitable. We are dealing with an *international* situation. Even if all Chinamen spoke the Mandarin dialect and adopted a phonetic alphabet, Chinese today would count for little in the international field. What I mean is that the number of people, not Chinese, who speak Chinese as a second language is narrowly limited—far smaller than the number of those who speak, again *as a second language*, either English or French.

A *lingua franca* that would attempt some arrangement of proportional representation between Chinese, Hindi, Urdu, Russian, German, English, and so on would be totally unintelligible to all. On the contrary, Interlingua is at present accessible, almost at first sight, to anyone, Asiatic or European, who knows as a first or second language Latin, or English, or any one of the Romance languages. These people—Nehru, Lin Yutang, Ho Chi Minh, Madame Chiang among them—form but a small proportion of mankind, but they are a majority among those who are active in the international sphere: priests, diplomats, scientists, doctors, engineers.

There always is an objection in reserve: why not English?—or, to follow Mencken, why not American? In this problem the intrinsic merits and faults of the language are almost irrelevant. On the credit side: a matchless vocabulary, so hybrid that it can absorb words of any origin; utmost brevity of form: compare *tug* with *remolcador*; extreme simplicity of syntax. Debit: a perverse spelling; a capricious accentuation; unaccented syllables a blur; vocalic sounds like nothing else on earth; and worst of all, for our special purpose, a riotous wealth of idiomatic phrases, terse and picturesque, but bewildering to the lesser breeds. And the slightest deviation from the norm is enough to make a whole sentence unintelligible. Halting

* "Interlingua-English." A Dictionary of the International Language Prepared by the Research Staff of the International Auxiliary Language Association under the Direction of Alexander Gode. Storm Publishers. $5.

French, spoken slowly, remains lucid; faulty English is hopeless.

But the decisive argument against English has been stated with incomparable authority by I. A. Richards: "It [a common language] must be clear from any threat to the economic, moral, cultural, social, or political status or independence of any person or any people. It must carry no implication of intellectual, technological, or other domination. No one, in learning the world language, must have any excuse for feeling that he is submitting to an alien influence, or being brought under the power of some other group." Luminous realism. The world is rebelling against imperialism, supremacy, hegemony. Many might prefer our leadership today to that of the only other contender; but it would be only as a lesser evil. A free world spurns the idea of satellites. We must renounce linguistic imperialism as well as dollar imperialism. If civilization is to be saved, we must make this not "the American century" but the century of humanity.

A Lonely Life

HIS EYE IS ON THE SPARROW. An Autobiography by Ethel Waters with Charles Samuels. Doubleday and Company. $3.

IT IS possible that "His Eye Is on the Sparrow" would have achieved stature if the stark story of Ethel Waters's conception, delivery, neglect, and career had been told by someone other than a well-known singer and actress a little too anxious to write an apology for a lonely, tormented life. In one big, long mouthful of prose Miss Waters here sets out to reconcile love and hate, God and violence, charity and neglect, vanity and modesty. Others have set themselves the same task and crumbled in the attempt. One, an English poet, strove to justify the ways of God to men, and ended up with a fascinating Satan.

This is not to say that Miss Waters and Mr. Samuels are up to John Milton, although there are moments of such epic inconsistency that I am inclined to say they almost make it. Some episodes are related with honesty; others are framed in unbecomingly fancy and theatrical lace curtains.

In one of his short stories William Faulkner remarked that man's experience could be contained in the sentence "He was born, he suffered, and he died." With Ethel Waters experience begins at conception; at twelve years her mother was raped at knife point in a suburb of Philadelphia. She was born of this union. Through childhood she moved from back alley to back alley. Her mother rejected her, and various alcoholic aunts were present as she grew.

It was hardly an upbringing, and this part of the story is well told. It is also told with consciousness of the criticism of a social structure that such a bloody documentary implies. "In her whole life Mom never earned more than five or six dollars a week. Being without a husband, it was hard for her to find any place at all for us to live, a place she could afford. And even then she never got a chance to live with my aunts and me, could only visit us on her day off."

When she was six, her family moved into a home on Clifton Street, Philadelphia, "in the old Bloody Eighth Ward." While going on from six to seven, Ethel Waters learned about bichloride of mercury, larkspur, blue ointment, cocaine, morphine, and heroin. She knew all about sex, too, but had decided by then she didn't like it; she hated men but grew to love the prostitutes who paraded up and down Clifton Street in "cork-heeled shoes, a black velvet neckband, and big whores' hoop earrings."

The chronicle continues in this way through a lurid assortment of exposures to vice and degeneration; it is at times blithe and easy-going, at others somber and parochial. Then Miss Waters drifts into cabaret singing and vaudeville. Billed as "Sweet Mama Stringbean," she toured the fly-specked, roach-ridden circuit of Negro entertainment houses, and encountered more than any human being's allotment of misery and travail along the way. She tells about a hospital at Anniston, Alabama: "Putting a rubber hose on my right leg, he let boiling water run into the wound, over the raw flesh, cut muscles, and tendons. . . . When I screamed he told me: 'You needn't holler, gal. This is what all you niggers should get when you wreck white people's cars.'"

Ethel Waters did, somehow, become a singer and a distinguished actress, and it is interesting to see her own story change her point of view as she recounts it. "The college boys who were learning to be doctors and lawyers gave me a pain," she says at an early point in her vaudeville career. "But then, all my life I've been prejudiced against wealthy people. No one has ever been able to convince me that Park Avenue folks are as good as my Tenth Avenue friends." Quite a few years later, in New York, she tells us about someone who was "a nice girl, too, refined and very well educated." Later still, perhaps with more understanding, she writes sympathetically of her friend Carl Van Vechten: "He was rich, but that hadn't got him down." Still later, we get, "I have always lived simply. But I do like my comfort, and I have fur coats, jewelry, and big, beautiful cars. But the main reason I have for buying such extravagant objects is

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE **USSR**

Just Arrived! P. PAVLENKO

HAPPINESS Stalin Prize Novel

In English — 595 pp. — $1.25

Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts

Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals

Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-5058

Sherwood Anderson
His Life and Work
by JAMES SCHEVILL



Photos Alfred Stieglitz

JAMES SCHEVILL finds the clue to the American artist's life and the backbone of Anderson's work in the central conflict of reality and imagination. Life, for the author of *Winesburg, Ohio*, was the Great Adventure. Out of the agony and triumph of that exploration has come the initial biography of an impressive figure in American letters.

$4.00 *At your bookseller's*

THE UNIVERSITY OF DENVER **Press**

University Park, Denver 10, Colorado

because a Broadway star cannot dress like a waif or ride in the subway."

There are many other parts of the book that have this more or less familiar theatrical ring, and these are the ones that unfortunately detract from the validity of Miss Waters's bits of straight narration. In handling her contemporaries Miss Waters also goes in for the same sort of "backbiting" she complains about in others. The formula is a trite one in show business and usually goes this way: "Florence Mills was vivacious, a cutie, and a whirlwind when it came to selling a song and dance. But she had a small voice. They had been using a choir around her to get volume."

Many of Miss Waters's theatrical friends are stamped with this same matrix of diminishing appreciation. She is most unfair of all to three persons whose ability almost no one else would care to challenge; the blues singers Ma Rainey and Bessie Smith, and a former music instructor, Fletcher Henderson. "The funny part is that lately Fletcher Henderson, from playing the music I make him imitate, is once again becoming identified and well known for this sort of music instead of his own." This is a statement that overlooks the fact that Fletcher Henderson is an outstandingly capable arranger of music; that his orchestra was one of the great jazz bands of the 1920's; that his arrangements for Benny Goodman were potent contributions to that orchestra's interesting brand of music.

Perhaps the cue to Ethel Waters's difficulties with others is something she has, after all, been frank enough to tell us about in her book. "Being a child of the underworld," she says, "the Jekyll-and-Hyde character of my boy friend fascinated me more than it shocked me." And elsewhere: "My devotion to the spiritual side of life did not dent or alter my basically Jekyll-and-Hyde character." This could almost pass as the understatement of this season when we read, on page 192, of Miss Waters's way with a rival in love: "Then I started for her. I gave her one of my short, hard lefts to the chops, then dragged her into the ladies' room. I locked the door, then just beat the living hell out of her."

It's pretty rude prose for a book using the title of a sentimental revival hymn, and a pretty lonely way for even a waif like Miss Waters to live.

FREDERIC RAMSEY, JR.

STOP SAYING THAT TRAVEL IS TOO EXPENSIVE

Passenger-carrying freighters are the secret to low-cost travel.

Yes, for no more than you'd spend at a resort, [illegible] take a never-to-be-forgotten cruise to Rio and Buenos Aires. Or through the Canal to either New York or California. Or to the West Indies or along the St. Lawrence River to French Canada. In fact, trips to almost everywhere are within your means.

And what accommodations you get: large rooms with beds (not bunks), probably a private bath, lots of good food and plenty of relaxation as you speed from port to port.

Depending upon how fast you want to go, a round the world cruise can be yours for as little as $250-$300 a month. And there are shorter trips. Fast uncrowded voyages to England, France, the Mediterranean; two- or three-week vacation up and down the Pacific Coast or from New York to New Orleans. Name the port and the chances are you can find it listed in "Travel Around the World."

This is the book that names the lines, tells where they go, how much they charge, briefly describes accommodations. Hundreds of thousands of travelers all over the world swear by it. Travel editors and travel writers say "To learn how to travel for as little as you'd spend at a resort, get 'Travel Routes Around the World.'"

The big 1951 edition is yours for $1, and your dollar also brings you two priceless reports:

1. FREIGHTER LIFE: What vagabond voyaging is all about. What the ships are like, who sails on them, what you eat, etc. Plenty of photos.
2. LANDS IN THE SUN. Where to stay awhile—even retire—in the West Indies, Mexico, Guatemala, and other lands to the south where the dollar buys a lot more..

A big $1 worth. Send for your copies of all 3 guides now. On a sheet of paper, print name and address, write "Send 3 travel guides" and mail with $1 bill to Harian Publications, 58 Parkway, Greenlawn, New York.

Power Is Not Old-fashioned

THE PURSUIT OF PLENTY: THE STORY OF MAN'S EXPANDING DOMAIN. By A. G. Mezerik. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

IN THIS readable and often eloquent essay A. G. Mezerik exposes the basic fallacies of certain neo-Malthusians whose frightening dissertations have contributed so substantially to popular anxiety about the future. Preoccupied with the pressure of population on resources, the neo-Malthusians, he says, are usually opposed to the very measures which might increase resources and by improving living standards ultimately reduce birth rates. Having taken care of the neo-Malthusians, Mr. Mezerik proceeds to draw up an attractive and convincing prospectus for a society founded on the economics of abundance. In his zeal for the future, however, he minimizes the political problem by the use of a clever but mildly misleading semantic device.

The issue, he says, is between the men with "old-fashioned" ideas and the men with "modern ideas"; between "the apostles of yesterday" and the "men of the future." It is, of course, important to understand the behavior of these "apostles of yesterday," to see behind the words they use. But recognition of their motivations does not dispose of the problem of power. Mr. Mezerik would rate James Byers Black, the highly efficient president of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, an "old-fashioned mind" because of his stubborn opposition to certain features of the Central Valley project; but it would never occur to me to call him "old-fashioned," although I could easily think of many more colorful epithets. While Mr. Mezerik's comments on the politics of power are acute, he tends to blink the fact that the Blacks of our society have more compelling reasons for holding fast to privilege than their "old-fashioned" ideas. Nevertheless, this book is an important primer of the future which should be read by persons concerned with bringing the politics of an age of power abreast of modern science and technology.

Merely as a footnote: the Central Valley is the San Joaquin Valley and is not in Southern California; the northern boundary of Southern California is the Tehachapi Range. This may seem a small matter to Mr. Mezerik, but men smile when they hear such slips in Southern California.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

Books in Brief

WE OF NAGASAKI. By Takashi Nagai. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $2.75. These are the first-person recollections of events during and immediately after the atomic bombing of Nagasaki. The accounts of eight survivors, friends and relatives of Dr. Nagai, who collected them, are, taken by themselves, extraordinarily simple, faithful, and moving. Dr. Nagai believes they point a warning against the frivolous use of the atomic bomb because of the spiritual wreckage it leaves behind. "In personal bonds . . . invisible cracks have appeared. . . . Those who survived . . .

were the people who ignored their friends crying *in extremis.*" But is the atomic bomb the specific cause of this? Had Dr. Nagai lived in Tokyo, would he not have warned against incendiary bombs, which there killed more people than were killed in Nagasaki? Are the guilt feelings of these survivors, all Christians in one of Japan's few Christian communities, representative? Why do none of them recollect feeling animosity against the destroyers? Is that because the narratives, vivid and perceptive though they are, were collected four years after the event?

WARRIOR WITHOUT WEAPONS. By Dr. Marcel Junod. Macmillan. $4. A Swiss surgeon describes his experiences during ten years of work for the International Red Cross in Abyssinia, Spain, and during the Second World War. An honest, run-of-the-mill account that is in equal measure inspiring for what the author did and depressing for what he saw.

THE PROLOGUES AND EPILOGUES OF JOHN DRYDEN. A Critical Edition. By William Bradford Gardner. Columbia. $4.50. Like Shaw's prefaces, Dryden's prologues and epilogues are sometimes better than the plays. In his own time they were so much admired that he was often employed to provide them for works other than his own, and it was in part by writing them that he perfected the couplet which he passed on to Pope. There are 102 in all; some are routine, but some are among the most accomplished things he ever wrote; and this is the first time that they have ever been edited as a separate volume. The spelling has been modernized, but texts have been collated and fairly elaborate notes are printed at the end, where they are accessible without being intrusive. Largish type makes for easy reading—couplets should never, never be crowded—and this is probably the best form in which either to reread or to make acquaintance with a curious department of literature worth knowing. The taste of the time being what it was, the wit is sometimes rather monotonously naughty, but it is real and accomplished nevertheless. Number 16, "Prologue to 'An Evening's Love,'" is as elaborate a texture of cumulative *double entendre* as could well be found. A printable specimen from another epilogue has this comment addressed to the gallants who marry their mistresses: "For him that weds a puss, who kept her first / I say but little, but I doubt the worst: / The wife that was a cat may mind her house, / And prove an honest, and a careful spouse; / But faith I would not trust her with a mouse."

Drama Note

"THE GREEN PASTURES" (Broadway Theater) are still bright and beautiful, but their verdure, I feel, has lost some of the freshness that delighted playgoers twenty years ago. One reason, perhaps, is the change in both Negro and white attitudes since 1930. Marc Connelly miraculously avoided patronage; yet his dramatic fable was based on a friendly stereotype of the Negro race which emphasized the contrast between its sweet naivete and gay innocence and the drab sophistication of urban whites.

In the last two decades the Negro people have grown in stature and are now steadily forcing their fellow-citizens to accept them as adults, some good, some bad, rather than as charming children. Thus we view this picture of a Sunday-school heaven with its fish fries and ten-cent cigars, this folk version of the tribulations of the people of Israel, through clearer lenses, and in the sharper vision some of the enchantment is lost.

All the same there are enough delights in this sumptuous revival to make it worthy of any theater-lover's attention. The singing by the Hall-Johnson choir is splendid; the sets by Robert Edmond Jones have a beautiful simplicity; the direction by the author is usually impeccable, although he has allowed the last two or three scenes to drag.

Outstanding among the actors is William Marshall, a worthy successor to the late Richard B. Harrison in the role of the Lawd. He is a tall, broad-shouldered man who wears his long black preacher's coat with impressive dignity; his voice has both range and richness. Mostly he is a humble, tender, rather puzzled God, but in the Babylonian night club he delivers his denunciation of the children of Israel with terrifying effect. Nearly all the other members of the immense cast are first-rate, but special mention must be made of Ossie Davis as Gabriel and Avon Long in a number of parts, including notably that of the King of Babylon.

One accidentally topical line brought down the house. It was when the Lawd asked Noah what had gone wrong on earth and received the reply: "It seems the whole district is wide open."

K. H.

DO YOU WANT TO KNOW?

What the Communist & Workers Parties in Eastern and Western Europe, in China and in all other countries say about these countries? About current and international questions? About peace? About the everyday life and activity of the working people of these countries?

The **FOR A LASTING PEACE, FOR A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY**, weekly published in Bucharest in English and in 15 other languages deals with social and political questions, art and literature. AIR-MAIL subscription for one year is $3.25.

PEOPLE'S CHINA—Semi-monthly. Peking. English. Year sub. $3.50
SOVIET UNION—Monthly. Moscow. English. Year sub. $2.50
Panorama of life of peoples in the Soviet Union. Multicolor. 40 pp.

Payment to accompany all subscriptions. Price for single copies and bundle orders mailed upon request.

DO YOU WANT single copies of:

The **New Statesman & Nation** from England? **United Nations World Economic Report**? Puffin picture books for children?

Save time and expense.
Send your orders to us for ANY foreign publication or book

Our catalog of **Handicraft Products** from a number of countries will be ready soon. We now have on hand pure linen tablecloths in various colors and sizes, guest and kitchen towels from the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia; pure Irish linen pillow cases and handkerchiefs. Send for our price list.

IMPORTED PUBLICATIONS & PRODUCTS
Margaret Krumbein, Manager
22 EAST 17th STREET, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.
ALgonquin 5-7559 • Room 1525

Films

MANNY FARBER

"FOURTEEN HOURS," based on Joel Sayre's story of a hesitant young suicide (Basehart) whom a persuasive cop (Douglas) tries to talk in from a Fifth Avenue ledge, teeters between life and death before falling flat on its celluloid face. The least of the film's faults are flaws of authenticity, many having to do with New York cops, who call each other "flatfoot," wear the same shiny uniform whether on emergency or traffic patrol, and locate stray citizens all over Long Island with weird technological methods. The "poor loony's" last act (reconstruction of John Warde's leap from the Gotham Hotel in 1938) is padded with so much contrived wit, mush, camera gymnastics, and self-conscious "natural" acting that it seems to be a hapless toying with facts by semi-documentarists building a case against suicide.

To start with, the film was not directed by an artistic genius but by Henry Hathaway, usually a sound journeyman on not quite factual suspense films ("The House on 92d Street"). He believes in gleaning characterization from pantomime, visual detail, realistic décor, so that his scenes seem to pull at one's eyeball; these are like a huge kaleidoscope made of splintered bits of New York. The views are beautifully varied to give the effect of a thousand eyes watching the ledge incident from all levels of a skyscraper scene. Part of the fun happens because he dares things with a camera that are considered frivolous by soul-searching directors—like the prolonged shot of the jumper's cigarette floating down to the crowd.

Hathaway has removed some of Barbara Bel Geddes's custardy sweetness, pushed Agnes Moorehead so fast she hardly has time to mug, rid Robert Keith of some flexibility, so that he is just about right as the dull, ineffectual Middle European father. However, the director is not nearly good enough with actors—in conveying the boy's abnormalities, or showing some degree of the "stinking life . . . rat-race" that drives Basehart out the window.

Of all the people who reason with him, the boy's mother (Moorehead) projects the most credible ugliness, but she has done her type of morbid hysteria so often before that it is hard to associate her with this particular trouble. Basehart seems totally confused by his role, either over-acting pathologically or simply standing in his nook like a neat, misplaced actor waiting for direction. After two hours he is no more convincing than in the first moment with the hotel waiter (Frank Faylen), in which Faylen tries to act a bit part into the Academy Award league and Basehart twitches out messages from his subconscious.

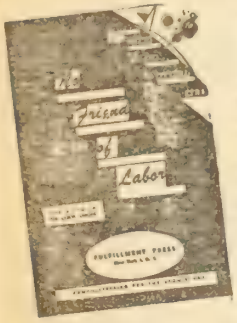
This spellbinder script by John Paxton is crammed with tricks and messages the size of dinosaur bones. The seven-point story is cleverly composed to put legs on a one-locale movie. While Douglas coaxes Basehart with conversation—baseball, fishing, picnics—dear to every "human" script, the camera dallies among hotel and sidewalk spectators and adjacent buildings, picking up six subplots that explain why the guy is contemplating suicide. Somehow these distracting vignettes only indicate the studio's realization that the morbid subject is mighty hard to tilt into a plea for better living. The patchwork continuity first pounces on a sidewalk romance played on the level of "the flowers, how sweetly they bloom." Then a cabbies' betting pool on the hour Basehart will jump tries to define cynical existence, but gives way to twinges of conscience almost before it is under way. A woman in the throes of a divorce suit sees the would-be suicide and changes her mind. Finally, the psychiatrist's explanation of the family's destructive role in Basehart's life pushes the suicide even farther out of the film.

The man on the ledge appears to be there for the visual image he offers to movie cameras; he is pinpointed dramatically against gray city-scape with the teetering, wall-hugging, tic-like movements that lead to a pre-climactic fall. His ordeal, made to order for the Special Photographic Effects department, is glimpsed with every lens maneuver and camera gimmick, and cast from every reflection known to trick cinema. The petulant blonde struggles with divorce attorneys and the window pane reflects the ledge incident; a TV room shows Basehart on six small screens; the final shot is seen in a bedroom mirror. These precious compositions produce the effect of a guy already wounded by existence being cornered by an indomitable camera man. After a few reels his actual situation is so confused by the machine-gun volleys of still-life compositions that one feels he has been inclosed in a coffin by the photography long before he decides whether or not to jump.

FREE in quantities to Labor Unions or to Anti-ACTU factions.

NO FRIEND OF LABOR

EXPOSE OF THE ASSOCIATION OF CATHOLIC TRADE UNIONISTS



In church-ridden Catholic countries (Portugual, Spain, Italy, etc.) poverty is and always has been most widespread, standards of living lowest, literacy and illegitimacy highest.

In countries where its control has been undisputed, the Catholic Church has made no move towards improving the lot of the underprivileged.

These realities stand in glaring contrast to the Catholic Church's lip-service, to the cause of the poor.

For the real uncensored background of labor's tragedy read

"NO FRIEND OF LABOR"

by JAMES MORTON FREEMAN

32 pages of startling and fully documented facts.

Shipped Express Collect
in units of 400 copies

Send request on Union stationery, or supply a sample of literature distributed by faction making request. Advise number of copies of pamphlet desired. Sample on request.

MAX CARASSO
P. O. Box 994, G. P. O.
New York 1, N. Y.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

TO SATISFY my interest on the point I went to a New Friends of Music concert to hear the Budapest Quartet play the two Haydn quartets which it played also at the Y. M. H. A., and found that the sound of the entire group and of the first violin in particular did have more sensuous beauty in Town Hall than at the Y. where the over-all sound was dry and Roisman's tone was wiry in *forte*. But as I recall it the sound years ago was beautiful also at the Y, and even more beautiful than

now in Town Hall. (Incidentally I found a smaller audience at the New Friends concert and a different one—to judge from the quieter and more relaxed atmosphere, which made the concert more enjoyable than those of earlier years.)

A Columbia record offers a recent Budapest Quartet performance of Mozart's K.387 and an LP version of the performance of K.421 issued some years ago. K.387 comes off the record with the almost harshly sharp distinctness of present-day Columbia recording that sharpens the edge on Roisman's tone; the more agreeable sound of the first movement of K.421 represents not only the different recording of ten years ago but, I think, the better playing of the group with Roisman in good form and Alexander Schneider as second violin; the less agreeable sound in subsequent movements and occasional distortion I take to represent defects in the original older recording or in its present dubbing. Apart from sound the performance of K.387 is less fluid and sensitive than the Calvet version (Capitol); and power is the outstanding characteristic of the Budapest performance of K. 421, as against the elegance and grace of the Hungarian Quartet version (Victor).

Other great works of Mozart issued on records include:

String Quartets K.458 ("Hunt") and 465, played by the Kroll Quartet without grace—the first and last movements of K.465 without animation—the violin sound sharp (Allegro).

String Quiptet K.516 in G minor, excellently played by the Griller Quartet—the surface crackling and swishing occasionally, and a noisy resonance on side 2 (London).

String Quintet K.614, well played by the Vienna Konzerthaus Quintet. On the same record the Quintet K.452 for piano and winds, a less interesting work with a fine slow movement, played well by a Vienna Philharmonic wind group but with less grace than by the French group on Mercury, and reproduced with more brilliant sound but less clear texture (Westminster).

Quintet K.581 for clarinet and strings, beautifully played by Sidney Forrest and the Galimir Quartet—the bass weak, violins sharp (Lyrichord).

Sonata K.526 for violin and piano; also Sonata K.454, which has a fine slow movement but less interesting first and last movements. Both slow movements are beautifully played; but breathlessly fast tempos which result in brilliance in the other movements of K.526 contribute to a brutal treatment of those of K.454. The pitch drops on each side; the violin sound is sharp; surfaces are gritty (Allegro).

Also these fine works:

Quartet K.370 for oboe and strings, beautifully played by a Viennese group. On the same record the Divertimento K. App. 229 for two clarinets and bassoon, most of it quite charming, and the moderately engaging Quartet K. 285 for flute and strings, also well played by Viennese musicians. The pitch of all these is almost a half-tone too high (Westminster).

Trio K.498 for clarinet, viola, and piano, played by Sidney Forrest, Carlton Cooley, and Erno Balogh. A performance surprisingly (in view of Forrest's and Cooley's participation) without life and creating none in the music. On the same record a better performance of Brahms's Trio Opus 114 for clarinet, cello, and piano by Forrest, Bernard Greenhouse, and Balogh (Lyrichord).

Serenades K.375 and 388 for winds, played by a group from the Vienna Philharmonic. Marvelous writing for the instruments, and the brilliant K.375 has breathtaking details that are pointed up by the superb playing; but K.388, in C minor, has a power which I think is better realized in the string quintet version K.406. A few noises (Westminster).

Divertimento K.334 for strings and horns, a charming work with wonderful details in the beautiful variation-writing of the second movement, superbly played by a Viennese group. Again a resonance that is noisy on the second side (London).

For the rest, two fine Haydn quartets—Opus 64 No. 6 and Opus 76 No. 5—are played well by the Vienna Konzerthaus Quartet (Westminster). And the great Goldberg-Kraus-Pini performances of his Trios Nos. 2, 3, and 5 have been dubbed on Decca LP's from the Parlophone 78's with quite satisfactory sound and occasional noisy defects that are not too bad. The fourth side has the wonderful Andante and Variations in F minor for piano, badly played by Kraus.

Of Bach there is the charming Suite No. 2 for flute and strings, with fine playing in occasionally stodgy tempos by the Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra under Münchinger (London).

And of Handel six of the Sonatas for violin and figured bass, recorded for Columbia by Alexander Schneider with Ralph Kirkpatrick and Frank Miller. Two—the best-known No. 13 in D, and No. 15 in E—are very fine; the others I find less interesting. They are well performed (the harpsichord can be heard most of the time!), except that in Nos. 13 and 15 Schneider doesn't sound to me absolutely on pitch a few times; but in these two his tone doesn't come off the record coarse and split as it does in the others.

Goldberg's excellent performance of No. 13 is dubbed on a Decca LP from the Parlophone 78's, with the uninteresting Haydn Violin Concerto in C. Sound good; surfaces noisy.

COUNTERATTACK
Against the Insanity of a Price War
40% off List Price—200 L. P. Records
50% off List Price—107 L. P. Records
Send 10¢ and self-addressed, stamped envelope for list.
LES DISCOPHILES, 1079 Lexington Ave., N.Y.C.
Hours 12 noon-10 p.m. daily REgent 7-8334

25% Less than List on LP Records
Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:
DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB
DEPT. N-19
Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.
Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges (50¢ minimum). SAME-DAY SHIPMENT

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN
MARY MARTIN
RAY MIDDLETON
IN
South Pacific
Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from [illegible] A. [illegible]'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with [illegible] McCORMICK
MAJESTIC Thea., 44 St. W. of B'way
Evenings 8:30 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

CONTRIBUTORS

ALBERT GUERARD, professor emeritus of comparative and general literature at Stanford University, is now lecturing at Brandeis University.

FREDERIC RAMSEY, JR., is joint author and editor of three books on American jazz music. He reviews music regularly for *Charm*.

CAREY McWILLIAMS, staff contributor to *The Nation*, is the author of "Witch Hunt: The Revival of Heresy," "A Mask for Privilege: Anti-Semitism in America," "Southern California Country," and other books.

ADULT EDUCATION

AFTERNOON CLASSES FOR WOMEN
U. N. and World Peace
Plays of Shakespeare
Parliamentary Procedure
For Information
RAND SCHOOL, 7 E. 15 St., N. Y. C. AL 5-6250

FINANCING

FINANCING—
We will provide temporary or permanent financing of $500,000.00 or upwards for large, established industrial enterprises.
L. N. Rosenbaum & Son
Financing & Reorganizations
565 Fifth Avenue
New York 17

PUBLISHING SERVICE

WRITERS!—Book mss. wanted for publication, fiction, non-fiction. Free booklet. Write today! Daniel S. Mead Literary Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. C. 16.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, $5.00.

TYPING SERVICE

MANUSCRIPT TYPING, theses, medical articles. Speed, intelligence, economy. AMBASSADOR OFFICE SERVICE, 17 East 48th Street. PLaza 5-1127.

PERSONALS

DON'T FORGET BIRTHDAYS, ANNIVERSARIES. Send dates, events, our notices insure remembrance. 15 dates, $2. LITTLE STRING REMINDER SERVICE, Box 6253, West Palm Beach, Fla.

Classified Advertising Rates

74¢ A LINE (SIX WORDS)
Minimum three lines
Box No. counted as three words
Remittance must accompany all orders
THE NATION
20 Vesey St. ▪ New York City 7 ▪ BA 7-1066

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

A. W. Replies

Dear Sirs: When I commented on André Gide in the issue of March 10 I did not speak of the attitude of *all* Frenchmen to Gide; nor did I speak of the Communists. I referred especially to a great number of writers of the younger generation and produced as convincing evidence of their dislike of Gide the almost uniformly hostile referendum run by *Combat* two years ago. The Communists are hostile to Gide partly, though not solely, for the specific reasons mentioned by Mr. O'Brien [in the correspondence columns of March 25]. But there are other far more vitally interesting writers like Sartre, Camus, and Malraux whom they dislike as much.

If Mr. O'Brien cared to quote in full not only what the aesthetes have written about Gide but also the comments of a good cross-section of the press—including the *Monde*, with its extremely nuanced article by Robert Kemp, and the Catholic *Aube*, and not omitting Mauriac's witty crack in *Figaro*—it would be found that the average assessment of Gide is far from being as favorable as he suggests. If some right-wing papers were surprisingly charitable to him, it was chiefly because he had quarreled with the Communists.

Jean Paul Sartre, incidentally, in one of the few whole-hearted tributes to Gide, published in the March issue of *Temps Modernes*, deplores what he calls "the hypocrisy, the mental reservations, the abject stink of the obituary articles"—those very articles which Mr. O'Brien seems to have taken at face value. Sartre is quite right in having detected the fundamental hostility of these articles.

But what I said about the critics was merely that few of them got anywhere near the current British conception of Gide as "France's greatest writer." What I dwelt on, on the strength of a fairly close acquaintance with young French writers, especially Catholics, and the student milieu, was the sharp reaction against Gide that I have observed on innumerable occasions. Gidism was immensely fashionable among the educated young people of France fifteen or twenty years ago. The disaster of 1940 and the Resistance and Vichy experiences, each in its own way, threw up masses of new ideas in France and brought about a reassessment of political and moral values in the course of which Gide was discarded as destructive, unclean, and rather unreal.

Among three of the most vital forces in France today—call them, for the sake of simplicity, Gaullism, Catholicism, and communism—Gide is, fundamentally, regarded as a pernicious influence, in so far as he continues to be an influence at all. You might say that all three are *intolerant*. Well, yes, the other more democratic elements in France *tolerate* Gide, but I still have to find a group of Frenchmen other than professional or amateur aesthetes who, while admiring his considerable achievements, are particularly proud of his contribution to French life and thought.

I cannot close this letter without referring again to one of my main points—Gide's war-time record. In France this demonstration of his moral bankruptcy counts for far more than Mr. O'Brien apparently realizes.

I might add that I had not even read Dominique Desanti's comments in *Lettres Françaises*. Mr. O'Brien's suggestion that I copied my paragraph from this Communist article is alarmingly typical of the "smear methods" so common in the United States and now beginning to spread also to this side of the Atlantic. If you don't agree with somebody, you only have to say he is a Communist, or talks like one, and you've got him. The editor of the *Monde* was right when he wrote some time ago that before long people will be scared to say it's raining, since a Communist may have had the Machiavellian idea, a minute before, of saying so too.

ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, March 15

Aid for Poet

Dear Sirs: We should like to urge your readers to join with us in bringing medical care to the young American poet Kenneth Patchen, who has been crippled for many years with rheumatoid arthritis. Treatment is expensive, and a substantial sum will be needed. Checks may be made payable to Winifred H. Bonnell, 18 Gramercy Park South, New York 3.

W. H. AUDEN, T. S. ELIOT,
ARCHIBALD MACLEISH,
THORNTON WILDER

New York, March 10

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • APRIL 7, 1951 NUMBER 14

The Shape of Things

THE WAR IN KOREA SEEMED, AT THE START of the week to be entering a stage of indefinite stalemate, with the issue of the Thirty-eighth Parallel becoming more and more urgent. There appeared little danger that General MacArthur would again attempt a drive to the Manchurian border: that had been practically ruled out in statements from both President Truman and Secretary Marshall. But the General's strategy of movement, aimed at "killing the enemy" and keeping his forces off balance, could as effectively defeat any new attempt at settlement by ignoring the Parallel wherever it seemed tactically desirable and permitting no let-up in the fighting. Washington seems to have accepted this as necessary, and the American press has followed suit; the New York *Times* even emphasized its agreement by removing the Thirty-eighth Parallel from its daily war map!

✶

BUT IN LONDON AND ELSEWHERE ABROAD, the suspicion that MacArthur definitely wishes to prolong the war and carry it ultimately to China itself, a suspicion intensified by his tricky truce proposal of March 24, has led to a renewed press barrage against the U. S.–U. N. Commander. According to Howard K. Smith, speaking over C. B. S. from London last Sunday, MacArthur's move, rejected unofficially but violently in Peking, has had the effect of postponing and forcing revision of a new Western policy statement aimed at ending the conflict in Korea. Whether or not this was his deliberate intention, the result will be another wave of bloody fighting unless a halt at the political frontier is definitely ordered. The British have officially advised Washington that they favor a halt, and this judgment is overwhelmingly indorsed by the press. The strength of public feeling in Britain can be gauged from the comment in the liberal *News-Chronicle* that it was "time someone had the pluck to tell this aging General he should quit." Even the ardently pro-American *Economist* referred to MacArthur's truce proposal as "one of the most mischievous of all his pronouncements." These are strong words but no stronger than those spoken by Canada's able and circumspect Secretary of External Affairs, Lester B. Pearson, who remarked that it was "as unwise and dangerous" for generals to lay down political strategy as for diplomats to lay down military strategy. The issue of the Thirty-eighth Parallel will continue to disturb informed observers of the Korean war until the shooting ends and the work of making a settlement begins. In fact, we suggest that the New York *Times* restore that black line to its maps; it is still news.

✶

UNDER HEAVY PRESSURE FROM REPUBLICANS and the press Senator Kefauver somewhat reluctantly accepted an extension of but thirty days in the life of his crime-investigating committee. It seems clear that the extension was necessary to allow time for the drafting of a cogent report. The committee had conducted sensational public hearings almost up to its scheduled March 31 deadline, without any opportunity for the calm reflection it would need to produce well-balanced proposals for legislation to correct the evils revealed during the hearings. It is on the basis of these proposals that the committee will ultimately be judged. To horrify the people by exposing links between gamblers, former bootleggers, and politicians is one thing; to offer suggestions for curing the evils is a much more difficult task. Senator Kefauver apparently has decided ideas about the distinction between those areas in which his committee should propose new legislation and those in which it should simply call for more vigorous local law enforcement. The committee as a whole seems to have rejected legalized gambling as a solution. But it is doubtful whether it has faced squarely the problems arising out of the official sanction given to race-track gambling in many states. This privileged betting furnishes almost irresistible temptations to the entrepreneurs catering to the gambling desires of the public. The standard of conduct of public officials may be raised by the Kefauver hearings. But the role of the federal government in dealing with illegal gambling existing by the toleration of local officials is a subject warranting extremely careful recommendations.

✶

THE VISIT OF PRESIDENT VINCENT AURIOL of France has produced mutual assurances of full support in the Atlantic Pact and a general atmosphere of good-will on both sides. Whether it will affect very much the basic problems of French rearmament—both

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 309
Incomplete Report 312
Look Homeward, Angel 312

ARTICLES

Great Debate: Great Flop *by Willard Shelton* 314
Regimenting the Americas *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 315
Plus Ca Change . . . *by Alexander Werth* 318
Everybody's Business: The Impasse in Iran *by Keith Hutchison* 320
Rearmament's Rising Tempo *by Fritz Sternberg* 322
E. C. A.'s Blunders in Italy *by Mario Rossi* 324

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Father and Daughter *by Anita Marburg* 327
Why Wars Come *by Richard D. Heffner* 328
Verse-Dramas *by Hayden Carruth* 328
Science: The Test of Ideas *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 329
Cluttered Perspective *by Donald A. Roberts* 330
Return of a Native *by Joseph Kraft* 330
The Vatican View *by George La Piana* 331
The Evolutionist View *by Martin Lebowitz* 333
Books in Brief 333
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 333

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 335

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 406
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 336

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Contributing Editor: Robert Bendiner
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

economic and political—is doubtful. Certainly France is trying to meet the material and military burdens it assumed under the alliance, but what this will mean in terms of living standards and political reactions is yet to be learned. Nothing President Auriol has said will alter certain facts which have been discussed less fully than they deserve in the press and over the air. One was well illustrated by the reports from Paris that the French government's decision to supply General Jean de Lattre de Tassigny with 13,000 additional troops for Indo-China would actually impede its progress in fulfilling French military obligations to General Eisenhower. Another was the statement by Harold Callender in last Sunday's *Times* that the probable effect of French rearmament will be to reduce the already much too low standard of living of the workers and thus handicap still further the efforts to enlist their loyalty and cooperation in the grand plan of Western European defense. It is to be assumed that, at least in the course of his private conversations in Washington, the French President brought up these discomforting realities, for in the end they will determine the success or failure of the Atlantic Alliance.

✶

SINCE JANUARY 1 FEDERAL REVENUE HAS been mounting far more rapidly than federal expenditure, and on March 27, with only three months of the fiscal year to go, the Treasury's surplus passed the $5 billion mark. This is a much more comfortable position than seemed possible three months ago, and it is now most unlikely that the President's estimate of a $2,700,000,000 deficit for the current fiscal year will be realized: in fact, Treasury officials expect that there will be a surplus. There are two reasons for this improvement in the fiscal picture. The increased taxes voted by Congress last year have produced a yield beyond anticipation, owing largely to the rise in prices which has swollen the total of both individual and corporate incomes. In addition, spending has been at a lower rate than estimated. In fact, in the nine months ending March 27 it was but little greater than in the corresponding period of fiscal 1950. Despite all the talk about government extravagance, the outlay for civilian purposes has been cut appreciably; and while defense orders are huge—they are now being placed at a monthly rate of $5 billion—actual expenditure on military equipment and supplies is still below $1 billion a month.

✶

THERE IS UNDOUBTEDLY A CONNECTION between this fiscal situation and the recent signs of a minor—very minor—recession. At this time the government is not contributing directly to inflation; on the contrary, by taking billions more from the economy than it is putting back it is exerting some deflationary pres-

sure. That is one reason why consumers' demand for some goods has fallen short of suppliers' anticipations. The dollar volume of department-store sales in the week ending March 24—the pre-Easter period when buying is apt to be heavier than usual—was only 9 per cent greater than a year ago, which meant, allowing for price increases, little or no rise in physical volume. That helps to explain why manufacturers and distributors of some lines—textiles in particular—are beginning to worry about the inventories to which they were adding so feverishly a short time ago, and why stores are showing some disposition to cut prices. This development is certainly a lucky break for the price stabilizers, just as the current budget surplus aids a Congress reluctant to face the necessity of still higher taxes. But we hope it will not encourage either Administration or Congress to believe that inflation has been permanently checked. We may have reached a temporary price plateau, but when defense production really gets rolling—by fall at latest—we will again see civilian demand pressing heavily on supply unless meanwhile increased taxes and more stringent credit restrictions have been adopted to reinforce more effective price controls.

✶

SPAIN'S INTERNAL TROUBLES, AS WELL AS ITS continuing impact on the West's international policy, prove how vain was the hope of a quiet peninsula stabilized by American loans and preparing in orderly fashion to contribute substantial forces to the new European defense organization. Talk about the inclusion of Franco in the projected Mediterranean Alliance died down when the French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman, during his Washington talks, described France as completely opposed to the whole idea. In London, at the same time, Foreign Secretary Morrison, through one of his spokesmen, repeated the refusal of the British government to modify its stand on Spain. Washington's alternative to a Mediterranean Alliance which would include Franco has been a bilateral pact between Madrid and Washington. But here too an unforeseen difficulty has arisen. In return for his help in defending the West Franco is insisting upon certain conditions, chief of which is the delivery, on a basis of priority, of all the arms he needs to turn his famous twenty-two division into a moderately modern army. (Foreigners present at Franco's victory celebration on April 1 commented upon the poor equipment of the troops on parade.) People in Washington realize that no matter how much they may wish to make a deal with the Spanish dictator, they can hardly grant him priority at the expense of France and the other countries already in the Atlantic Pact. Meanwhile dispatches from Spain report a general mobilization of police in Madrid, Barcelona, and Bilbao, where labor leaders have called for new anti-Franco demonstrations in the next few days. Edward Knoblauch, International News correspondent in Madrid, who is usually skeptical about the strength of the Franco opposition, acknowledged in an impressive story early this week that the Barcelona strike had given fresh courage to the anti-Franco forces and that for the first time the situation began to look serious.

✶

ANOTHER WEEK HAS PASSED WITHOUT ANY progress in Washington on the wheat-for-India bill. Meanwhile the government at New Delhi is struggling to avert fast approaching famine by importing grain in small amounts from any country that will sell it. China, which recently agreed to send India 50,000 tons of rice in exchange for jute products, has now offered to supply most of the foodstuffs India needs to meet its immediate emergency—possibly 1,000,000 tons—on relatively easy terms. Russia has offered 50,000 tons of wheat, also to be paid for in jute. But while India considers these proposals from the two major Communist states, the American Congress wrangles over Nehru's political views and his refusal to support our policy in Korea. Needless to say, the stock of Stalin and Mao rises in New Delhi while that of the United States sinks low; even those Indians who stoutly oppose communism and Russian expansion have been embittered by the unfavorable implication that grain-rich America is prepared to feed only those who follow its "line." As a maneuver in the cold war, quite apart from considerations of humanity, Washington's delay in sending the two million tons of grain to India must be counted a disastrous failure.

✶

THE POSSIBILITY THAT SHAKESPEARE REALLY wrote Shakespeare provides an island of relative calm in the tempest of current events. The recent disclosure by Alan Keen in London of the existence of a book which contains marginal notes perhaps penned by the poet himself may seem an item of inconsequence beside the Big Four's comedy of errors, but among students of Shakespeare the discovery caused tremors of excitement. Scholarly seismographs recorded the event as earth-shaking, for if it is finally authenticated, this will be the first specimen of writing known to be in the Bard's own hand. The theory that Francis Bacon wrote the plays has not held much water in learned circles of the twentieth century, nor has Shakespeare's "small Latin and less Greek" caused much anxiety to those who recognize him as the world's greatest playwright. Although Mr. Keen's announcement may finally cut these two Gordian knots in Shakesperiana, the real significance of the discovery is that Shakespeare is still news. The excitement caused in the literary world symbolizes our continued devotion, in spite of international chaos, to the eternal human values.

Incomplete Report

CHARLES E. WILSON'S first quarterly report as Defense Mobilizer, released last Monday, was calculated to arouse enthusiasm among persons easily impressed by charts, graphs, and bold-fact summaries of production statistics. Defense orders are flowing at the rate of nearly $50 billion a year; defense spending, which is a better measure of actual output, has reached an annual rate of $24 billion, and by the end of the year will match the rate of orders. Within the next three years production will be expanded sufficiently to support $50 billion in arms, plus as much civilian production as we had prior to the Korean war. Guns, and butter too, by 1953—this is Mr. Wilson's promise. Yet his report reveals how seriously we are lagging in the social aspects of mobilization.

His brief summary of tax-amortization privileges granted under the mobilization program, for example, took no account of the storm brewing in Congress over the fact that practically all such concessions have gone to big corporations. Many of these companies had expansion plans before Korea and did not need tax inducements to persuade them to carry out the plans, but the concessions were granted. Despite Wilson's warm tribute to small business in his report, it may be noted that Congress has had to intervene to check aluminum and rubber allocation orders, issued or planned by the mobilizers, that would have severely damaged small business.

Something must be done, Wilson admitted in his report, to strengthen economic controls. But this has been obvious for months, and if improvements have been planned, they have not been disclosed. Eric Johnston, the Economic Stabilizer, does not have a functioning Wage Stabilization Board, and Wilson's attitude toward labor is a positive handicap to Johnston. It is surely part of the mobilization chairman's job to see that unions have a full opportunity to contribute to democracy's defense. Yet at a press conference last week Wilson stated publicly that he still "didn't know" whether appointment of a labor leader as a top adviser would improve matters.

In the light of his report as well as of his previous record Wilson still must be considered fundamentally a production man, perhaps a very good one but lacking in the understanding of human problems needed in the head civilian organizer of a working democracy. A continuation of his arrogant attitude toward labor and failure to set up effective economic controls will lead inevitably to an outbreak of strikes as contracts expire and contract clauses providing wage increases mature. This may have profound political effects. The successful mobilization of a democracy depends not only on the production of arms. Wilson, it is clear, will never understand this; but Mr. Truman should.

Look Homeward, Angel

IN A remarkable speech last week Senator Fulbright of Arkansas called for a commission of eminent citizens "to consider the problem of ethical standards of conduct in public affairs." No one familiar with this Senator's record will question the genuineness of his motives. Neither is it possible to deny that the moral climate of the country has become as oppressive as he says it is, with corruption flourishing in government, in business, and even in college sports; and with an easy-going official tolerance of malpractice that manages to keep within the letter of the law.

With Senator Fulbright's observations and with his purpose we are in full accord, but when he says, "I confess that I do not know what should be done" beyond the creating of a commission, he seems to have given too little thought to his immediate surroundings. For a Senator dedicated to moral housecleaning there is no better place to begin than the Senate of the United States, where corruption is none the less virulent because it derives not from graft but from the lust for political advantage. The fact is that the Senate is sick with the immorality of McCarthyism, and appears not to know how far the disease has progressed.

There was a period when McCarthy's scorn of ethics shocked his Senate colleagues and stung a group of his fellow-Republicans into repudiating him in a "declaration of conscience," a time when he was flayed on the floor of the Senate for outrageous lying without a voice lifted in his defense. That was before his tactics appeared to pay off in votes. It was before he went into Maryland and punished his nemesis, Senator Tydings, in a campaign of intolerable viciousness and fraud.

The nature of that campaign has now been revealed before an investigating subcommittee—the distribution of a fabricated "photograph" showing Tydings in intimate conversation with Earl Browder and the use of large out-of-state contributions obtained through McCarthy and unreported until the Senate got wind of them. And there was the cynical admission of Butler's campaign manager that, as a professional publicity man, he had systematically sought to exploit the public's doubts concerning Tydings's patriotism which McCarthy had just as systematically planted.

What Tydings rightly calls "the moral squalor" of this campaign—and there was more of it than can be recounted in this space—has been made clear to the country and the Senate. And what have been the reactions? Senator Welker, who with Bing Crosby's assistance won out in Idaho last November, demanded to know how long the Senate was "going to sit by and see this duly elected member of this body, John Marshall Butler, crucified by the man he had defeated." In his opinion

the faked picture was "very clever." Senator Knowland joined in the attack on the investigation, and Senator Hickenlooper asked whether the photographic fraud was such a "heinous crime" after all. He compared it to what he claimed were false dust-bowl pictures taken by the Resettlement Administration in 1936!

Those who had formerly stood up to the McCarthys were subdued if not silent. If the Wisconsin demagogue had been able to smear Tydings, a respected conservative and one of the sharpest debaters in the Senate, who was safe in speaking out? Taft, the "man of integrity," and other top Republicans accepted McCarthy as a man who had found the key to victory. His methods may have struck them as crude, but the end justified the means. The champion of the "big lie" became a power in the high councils of his party. Washington correspondents even discussed him as a vice-presidential possibility. Yet nothing had changed except the fact of Tydings's defeat. McCarthy was still the man who had been censured by the Supreme Court of his own state for his misconduct as a judge, the man who had to be brought to book before he would pay his state income taxes. He was still the Senator who had taken $10,000 from the RFC-financed Lustron Corporation for lending his name to a pamphlet on housing while he was a member of a committee investigating housing conditions. He was still the man who had been castigated by a committee of his fellows for having perpetrated a monstrous "fraud and a hoax" on the Senate and had been unable to reply.

From the chamber where McCarthy is now a major figure the poison of cynicism spreads across the country. His imitators have mushroomed up in legislatures from coast to coast. A New York Assemblyman has the effrontery to oppose judicial review of loyalty dismissals on the ground that reversal by a court, "would put a stigma on the [Civil Service] Commission of having fired an innocent man." Better to leave the stigma of guilt on the discharged employee. McCarthy himself has succeeded in frightening off potential sponsors of so popular a radio commentator as Drew Pearson, his sworn enemy, and is reported to have called on advertisers to boycott a Milwaukee paper that opposes him. And so eminent a journalist as David Lawrence now addresses himself to the task of demonstrating that the investigation of the Butler campaign is an infringement of free speech, a betrayal of liberalism, and, if you please, an example of "McCarthyism." In a surpassing burst of hypocrisy he cites the late Justice Holmes on "freedom for the thought we hate," as though a deliberate fraud were to be equated with thought and a huckster's campaign of character assassination with the honest presentation of a point of view.

The Butler affair was not an isolated instance of the new campaign morality. There were others, all of them examples of the unscrupulousness with which our political life has become infected. When a democracy's "moral convictions weaken," Senator Fulbright says, "it becomes easy prey for the demagogue and the charlatan." So it does. All the more reason for Fulbright and his many upright colleagues to promote a resurgence of political morality in the Senate before that body becomes a prey for the demagogues and charlatans in its midst.

Great Debate: Great Flop

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, March 30

IN THE Senate the "great debate" on foreign policy has developed into something more like a great quibble. Those hard-shell isolationists, Senators Taft, Wherry, and Millikin, restored at least logic to the discussion by serving notice that they would try to kill the whole troops-for-Europe proposal by moving to send it back to committee. The vote is scheduled for Monday, April 2. If they fail, the Senators on the other side should have a chance to knock out of the resolution the confusing paragraph written by Senator Smith of New Jersey and to substitute for it a clear-cut declaration approving both the early dispatch of four divisions to reinforce General Eisenhower's North Atlantic forces and the later transfer of additional divisions if the President, after consultation with the appropriate committees, thinks it necessary.

Although all these matters will have been decided by the time this report appears, it may be useful to consider what caused the debate to deteriorate from an occasion of great decision into irrelevance and confusion. One reason, of course, was garden-variety partisanship: Senator Wherry cannot be persuaded that any good thing can come out of Truman, at least not just in advance of a Presidential-election year. Another was the awareness of many Senators that the policies advocated now by Secretary Acheson are in conflict with what he said in 1949, when the North Atlantic Treaty was before the Senate. At that time Mr. Acheson stated categorically that implementation of the treaty would not require transfer of substantial American forces to Europe in advance of war. The Secretary's explanation is that in 1949 he was talking about one part of the treaty and that action is now proposed under another section. Many Senators realize, however, that Acheson has actually revised his judgment of the situation.

Alexander Smith, with the laudable intention of trying to find "common ground" for all Republicans, finally muddled things hopelessly. After getting the Foreign Relations and Armed Services committees to adopt an amendment to the Administration resolution calling for advance Senate approval of the "policy" of sending

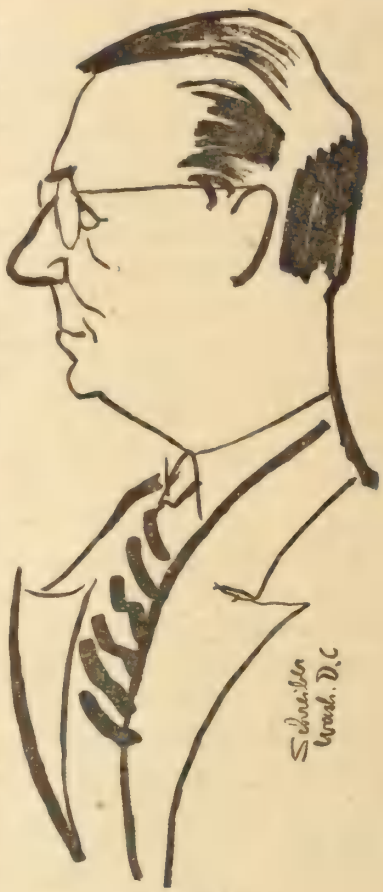
forces to Europe, he argued on the floor that the amendment did not mean what it seemed to mean. Senator Connally, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, grew waspish. Senator Douglas, of Illinois, ordinarily surefooted in reaching his judgments, first demanded a limit on the ratio of American to European divisions and then changed his mind. Senator McCarthy's distinguished contribution was to assert that the Administration's plan to contain the Soviet Union by building up the strength of the West was only a hoax and a fraud.

Constitutionally, no vote of the Senate can diminish by an iota the President's vested powers as commander-in-chief. Subject to the veto power of Congress through withholding appropriations, the President can order American forces wherever he wishes. But the practical political fact is that an open breach between Mr. Truman and the Senate on the movement of troops to Europe might have disastrous effects. Taft, Wherry, and Millikin created one clear-cut issue when they moved to kill the troop transfer outright. Senators Ives, Lodge, McMahon, and McFarland created another when they attacked the Smith "compromise" and proposed an amendment clarifying the Senate's approval of the President's present policy and the general program of military aid for Europe, free of misleading reservations. The vote on these two key proposals will tell the story; the "great debate" would have been more useful if it had concentrated on these issues. Yet the prospective division was so close that Ives and McMahon belatedly offered a weakening revision of their own language in the hope of picking up two or three votes.

MOVED by irresistible public demand, the Senate today voted a thirty-day extension of the Kefauver crime committee. Mr. Truman at a news conference called on every citizen to aid the committee in its war on racketeers. It would have required exceptional political courage for any Senator to vote against extending the committee's life, but privately some of the Democrats are infuriated at the Tennessee Senator's exposure of big-city Democratic machines. Mr. Truman's laudatory comments suggest that the White House hereafter will expedite such inquisitions instead of calling them asinine. Both Kefauver and Senator Fulbright, who has run the RFC investigation, recognize that they have uncovered enough to justify legislation and that non-stop inquiries, exposing nothing new, can run into the ground.

The testimony of former Representative Joseph Casey with regard to his buying and selling of tankers indicates that an investigation of the Maritime Commission would be in order. A Congressional committee might also be well employed in uncovering the facts behind the uproar in the Civil Aeronautics Board, which resulted in the resignation of a chairman of the board after Truman himself had overruled a board order and greatly advanced Juan Trippe's ambitious plan to make Pan-American Airways the single United States air line authorized to fly overseas. Ship charters, air-line licenses, and similar privileges obtainable through the favor of government are a natural objective of persons seeking legitimate and illegitimate profits. It follows that government agencies empowered to hand out favors should be prepared to do their business in a goldfish bowl.

WHILE delivery of the mails continues to go to pot, Postmaster General Donaldson gives the impression that he has no constructive contribution to a solution of the problem of perennial Post Office deficits. Superficially Mr. Donaldson seems to be on solid ground when he argues that either mail rates should be raised in those classes where losses are now suffered or Congress should appropriate money to cover the deficits. He would be better advised to say frankly that the Post Office should not be considered a business institution required to balance revenues and expenditures but a service institution. The prompt movement of the mails, the dissemination of the information contained in newspapers and magazines, the delivery even of advertising matter are vital social and economic needs. A good many non-profit, "cause," educational, and opinion periodicals, including *The Nation*, would be severely injured if Mr. Donaldson should put through his 100 per cent increase in second-class mail rates.



Estes Kefauver

The Hoover Commission suggested specific measures for a sweeping reform of the Post Office Department. Some local offices, it pointed out, operate with great economy and efficiency, but their sound, managerial practices are not copied throughout the system. What the Post Office ought to be is an economically operated service system. Mr. Donaldson, although he is a career official with decades of experience in the department, shows no comprehension of such a goal. He seems to think that his job is to get along with Congress.

Regimenting the Americas

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Washington, March 30

UNLIKE other pan-American conferences, the current meeting in Washington is wasting no time on exhibitions of oratory. It was convoked at a time of emergency, when World War III seemed imminent, and although since then the international tension has somewhat diminished, it is nevertheless essentially a war conference. As such it is bound to be brief; though it has just opened, the closing date is set for April 6. Even the welcoming speeches—President Truman's on March 26 and Secretary Acheson's on the next day, at the first regular session—contained no superfluous rhetoric but were a direct call to the American republics to pool their resources to meet the threat of Soviet aggression.

President Truman declared, "We must concert our defenses and combine our strength in order to support men in Asia and Europe who are battling for freedom." Secretary Acheson confirmed the political character of the conference by presenting an eight-point plan which, in conjunction with military and economic measures to facilitate the coordinated defense of the hemisphere, suggested procedures "to deal with subversion and other forms of indirect aggression by the international Communist movement." Given the conflict of interests between the United States and the Latin American countries, the warm friendliness of "good neighbors" is likely to change to distrust and resentment as soon as economic problems are discussed. However, the chief business of the conference is not to settle economic questions; its disturbing political purpose is only too visible.

The peoples of Latin America who are under the heel of a dictator may have been stirred by President Truman's reference to "men battling for freedom in Asia and Europe," but they know that in large areas of this hemisphere they also face a fight for freedom. A glance at the men seated around the conference table shows how few represent democratic, progressive governments—notably the delegates from Mexico, Uruguay, Guatemala, and Ecuador. Among the others are the representatives of Perón, of Trujillo, of the Venezuelan military junta, of Odría, of Laureano Gómez, of the current dictator of Paraguay—but why go through the whole list? It would be absurd to pretend that these gentlemen came to the conference with any sincere desire to "save democracy." They are simply attending a routine meeting of a group of nations whose chief bond is geographical; there can be little in common and little sympathy between, say, a Perón of Argentina and a Martínez Trueba of Uruguay, close neighbors though they are.

The lack of an authentic community of ideals and purposes is the first great weakness of the Washington conference. Another is the disparity between the objectives of the United States and those of its southern neighbors—democrats and dictators alike. This disparity was made clear, without any beating about the bush, in the first speech by a Latin American, the reply of Foreign Minister Neves de Fontoura of Brazil to President Truman's address of welcome. (A comparable disparity between the objectives of the United States and those of its associates in the Atlantic Treaty Organization threatens the solidarity of that coalition.) The economy of the United States may be able to adjust itself to the impact of industrial mobilization, but this may prove fatal to the unstable economies of Latin America. The Brazilian Foreign Minister expressed the general fear of the countries represented at the conference that the United States, in the name of common defense, would again as in the last war induce them to expand production and then fail to protect them against subsequent contraction and inflation. To the listener his complaint tasted slightly of coffee. To come to Washington to "save democracy" may be for the dicators a joke, but to save themselves by lining up with Washington in exchange for substantial and lasting aid makes very good sense. They are eager to imitate the attempt of Franco, their model, to escape, with American help, from the financial crisis which is strangling his regime. They do not like some of Washington's suggestions, but they are hoping that the conference will assure them a long and safe political life like that enjoyed by the great Dominican "benefactor," General Trujillo. The common front against communism which they are asked to join under the direction of the United States represents, for them and their heirs protection against the anger of their own people.

By the same token, for Latin American liberals the conference constitutes a very serious threat. I wrote to one of the most eminent of them to ask his opinion of the proposed new security front. His reply was as impressive as it was brief: "It is an act of homicide"—against freedom. In concrete terms what this implies is that a political refugee from Peru, seeking asylum in Colombia, will face identical repressive measures there. Denounced as a Communist by his own government, even if he is in fact only a liberal adversary of the dictator in power, he can find refuge nowhere; certainly not in the United States, where the McCarran law stands as an impassable barrier. For Americans this may be difficult to grasp. Here, though the hysteria is fantastic

and few persons have the courage to defend those accused of subversive ideas, the law offers some protection: a hearing can be demanded, a suit for libel can be instituted. The accusers may even be smothered in ridicule if their victim is a respected personage whose views are well known. People would simply laugh if Harold L. Ickes, or Senator Paul Douglas, or President Conant of Harvard were called a Communist. But in Colombia former President Eduardo Santos, one of the greatest liberals of the continent and a moderate, middle-of-the-road statesman, has been denounced as a Communist by the lackeys of the pro-Franco dictator, Laureano Gómez.

While I am speaking of Colombia, I want to say a word about Señor Urdaneta Arbelaez, who in the last Assembly of the United Nations presided over the important Political Committee with shocking partiality, —but eloquently defended democracy and liberty outside Colombia. One of the delegates to the present conference told me that when Señor Arbelaez returned to his post of Minister of War, his first act was to order the population of the province of los Llanos to be evacuated under penalty of death. Aviators sprinkled the whole region with circulars which read: "Military forces of Colombia, National Army, Brigade of Military Institutes, Infantry Battalion No. 21, Vargas, Commander. This is to inform the worthy inhabitants of the region between Paratabueno and Tauramena that after March 8 the army is ordered to treat as outlaws all persons who by that date have not left the region. Two aviation squadrons are authorized to evacuate by air all who wish to leave." Those who stayed would simply be murdered!

It is known that among the aviators employed by Laureano Gómez to suppress the opposition to his rule are Falangist pilots from Spain, where the dictator spent a year learning how to defend a Christian civilization against subversive ideas. Proof of this has been provided in the course of a trial now going on in Venezuela to determine whether the Colombian guerrilla Chelito Velásquez, who fled to Venezuela and whose extradition is now demanded by Colombia, is a political refugee or an ordinary offender escaping justice.

THE stage is set for all issues to be harmoniously resolved. Three committees—on problems of defense, of internal security, of economic cooperation—will handle the various reports and proposals. In the military sphere the United States representative, on Wednesday, said it was "urgently" necessary for the Western Hemisphere to build up its strength to meet the Russian threat. The majority of the delegations agreed, but always on the assumption that they would not be expected to contribute troops—the Latin Americans gave enthusiastic approval to the U. N.'s toughest resolutions on Communist China but have sent very few soldiers to Korea. They are willing to perform some of the vital coastal-patrol duties which tied up 150,000 men and scores of ships and airplanes in the last war, provided this country bears most of the cost. It is reported that the United States offered $80,000,000 worth of arms, planes, and patrol vessels before the conference opened.

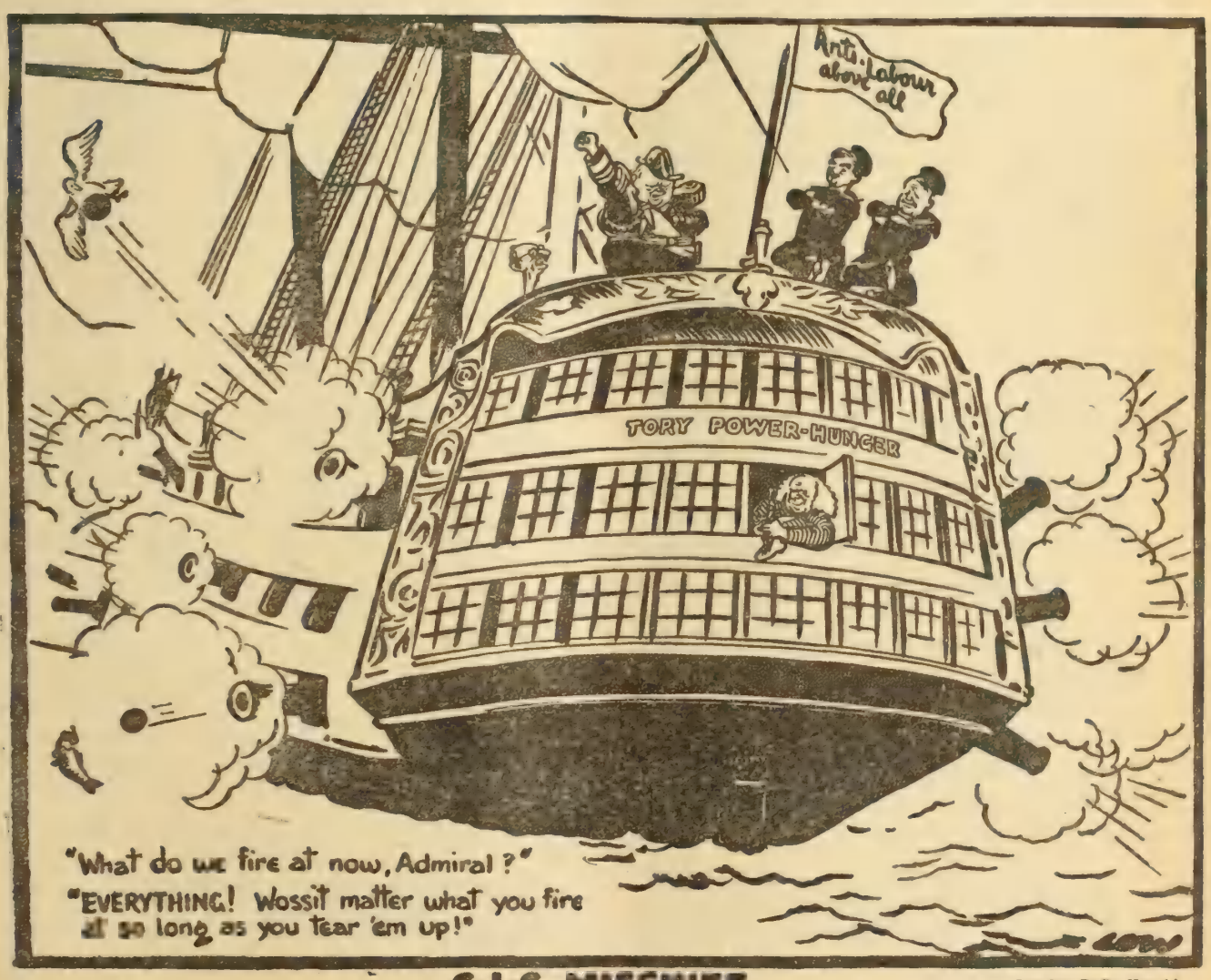
The Argentine delegation, for a number of reasons—including resentment at the condemnation of *La Prensa's* suppression and Perón's rage at the somewhat amused skepticism of the experts regarding the atomic discoveries of Argentine scientists—differed with the United States on the subject of defense. But it was not actuated solely by ill temper: a large section of the Argentine people is opposed to the Rio de Janeiro accord of December, 1948, the point of departure of the present discussions. It must not be forgotten that the Radical Party, which is the strongest anti-Perón group—in spite of its name it is as moderate as the similarly titled French party—has placed high on its program the "defense of the political, economic, and spiritual sovereignty of the country; *no* participation in political, economic, or military blocs." Dr. Arturo Frondisi, one of the most brilliant and combative members of the Radical Party, has declared in a published leaflet that his party's refusal to "accept the existence of aggressive military and economic blocs" is the basis of its opposition to the Rio pact.

Mexico, with the moral authority of a country which has defended the cause of international collaboration and peace ever since its great President, Lázaro Cárdenas, took his stand against the aggression of Mussolini in Ethiopia and of Mussolini and Hitler in Spain, believes that opinions on problems of defense may vary. In an important statement in *El Universal* of February 22, the very capable acting Foreign Minister of Mexico, Manuel Tello, said that though Mexico favored a solid American defense against possible aggression, it held to its pacifist and non-interventionist views, and that its acts in the United Nations bore out his words. This explains why the Mexican Foreign Minister on Thursday joined Argentina and Guatemala in opposing the United States proposals for Western Hemisphere defense. Acting from quite different motives Señor Tello took practically the same attitude as that expressed by Hipólito Jesús Paz, Argentine Foreign Minister, who declared that his government would not commit itself to sending its armed forces to fight outside the country, whether within the hemisphere or overseas on a United Nations mission.

The second committee, charged with studying internal security, faces no serious difficulties. In the first days of the conference the Foreign Minister of Guatemala, Señor Galich, humorously raised the question of the "representative democracy" in the charter of Bogotá. But this "impertinence" was waved aside, and the committee turned to the study of the measures which the different countries should take to combat communism.

The task of the third committee is harder—to solve the problem of how the United States can use the economic resources of the Latin American countries in its war effort without dangerously unsettling their economies and creating a situation which would become disastrous when the war ended and they were left on their own. The potential wealth of the southern continent is extremely tempting to the United States. Few people in this country think of Latin America as anything but a picturesque place for a gay and exciting vacation; hardly anybody realizes that the thirteen South American countries contain proved deposits of metals sufficient to arm the Western Allies to the teeth. During the last war South and Central America and Mexico supplied all the United States' imports of antimony, bauxite, vanadium, and crude petroleum. One huge mineral mountain in Chile, the Chuquicamata, is estimated to contain a billion tons of ore which runs 2.16 per cent copper. Venezuela is the world's biggest exporter of crude petroleum, having produced 69,112,000 metric tons in 1949; and this source of supply has become invaluable since recent developments in Iran have threatened the West's control of the Middle Eastern oil fields. Peru is the greatest producer of vanadium, essential in the manufacture of steel. Argentina's output of wool, a war material of prime importance, is topped only by Australia's.

Development and use of these riches in accordance with such a plan as was outlined by Gunnar Myrdal in the U. N. Economic and Social Committee at Geneva would offer mankind the prospect of a beneficent peace as the alternative to a devastating war. Yet people are thinking only about how to pool these resources in the service of rearmament. The next few days will show whether the harmony which has so far prevailed in the conference will be shattered in the third committee. Latin American reluctance to yield to the demands of the United States will be supported by the revival of nationalism, which is gradually putting an end to that happy era—happy, that is, for foreign investors—when Latin American governments offered their country's natural resources to the highest bidder, and by the memories of the post-war period: a few boom years during the last war were followed by many more of economic crisis. As the Spanish song writer said: "Una cosa es el cariño y el dinero es otra cosa"—affection is one thing and money is another.



C-I-C MISCHIEF

London *Daily Herald*

Plus Ça Change . . .

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, March

THE "red belt" of Paris isn't all red: Saint-Denis and Ivry may be generally Communist, but Neuilly is almost solidly Gaullist, and Boulogne-Billancourt, despite its revolutionary reputation, is a little of everything. The town council, which meets in the luxurious *Mairie*, built in the early thirties, was elected in 1947 and consists of sixteen Gaullists, fifteen Communists, and six Socialists; the Mayor, M. Le Galle, is an old Socialist militant. At a recent meeting of the Council it was proposed that 100,000 francs ($275) be appropriated for gift parcels for the French troops in Indo-China. On the ground that "the best gift for them is to bring them home," the Communists voted against the proposal, which was carried by twenty-two votes to fifteen.

While Boulogne-Billancourt is part of Paris—one of the Métro lines runs right through it as far as the Sèvres Bridge—it looks different from Paris, as all the suburbs do. You notice the difference the moment you cross the old line of the *fortifs* at the Porte Saint-Cloud. The streets and houses are grubbier, the architectural tidiness of Paris suddenly disappears, and the buildings seem jumbled together any old way, blocks of modern flats alternating with dilapidated slums. There are more empty spaces in Boulogne-Billancourt than there were before the war, for 300 houses were destroyed in the three raids of '42 and '43. The 1942 raid was carried out by the R. A. F. and made a shambles of the Renault works, but the other two were high-altitude American raids, and the bombs fell all over the place, killing 2,000 people.

Of the 3,500 houses that were damaged, all have been repaired, but of the 300 totally destroyed, only a small number have been rebuilt. In what rebuilding goes on at present the bombed-out people—the *sinistrés*—get priority, but since rearmament began, the government housing grants, never adequate, have been cut down, and private enterprise is building nothing except some blocks of luxury flats, on which any rent whatsoever can be charged. "Ordinary" houses, with the maximum rents fixed at eleven to twelve times the pre-war level, are not a paying investment, since building costs are about twenty times as high as before the war.

This is one of the fundamental causes of the French housing shortage, which at Boulogne-Billancourt as elsewhere sometimes assumes both grotesque and tragic forms. One bombed-out person, soon after receiving a nice new flat, bought some furniture and then promptly sublet the place to an American for 35,000 francs a month. On the other hand, a Renault worker with whom I talked, a man making 25,000 francs a month, was living with his wife and four children in one small hotel room, for which he paid 7,000 francs a month. "Awful place," he said, "and full of Algerians, too." Since the man was a Communist, I thought his remark about the Algerians rather strange, almost "racialist," but he explained that it was a social rather than a racial question: a lot of the Algerians were uncouth, got drunk and carried knives. "It's not their fault. They are the result of a hundred years of colonial exploitation." But his wife was scared stiff of them for all that.

The Algerians are, indeed, a minor but still a nasty problem in the "red belt." At home they hear that it is easy to get rich in Paris, and since they are French citizens, there is nothing to stop them from coming here. Some learn a job and settle down respectably, perhaps marry a French girl; others become completely down and out in a short time. During the rubble-clearing scores of half-starved Algerians were found at Boulogne living in the ruins, and until a couple of years ago some parts of the district were dangerous at night, a whole little North African underworld having developed there since 1945. For a while the police had a tough time. However, a number of "North African hostels" are now being set up.

FOR most people Boulogne-Billancourt means the Renault works, one of the great centers of revolutionary ferment. But there are many small and medium engineering plants in the town, dozens of laundries—Boulogne's second "industry"—a shopkeeping class, and a large residential section adjoining the Bois de Boulogne; hence the heavy Gaullist vote. Since housing did not present a serious problem before the war, and since Louis Renault, one of the most autocratic of French industrialists, was not interested in social welfare, there are no "garden suburbs" surrounding the Renault works.

Today Renault is the largest and most successful automobile plant in France and, after Austin, the largest in Europe. It is also the only nationalized automobile plant in France. Its buildings, rather than its machinery, were badly wrecked by air raids, but thanks to the workers' enthusiasm and drive they were quickly restored after the Liberation, and with sixteen years as the average age of its machine tools—as against twenty in 1945—it ranks

---

ALEXANDER WERTH is The Nation's *correspondent in Paris. This is the second article of a series on French reactions to the cold war.*

among the most modern of plants. After the war it imported thousands of machine tools from the United States, but it now makes its own. Foundries and a tire factory are attached to the Boulogne plant.

Louis Renault, who built his first car in 1898, was the sole owner of this vast concern before the war, but during the German invasion he was on a purchasing mission in the United States, and after the armistice he voluntarily returned to Paris and offered his services to the Germans. He died in prison after the Liberation, and the Renault works were nationalized and became the Régie Nationale des Usines Renault. The technical and engineering staffs were kept, and M. Lefaucheux, its director-general, boasts that "it's run precisely like a private firm," though under the orders of a "technocracy" instead of a capitalist boss. The state is the sole shareholder of Renault's, and last year it received a net profit of 350,000,000 francs ($1,000,000), which it "put back into the business." It pays taxes, and it is run on a strictly competitive basis. It turns out nearly three times as many cars as before the war.

Technically nationalization has been a great success. Whether it has been a success socially is much more debatable. Renault's is, in fact, an anomaly—a nationalized industry in a capitalist system which does not believe in the principle of nationalization. The Communist C. G. T., to which more than half the workers belong, and the Federation of Christian Trade Unions, which is second in importance, agree that "the spirit of the workers has greatly changed since 1947." Before then, with the Communists still in the government and the M. R. P. full of Socialist ideas, the workers were proud to think that the nationalization of Renault was a step toward socialism in France. The *Comité d'entreprise,* or Workers' Council, which aside from being an important advisory body is in charge of large funds used for social improvements among the workers, was very active up to 1947. Today it is scarcely on speaking terms with the management, which considers it a center of Communist political agitation, though the Christian trade unionists dispute this. As one of their leaders said to me, "The workers' share in running the Renault works is nothing like what it is in Germany. If the *Comité d'entreprise,* as the bosses say, used to be but is no longer 'loyal,' the change of attitude is quite understandable. We Christian trade unionists are also Socialists, and while at first the nationalization of Renault was a great hope, a source of real enthusiasm, we now know that Renault is just another factory, run on precisely the same lines as the rest."

In principle, everybody is free to say and think anything he likes outside the factory. But no politics are permitted inside. As I walked through the gigantic workshops, I was struck by two things—the lack of any inscriptions or slogans on the walls and the morose, concentrated, humorless look on all faces, whether French, Algerian, or Indo-Chinese. (For there are quite a number of Indo-Chinese working here, too. "Extremely quick on the uptake," one of the engineers remarked, "but not much good for heavy physical work.")

Another Christian trade unionist told me that in recent months disillusionment over the nationalization of Renault had gone a step farther: a good deal of nervousness, if not actual fear, was apparent among the workers, and not only among the Communists. The employees were afraid they might be classed as government servants and therefore be subjected to political purges like those at the Atomic Energy Center. "People who are not Communists," he said, "are often bound up with them by a *solidarité de travail,* and although in theory everybody is allowed to hold any political view he likes, the workers think it wise to keep their traps shut." The only political slogan I saw was painted on a wall opposite Renault's. It said, "Eisenhower, Go Home!"

Wages are just about the same as in the Paris engineering industry generally, perhaps a fraction better by virtue of an agreement reached by the management and the trade unions outside the C. G. T. in September. When the C. G. T. proved sticky, the management signed an agreement carrying a slight increase in pay with the other unions, the C. G. T. subscribing to it later, *faute de mieux.* Including bonuses and a traveling allowance, wages run from about 110 francs a hour for unskilled workers to 170 francs for highly skilled (30 to 50 cents), or from about $60 to $100 a month. Family allowances and social insurance increase the wage bill probably 40 per cent. In terms of purchasing power total wages are about 20 per cent lower than before the war. With the cost of living rising sharply the relative economic stability that was reached in the early part of 1950 is being rapidly destroyed. Owing chiefly to American rearmament, production costs are going up too—a matter that is causing the management of Renault considerable concern. How much shorter will rubber be? When will there be a strike?

The impoverishment of the French compared with pre-war days can be easily seen in the automobile statistics—which belie the impression created by the tremendous Paris traffic. In 1939 there were 1,817,000 private cars and 471,000 commercial vehicles; in 1949 the figures were 1,028,000 and 796,000. Before the war car owners were largely professional men, foremen, and highly skilled workers. These people can no longer afford cars. The buyers of new cars now are small business men and shopkeepers who include a car in their overheads. The great majority of Renault tractors are for export; only very large farms and estates can afford to use tractors owing to the abnormally high cost of gasoline. A modernized agriculture in France is another 1945 dream that has not come true.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

The Impasse in Iran

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

WE ARE discovering that world supplies of basic commodities are insufficient for a full-employment, semi-war economy. Indeed, they are inadequate for a full-employment peace economy, and if any progress is to be made in raising living standards, even moderately, in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, much greater quantities of raw materials, particularly metals and fuels, will have to be made available. Thus whether the world's fate in the next decade is to be peace or war or a continuance of the present unresolved tensions, an expansion of mineral production is a matter of urgency.

The recent report to the President presented by the International Development Advisory Board, headed by Nelson Rockefeller, recognized this fact by urging that in the next few years two billion dollars be invested in the production of vital minerals to be found in underdeveloped regions. But how is so large a sum to be raised? The Rockefeller group suggested that it should be provided by private American investors working in partnership with local interests. But it is not going to be easy to interest large amounts of private capital in undertakings in which the usual commercial risks are supplemented by serious political risks of the kind that the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company is now experiencing as a result of the move by the Iranian Parliament to nationalize its properties.

The vast pools of petroleum in southwestern Iran have a tremendous significance for a world which is consuming more and more oil every year. And for Iran itself they represent potential capital which, properly employed, might help to raise that ancient land from its abysmal depths of poverty. But the extraction, processing, and marketing of oil is a business that requires both advanced technical skills and heavy outlays of capital. Fifty years ago, when a wealthy Englishman, William Knox D'Arcy, secured a sixty-year petroleum concession, Iran was entirely unequipped to exploit its resources: it could benefit from its suspected wealth of oil only by calling in foreign capital.

The early vicissitudes of the concessionaire illustrate some of the risks of a venture of this kind. It was not until 1908, after large sums had been spent on prospecting, that oil was struck in paying quantities; and four more years passed before the construction of a refinery at Abadan on the Persian Gulf, connected by pipe-line with the oil fields, enabled the Anglo-Persian Oil Company—the name was changed in 1935—to begin marketing operations.

Even then the enterprise was not too firmly established: it faced strongly intrenched competition, and it was short of capital. However, in 1914 the company signed a long-term contract for the supply of fuel oil to the British navy. Simultaneously, Winston Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, who distrusted the "internationalism" of the existing major oil concerns, persuaded the British Treasury to obtain a 52 per cent interest in Anglo-Persian at a cost of $10,000,000. The investment, which was bitterly opposed by conservative Britons as "socialistic," paid off handsomely. The navy obtained an assured supply of oil at less than world prices—it enjoys a sliding-scale discount linked to the volume of company profits—and the Treasury has received dividends covering its outlay many times over.

It is not recorded that the Iranian government was consulted before control of its concession passed to a great power, or that it protested. After all, at that time Britain and Russia were allies and had "settled" the Persian question by carving the country into spheres of interest. Tehran had little to say, and until 1932 appeared to be content with the 16 per cent share of net profits which it received under the original concession.

By that time Iran had acquired a "strong man," the upstart Reza Shah Pahlevi, who had large and expensive ideas about modernizing his country. Noting that his oil revenues were shrinking because the world-wide depression had reduced the demand for oil and Anglo-Iranian's profits had declined, he canceled the concession. This action provoked Britain to diplomatic protests and an appeal to the League of Nations, but the company continued to operate, and after months of hard bargaining a new agreement was signed. The period of the concession was extended until 1993, but its area was reduced from 500,000 to 100,000 square miles. Provision was made for payment of four (gold) shillings per ton royalty to the Iranian government, plus 20 per cent of all profits distributed to shareholders, whether from earnings or reserve, in excess of the amount needed to pay 5 per cent on the common stock.

WITH peace between government and company restored and the depression receding, production and profits once more began to expand. The outbreak of World War II brought a temporary reversal, but after 1941 the demands of the Allied armies taxed the company's resources even though output in 1945 reached 17,000,000 tons, compared with 9,500,000 in 1939.

But although Iran's oil revenues have steadily increased—they provide about 15 per cent of the government's total income—dissatisfaction with the 1933 agreement has mounted. There are many grounds for complaint, as Walter J. Levy pointed out in an illuminating and objective discussion of the problem which appeared in the *Oil Forum's* February issue. The government felt that it was still receiving too small a share of the company's fat earnings. It compared its receipts of about one-third of the company's trading profits with the 50 per cent cut the Venezuelan government has been receiving from foreign oil companies; it took a dim view of the fact that the British government was collecting from the company much larger sums—over half the trading profit in 1949—in direct taxation.

Among other causes of complaint were the special terms on which the British navy continued to buy oil, the relatively high prices charged by the company inside Iran, neglect of natural gas and by-products which might assist industrialization, and labor policies, including the employment of too high a percentage of foreigners and failure to train Iranians for key posts. Not all these criticisms were valid. In Iranian terms, for instance, the company is undoubtedly a model employer, paying good wages, maintaining excellent health services, and providing extensive technical-training facilities. On the other hand, it might have done more to insure that oil was both cheap and readily available to Iranians. Granted that geography and low living standards make for high distribution costs, and mean that at best per capita consumption will be small, the company would have been wise to remove this cause of dissatisfaction even though local operations resulted in a loss. Actually the supplemental agreement signed by the company and the Iranian government in July, 1949, provides for the local sale of oil at 25 per cent below world prices instead of 10 per cent as heretofore.

The main purpose of this supplemental agreement was to increase government revenue. It provided for raising the tonnage royalty from four to six shillings and for somewhat larger tonnage payments in lieu of taxes. In addition the company undertook to pay the government 20 per cent of the accumulated reserve as at the end of 1947 and a similar proportion of all future allocations to this reserve, thus meeting the objection that Iran had been adversely affected by Britain's dividend freeze. The increased royalty and tax payments were also to be retroactive to January 1, 1948, and if the new agreement had been ratified, the Iranian Treasury would have received by the end of 1950 an extra sum of nearly $100,000,000—enough to have solved the worst of its financial difficulties.

Nevertheless, the agreement seemed to Iranians to compare unfavorably with Venezuelan arrangements. They failed to take into consideration the fact that it gave Iran a share in the profits which Anglo-Iranian derives from its growing production in Kuwait and other outside fields and also in the earnings of its world-wide marketing organization, which extends right to the filling-station level. By contrast, the big foreign oil concerns in Venezuela, as well as Aramco, which has recently signed a fifty-fifty agreement with Saudi Arabia, sell their oil at the water's edge, mostly to affiliated companies, and do not receive profits from distribution. Thus it is not easy to compare the terms now offered to Iran and those enjoyed by other oil-rich nations.

IN ANY case the equity of the supplemental agreement is largely beside the point. The real difficulty is that a great many Iranians view the company as a monster. It has grown so large, so rich, and so seemingly powerful that it dominates the country. Appearing almost a state within a state, it offers a constant affront to national pride. Moreover, as a correspondent of the London *Times* wrote, "the inner tension of Persian society has now become such that it can be met only by an acceleration of the drive against the external scapegoats."

Well-informed Iranians readily admit that their country is not equipped to operate the company's intricate business without external help. But calculations of economic advantage have been overwhelmed by nationalist sentiment, which in turn has been manipulated by political opportunists. In the Majlis (Parliament) it was a combination of right- and left-wingers that forced the government to withdraw the supplemental agreement last December and a few weeks ago, following the assassination of Premier Ali Razmara, voted nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian's properties. The left, which sees the company as the natural ally of reaction and therefore an enemy to reform, includes elements taking a lead from Moscow which would be delighted to deny Iranian oil to the West. On the right some members were frightened into voting for nationalization by the threats of nationalist extremists; others, representing the corrupt, conservative landowners, sought to curb the reforming tendencies of the young Shah, whose plans would have been aided by the larger revenues from the supplemental agreement.



The Shah of Persia

What next? A committee of the Majlis is now study-

ing ways and means of taking over the company. If it carries on its researches at all objectively, it is likely to find almost insuperable obstacles. Iranian technicians, aided by independent foreign engineers, might be able to operate the oil fields and refineries, but how would the problem of selling the oil be solved? Iran cannot take over the company's huge tanker fleet and marketing organization: it would require years and a vast investment to build a pipe-line over two great mountain ranges to the Caspian, and then Russia, as the only buyer at the end of the line, would be in a position to dictate prices.

So far the Anglo-Iranian directors seem to have remained calm. They hope that, as in 1932, nationalist passions will cool, making possible new negotiations. In this event they might agree to segregate their Iranian properties in the hands of a separate company in which Iran would be given a 50 per cent interest and a share in the management—that is to say, a genuine partnership. No less generous offer is likely to soothe Iranian pride, and the British government, which is in a weak position to object on principle to nationalization, would be wise to use its control of the company to promote a compromise on these lines.

Rearmament's Rising Tempo

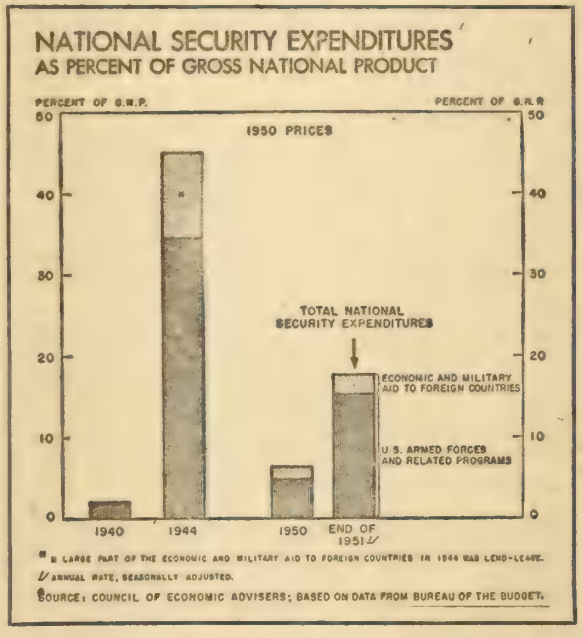
BY FRITZ STERNBERG

IN 1951 the American economy—and American history—entered a new phase. We have had war economies and peace economies, but never before an armament economy in time of peace, at least never one of such magnitude as that under which we are now operating. Only its first small beginnings were apparent in the second half of 1950, when military expenditures amounted to 7 per cent of the American national income; by the end of 1952 they are expected to have risen to 18 per cent.*

Nor have the European democracies ever had an armament economy in peace time of the scale planned by the United States for the next few years. Their extensive military preparations before the First World War did not extend to the industrial, or economic, sphere. Governments did not then realize in what measure a future war would be fought by the munitions plants. Actual military expenditures were therefore small compared with today. In 1913, the last year before World War I, military expenditures even in Germany were only 4 per cent of the total national income.

Nor was the situation much different in the democratic countries before World War II. In Great Britain the military budget was only 4 per cent of the maximum war-time military expenditures (1943-44), and in France matters were no different. Before World War II Nazi Germany alone had a peace-time armament economy until the Soviet Union responded in kind.

That the present American armament economy entails numerous errors and a good deal of friction is due not least to the fact that the past offers no direct parallel, that we cannot profit from experience. Of course we can draw to some extent on our experiences in World War II, when the peace economy was transformed into a war economy, but expenditures then reached dimensions not approached by the armament production of today. In terms of 1950 prices our military expenditures in 1944 would have amounted to no less than $135,000,000,000 a year—many times the military budget planned for the end of 1952. In 1940, however, they were far below those of 1950. The accompanying chart shows the tremendous rise from 1940 to 1944 and the much smaller planned rise between 1950 and 1952.



But it is not merely the lesser scope that distinguishes today's armament economy from the war economy of seven years ago. The expansion of production

*Unless otherwise noted, all figures given in this article were taken from The Economic Report of the President, transmitted to the Congress, January, 1951.

FRITZ STERNBERG, distinguished economist, will bring out a new book this spring—"Socialism and Capitalism on Trial." In a second article he will analyze the influence of the rearmament economy on the American and European standards of living.

has a different economic and social basis. The New Deal had determined the development of the American economy for many years up to the time of Lend-Lease; not until the United States was in the war did Roosevelt declare that Dr. New Deal would have to be replaced by Dr. Win-the-War. America entered World War II with eight to ten million unemployed and a latent crisis. The fact that this crisis could not be completely liquidated in peace time had considerably shaken the confidence of big business in its own strength, and it was quite a while before this confidence was regained. Big business had no particular interest in building new plants and raising productive capacity, since for some time it had been unable to exploit fully the existing industrial facilities. Because industry was unwilling to assume the costs of expanding production, "nearly 72 per cent of the total war-industrial facilities of the period were built with public funds."

The war gradually changed the attitude of the industrialists. The more they were needed for the required tremendous expansion of production, the more they penetrated into the Roosevelt Administration. In the post-war period their power increased. Today Dr. Fair Deal has been replaced by Dr. Win-the-War even before we have a war.

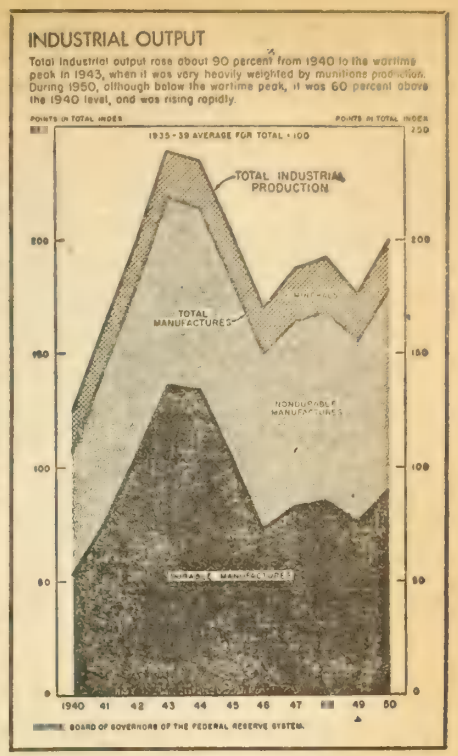
The tremendous industrial expansion of the war years caused the number of persons employed in manufacturing industries to increase for the first time in decades. Between 1919 and 1929 the productivity of labor had risen so much that in 1929 the number of workers was no greater than it had been in 1919. During the depression the number of course declined, and the 1929 level could not be reached again under the New Deal. In 1939 the figure was 10,078,000, or nearly half a million below that of 1929. When the war began, the number of employed industrial workers started to rise, reaching its peak in 1943 with 17,381,000.

At the close of hostilities the number dropped, though it remained much higher than it had been before the war. From 15,247,000 in 1947 it declined to 14,146,000 in 1949 and then rose again to 15,487,000 in the second half of 1950. Even before the big rearmament phase it was thus about 50 per cent above the pre-war level. With the now definitely expected rise in industrial output, it will undoubtedly reach its war-time peak again.

THE confidence of big business that prosperity will last for a long time will probably be justified. The armament economy requires enormous new investments. Since the war new investments have been made almost exclusively by private enterprise, and that trend will undoubtedly continue.

The chart on the next column, showing the industrial output of the last ten years, indicates the probable trend of industrial developments.

The Report says:



From a 1943 peak of 239, the index of industrial production fell to 170 in 1946; or by nearly 30 per cent. Since 1946, except for the 1949 setback, the index has climbed steadily, and by the end of 1950 was within 10 per cent of its war-time peak. Except for the industries which had concentrated on munitions production, virtually all types of industrial output at the end of 1950 were substantially above war-time peaks. In view of the record of expansion and modernization of industrial facilities during the post-war years, basic industrial capacity is now well above the 1944 level.

Starting from this high level a further steep rise of industrial output can be expected. To give but one example: it is planned to raise American steel production from the present 103,000,000 tons a year to about 120,000,000 tons by 1953-54, chiefly through new investments to be made by private enterprise.

The relative industrial strength of the United States in the present world economy is well illustrated by steel. Its output of about 100,000,000 tons of steel a year is already three to four times that of Russia and its satellite states, which is estimated at 25,000,000 to 30,000,000 tons. An increase of 17,000,000 tons in the American output would be an increase equal to more than half the total steel production of Russia and its empire; 17,000,000 tons is more than Britain's entire steel output (the new American arms budget about equals Britain's total national income); it is about 50 per cent more than Germany's present steel production of 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 tons and more than Germany's total capacity. An American steel output of 120,000,000 tons would surpass by one-third the total production of Russia and its satellites, plus Britain and Western Europe.

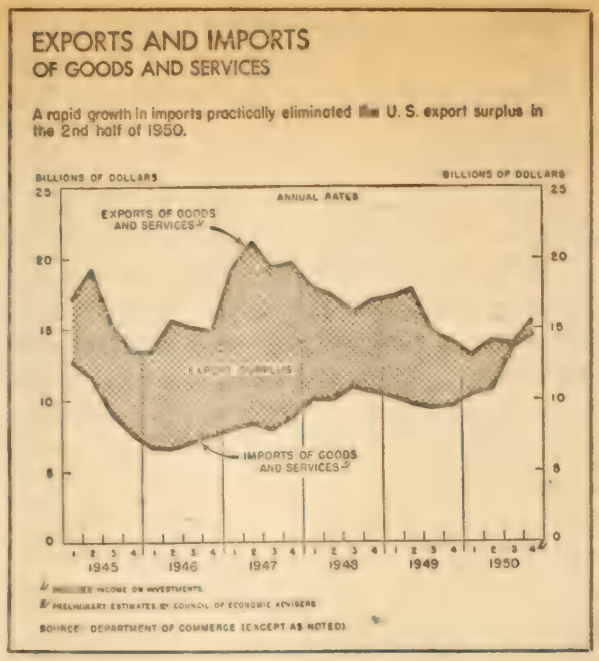
Incidentally, it should be pointed out that these plans for a 17,000,000-ton expansion of steel production are based on the assumption that there will be no war with Russia in 1951-52. The Report says:

> The finished steel requirements for the expansion would total three to four million tons. . . . If total war in 1951 were regarded as inevitable, it would prob-

ably be an inefficient use of resources to start further substantial increases in steel capacity now. It would be better, under that assumption, to use the available steel for making weapons instead of for building more capacity.

Even the beginnings of the armament economy have affected the economic relations of the United States with other countries. "For 1950 as a whole," according to the Census Bureau, "exports amounted to $10,274,800,000 and were $1,435,000,000 in excess of imports. Exports last year were 15 per cent below the 1949 level, while imports recorded a gain of 35 per cent." Thus the dollar gap is being substantially reduced. Other economic difficulties of the countries of Western Europe, however, will not be alleviated by our armament economy but will actually be intensified, as I shall show in a later article.

The dwindling American export surplus is clearly represented in the following chart:



E. C. A.'s Blunders in Italy

BY MARIO ROSSI

FOR many years the American taxpayer has contributed a share of his income to the recovery of Europe, of which Italy is politically and strategically an important part. Has Italy invested this money wisely and constructively? Is its economy on the way to permanent recovery? And above all has Italy taken the measures needed to deal with the problem of unemployment, the solution of which is the condition of stability, economic and political?

Italy today has 2,000,000 jobless, 10 per cent of its labor force. This is the highest proportion in Europe, east or west, and more than double what it was in the Fascist period. The old ways of coping with the problem cannot be applied any longer. Before Fascism, overpopulation was kept in check by mass emigration to the Americas. Today no foreign country seems willing to absorb Italian labor. Fascism kept unemployment down by armament and public-works programs. Today the rearmament program in which Italy will engage with the other Atlantic Pact nations may somewhat relieve unemployment, but the price will again be inflation and a lowered standard of living.

Some wishful thinkers have proposed birth control as a solution for over-population. Apart from the fact that this would be a "long-term" solution, since the labor market would not begin to feel its influence for at least twenty years, Italy's birth rate is already one of the lowest in Europe. It is the same as France's and considerably lower than that of the United States.

Conditions in Italy have changed more radically since the end of the war than people in America realize. The people no longer believe in the inevitability of unemployment. The leftist parties have in consequence acquired great strength and have convinced the masses that social and economic reforms could better their lot. The change in the psychology of the southern peasants, once servile and fatalistic as Arab fellahs, is shown by their seizure of uncultivated lands.

The Italian government is trying to handle the situation by resuming an economic policy adopted some sixty years ago, a policy sound then but disastrous today. Its aim is to balance the budget and "defend" the lira, which of course seems excellent to those who have lire to defend. Once this is done, the government maintains, private enterprise will take care of all other social and economic problems. And if in the meantime unemployment causes unrest, that is a police problem and must be dealt with as such. Coming from Christian Democrats, this solution shows very little Christian charity and even less democratic spirit.

The E. C. A. mission in Italy has proposed a different approach. Leon Dayton, its head, told the Italian government, in language which drew a threat of resignation from De Gasperi, that full employment must be Italy's first goal. Penny-pinching to balance the budget

MARIO ROSSI, The Nation's *Rome correspondent, is at present in this country.*

was ruinous. The government should engage in an aggressive and well-planned policy of investments that would expand production and create new possibilities of work. The E. C. A.'s 1949 report said:

> The total level of capital-goods production is far below what would be possible with present supplies of raw materials, power, and labor. . . . It would appear that the Italian government has little to fear from an aggressive public-investment program provided it plans carefully and in advance for possible contingencies. Clearly, the continued under-utilization of a considerable part of industrial capacity [about 50 per cent!] is inconsistent with the objectives of the recovery program and will not contribute to a solution of Italy's fundamental employment problem.

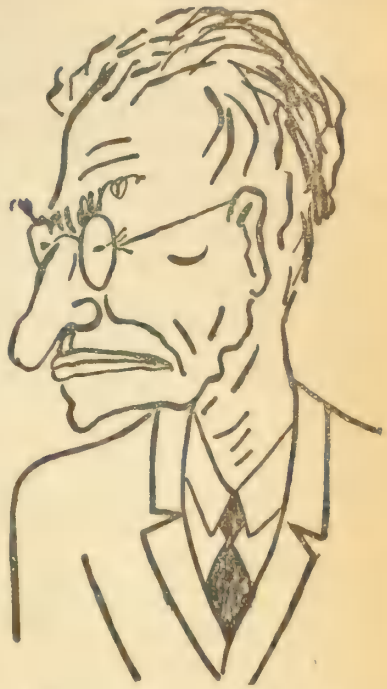
These findings were confirmed by the report published in March, 1950, which pointed out that with productivity still far below pre-war levels, costs remained high and sales in both domestic and foreign markets were restricted.

A PROGRAM of extended production, however, encounters two obstacles: (1) Italy is very poor in natural resources; (2) the average per capita income is so low that little remains for investment after everyday needs have been satisfied.

Italy must acquire most of its raw materials abroad. It must therefore have foreign exchange, which in turn is dependent on exports. And so far Italy has been unable to export enough at prices which are competitive in world markets. Italy's production costs are much higher than those of most other industrial nations, as is shown by the international balance of payments. While 35 per cent of Italy's total imports were from the United States, only 6 per cent of its exports went to the United States. Obviously, Italy cannot sell in the American market, where it must buy its raw materials.

Western Europe and Latin America took 62 per cent of Italy's exports but furnished only 37 per cent of its imports. This trade was made possible by Italy's large credits in Western European and Latin American countries, which were set up in order to get rid of products that could not be sold more profitably on other markets. These exports actually represent a loss and a further lowering of the national income, for if non-dollar credits remain idle, the government has to pay the equivalent lire to exporters. In 1948 the Bank of Italy had to advance $270,000,000 to finance exports. "Shall we, asked *La Voce Repubblicana,* official organ of the Republican Party, which is represented in the Cabinet, "continue the policy of making presents of credit to the whole world? And shall we go on forcing the Italian consumer to pay for it, whose standard of living is the lowest among Marshall Plan countries?" The situation has become so absurd that an Italian official proposed to use credits in France to build houses for French workers. "It is true," he said, "that we have millions of homeless, but otherwise what are we going to do with our credits in French francs?"

Obviously, it would be silly for Italy to produce more goods to sell to countries which have no raw materials to offer in return. An increase in production must be accompanied by a sharp cut in production costs which will make it possible for Italian goods to compete in hard-currency markets. But this cannot be accomplished without a reorganization of Italian industry.



Prime Minister de Gasperi

Swiss industry when first developed faced much the same problem, though on a more limited scale. Like Italy, Switzerland has few natural resources and an abundant labor force. Unlike Italy, it solved the problem wisely by manufacturing watches and other precision instruments which require small amounts of raw materials and much skilled labor. Italy, afflicted by the *manie de grandeur,* chose to create a large mechanized industry worthy of a great power. The E. C. A. report says:

> During the 1920's and 1930's Italian industry grew under the haphazard direction of the Fascist state without the healthy selection imposed by competition. Autarchic policies prevented foreign competition, and the small size of the domestic market tended to make such an industry highly monopolistic. Heavy industries, such as the armament industry and shipbuilding, grew rapidly and uneconomically during World War I and were protected during the inter-war years from competition which might have stimulated needed reorganization and rationalization.

IN OTHER words, Italy's heavy industry is uneconomical and parasitic; it is supported by government subsidies and favors but has not the benefit of the planning that a socialist economy would supply. With respect to the degree of state participation in many key sectors, either through direct ownership of certain industries or through parasitical holding companies, the E. C. A. report noted, "State-controlled mechanical and engineering industries . . . comprise one-third of the output of medium and large plants in the field." This statement

could convey the impression that a large segment of Italian industry is nationalized. The report dispels any such thought:

> For a very large part of such enterprises the Italian government merely provides a certain amount of financial backing and risk-taking while participating passively or scarcely at all in managerial decisions. In a large number of such enterprises little effort is being made by the government to achieve greater efficiency through modernization and reorganization. Quasi-nationalized industries are not used as pace-setters for privately owned establishments in the same field. The state-controlled enterprises are by no means used as tools of governmental economic policy but now serve rather to aggravate the rigidities which plague the Italian economy; in some cases marginal production units which would have disappeared in a normal competitive situation continue to exist because of financial support from the Italian state. Lacking the incentive of private enterprise and free competition, for which the present passive managerial role of the state provides no substitute, certain segments of these state-controlled industries have ceased to develop or now improve at a snail's pace.

To put it simply, the state subsidizes a large number of industries but has no control over them, with the result, according to the latest E. C. A. data, that they are at present running at between 25 and 50 per cent of capacity. Is it to be wondered, then, that the owner cares little about production, knowing that the government will cover his deficit? This attitude has developed a special type of industrialist whose worry is not to produce the most at the lowest possible price in order to beat his competitors but how to win favors in Rome. He uses bribery, buys newspapers to influence public opinion, places his men in Parliament and in key posts in the civil service. He regularly extorts subsidies by threatening to close his factory; the government surrenders to his request rather than risk more unemployment and unrest. Industrialists of this type have acquired such power in Rome that they practically run the country.

Italian plants must be modernized to reduce costs, most of the machinery being fifteen to twenty-five years old; production processes must be streamlined; surplus labor must be diverted to other activities; turnover taxes must be reduced. But none of these things can be accomplished unless Italy follows the example of England and France and nationalizes its main industries. Only if this is done can big business be prevented from strangling the medium and small enterprises, which are vital to Italian recovery, and the public be assured that the national income will be invested to safeguard the interests of the country, not those of a few individuals.

Expansion of Italy's home market will be difficult unless the people's standard of living can be raised. According to the Association of Italian Joint Stock Companies, "the per capita income obtained in 1949 is not only 10 per cent below that of 1938 but 10 per cent below that enjoyed by Italians in 1913, forty years ago." A recent U. N. survey shows that in 1949 the average income in Italy was $235 as compared with $1,453 in the United States, $773 in Great Britain, and $482 in France.

I SHALL not dwell here on the extreme poverty of the mainly agricultural south or the urgent need of agrarian reform, to which the government of Prime Minister de Gasperi is solemnly committed, with the full support of E. C. A., but about which nothing has been done. A land reform would not directly affect unemployment. Fifty per cent of Italy's labor force is now engaged in agriculture, and it is unlikely that the tired soil of Italy could use more hands. But, indirectly, by improving the subhuman existence of the peasants, agrarian reform would help tremendously in absorbing an expanded industrial output. A fairer income would create new needs —from kitchen utensils to bathtubs, from furniture to radios and cars. Not only would the northern industries acquire a new market in the south, but subsidiary industries would be created there, and commerce, tourism, and shipping would be aided. If a long-promised housing project could also be carried out, thousands of small and medium-size industries would be activated. The Italian government cannot say that the necessary funds are lacking. It could use the "lira fund" to finance this project. But we read in the New York *Times*:

> Officials of the Marshall Plan agency are particularly disheartened by the slow rate at which lire accumulated in the European Recovery Program counterpart fund are being spent. In the two fiscal years from July 1, 1948, to June 30, 1950, the agency authorized the use of $464,500,000, but only $88,700,000 were withdrawn from the fund, and there is reason to believe that the whole of this sum has not been spent. During the last fiscal year authorizations amounted to $350,000,000 and withdrawals to $145,000,000.

E. C. A. drafts all kind of plans and projects, but the Italian government pays no attention. Yet the government is at least consistent. It proclaims undivided allegiance to free enterprise, Italian style, and follows that line, however ruinous the result. Unfortunately, by trying to introduce a New Deal without laying the foundations for it, E. C. A., however unintentionally, is strengthening an economic structure that is the cause of the Italian people's poverty and unhappiness. E. C. A. has not yet understood, or does not wish to understand, that the realization of its own program for Italy calls for the nationalization of major industries and a sweeping land reform. But even if E. C. A. did advocate these changes as the indispensable condition of lasting Italian recovery, the present ruling class would never allow them. Italy's economic problem thus becomes one of men and political orientation.

Father and Daughter

THE TOLSTOY HOME. Diaries of Tatiana Sukhotin-Tolstoy. Translated by Alec Brown. Columbia University Press. $4.

LEO TOLSTOY'S oldest daughter, Tatiana, now a woman of eighty-seven, has published the diaries which she wrote between the ages of fourteen and forty-seven. To call her story honest is not enough. On the one hand it contains the contradictions and bright flashes of the best conversation; on the other, it lays bare her soul. The book is only incidentally a description of the Tolstoy home. Primarily it is the emotional record of an extraordinary young woman and her relations with her extraordinary father. This is Tatiana's second appearance before an English-speaking audience. In 1925 she made a speech in Prague (summarized in *Living Age),* in which she interpreted the parental tragedy. Her words were wise and compassionate. Although the daughter spoke to offset her mother's slanderers, she also established herself as the worthy heir of Leo Tolstoy.

Tatiana Sukhotin-Tolstoy, who lived all her life as the oldest daughter of a great man, can now be understood in her own right. A youthful photograph of her appears in the book. She is dressed in plain, tight-fitting velvet, lace at the cuffs, ribbon at the neck, head bent over a note, with a flower on her little table and papers strewn happily over the floor. A half-smile warms her face, suggesting a love note. In short, she seems another Anna Karenina, made to be loved. And so her diaries reveal her.

When they begin in 1878, with Tania a fourteen-year-old adolescent, her father's religious search has not yet interrupted her development; she dreams of her social debut in Moscow. "Papa" is her hero and fun-loving Aunt Tatiana her "kind fairy." Between flirtations she sketches; and the many babies of the household fall into her waiting arms. She is adorable and well aware of the fact; neither parent can resist her, and her life promises to be a fortunate one.

But the family move to Moscow, in 1882, made the discord of the parents clear to their older children. Tania, however, overflowed with life, her social needs not unlike those of her still charming mother. And so while the father studied Moscow poverty, the daughter paid 1,500 rubles for her season's frocks. She could not follow Tolstoy blindly as her sister Masha did, but her father was still first in her affections ("the only man whom I believe always . . . my sole consolation and support in life"), and she was jealous of Masha. When "The Kreutzer Sonata" appeared, with its declaration in favor of celibacy, beautiful Tania renounced marriage. And so she who was ready for married love and for children remained a coquette, like her mother, and also fought against her passions, like her father. With great caution Tatiana finally married at the age of thirty-four, never before having exchanged a kiss, and found to her surprise that married love could provide a basis for happiness. Four stillborn babies followed, until at the age of forty-one she had a little girl who lived, her only child. This part of Tatiana's life, the main story, is full of grief, and the diarist does not seek to minimize it.

But Tania had another role to play, that of family consoler. In age she stood midway between her mother and her mother's youngest child—a twenty-year span in each direction—and she became her mother's assistant and confidante. In spite of the magnetism of her father ("My love for him is an unconquerable rival to all my other loves") she felt that her mother's isolation was tragic and instead of judging her pitied her. It was Tania who realized the error of her father's written will, Tania who tried to bring her father and mother together during the last days of illness. The explanation of the family discord, in so far as it is recorded in this diary, represents the Countess in terms which ring true and are also sympathetic. The daughter's record balances the partial accounts of her parents.

The reader wonders whether Tatiana resented her fate: that her young love was demanded and used by her father and that much of her life was absorbed in family reconciliation. A strange entry occurs in 1901, after her marriage, during a stay with her parents in the Crimea. Tatiana has just given birth to her first stillborn child, her father is very ill, and her husband complains of his heart condition, but she is most aware of her own misery. She writes about her father: "Must not forget to be a companion to him. Must not forget that he might die. Must not forget one has to forgive . . ." Does the word "forgive" refer to her long years of unused love and to her mounting fear that she will never have children of her own? But this is only one entry amid others of a different tone. The interesting fact is that Tatiana, the daughter who capitulated least to her father, remained no less dear to him for that reason. She did not renounce her property in 1891, knowing full well that she could not curb her expenditures. "The dark people," Tolstoy's disciples, often seemed to her ridiculous, sick, and even unbalanced, and she never felt comfortable with the Chertkovs, who married for principle.

In art Tatiana was moved less by "noble content" than by beauty. Tolstoy loved this daughter for her charm and her independent outlook. He trusted her judgment and was grateful that she stayed close to her mother. Father and daughter remained shy with each other —Tania could not caress Tolstoy as Masha did—but they read each other's hearts. Tatiana, like her mother, would not have chosen a life separated from Leo Tolstoy, in spite of the sacrifices she paid for his companionship. In 1889 she writes, "I so appreciate having been born precisely in this family, with Papa as my father." And after Tolstoy's death she deifies him, capitalizing the pronouns which refer to him, and hoping for his second coming. "I do dream of Tania [the daughter] bearing a son who will continue the great work of his great grandfather." ANITA MARBURG

Why Wars Come

AND THE WAR CAME. The North and the Secession Crisis, 1860-1861. By Kenneth M. Stampp. Louisiana State University Press. $4.50.

THIS brilliant and scholarly volume is much more than a reexamination of the immediate coming of the Civil War; it is a balanced and wise analysis of why wars come. Quite possibly the author, an associate professor of history at the University of California, did not intend his study to be read as a general critique of such a timely problem. Nevertheless, his insights are so shrewd and his analysis of the problem so deft that the reader cannot help making Professor Stampp's unpretentious work do double duty. The author sweeps aside the dry rot of partisan historical theorizing—he is not gallant Southerner, or Doughface, or Yankee—and drives fast to that hard core of meaning the period of the secession crisis holds for us. His insight into the dynamics of that period may well serve as a guide to studies of similar crises of our own and other times.

Propaganda, the distortions of reality perpetrated by hotheads and fanatics North and South: these are frequently claimed as causes of the Civil War. Overemphasis on the power of the images and stereotypes contrived in order to *intensify* the sectional conflict has led some historians to claim that propagandists and their techniques *created* the conflict. Professor Stampp, however, evinces a more realistic understanding of the role played by the agitators in the North. All wars require a molding of attitudes that conceive of the enemy as an ogre; this was the task performed all too well by the agitators. When war did come, Northern leaders could more easily make of it a great crusade against Southerners stereotyped as cruel, rapacious, godless, and immoral slave breeders.

The author by no means denies the importance of the agitators. But with an all too rare capacity for balance, he recognizes that beneath and beyond the propaganda there was, in reality, sectional rivalry and conflict. He does not forget, as some historians do, that there remained the fact of Negro slavery. The South was a static, agrarian, debtor society, for decades at bitter odds with its creditor, the dynamic, commercialized, and rapidly industrializing North. Again and again the sections had clashed on matters vital to each—internal improvements, tariffs, subsidies, and national banks. "These matters," Professor Stampp wisely reminds us, "together with slavery, were always back of the tirades of the agitators. And these matters, rather than the tirades, were at the roots of things. Without them there would have been no sectional agitation and no Civil War."

Nor did the war come because the Americans of the secession crisis were a "blundering generation"; Professor Stampp abundantly demonstrates that the North chose rather than blundered into its course. Conciliation failed in this last crisis not because of ineptitude but because the North had determined what its interests were and, when they were at stake, refused to make those compromises necessary to prevent war. Similarly, of course, the South refused meaningful compromise when its basic interests were threatened.

War came when Lincoln, heeding the incessant demands of the North, refused to accept compromises satisfactory to the South, pursued his intended course of "enforcing the laws," and stood firm against the evacuation of Fort Sumter. It has been charged, more covertly than otherwise, that Lincoln "caused" the war by his maneuvering at Sumter, and that his decision to send an expedition to the beleaguered fort not only precipitated the war but was actually consciously planned to do so in order to take the new President and his party out of an untenable position. With refreshing realism Professor Stampp does not defend or attack Lincoln for his actions. Rather he indicates how consistent they were with the avowed position Lincoln and his party had long since insisted must be taken if the Union were to be preserved. Lincoln's was a "strategy of defense" at Sumter. Given the unwillingness of both sections to make those concessions that alone would avoid war, maneuvering the South into the position of "aggressor" if war should come was superb strategy. And the author's appraisal of Sumter as strategy and not blunder does not lead him to accuse Lincoln of self-seeking and partisanship. Instead, he is correctly aware that it may well have been but Lincoln's great good fortune that "personal, partisan, and national interests could be served with such favorable coincidence as they were by his Sumter decision."

But the war wasn't necessary or "inevitable," as wars never have been nor ever will be. Bitterness, antagonism, and conflict—between societies whose economic, political, and cultural patterns were so opposed—surely were irrepressible. To assume, however, that war had to come is folly and serves only to relieve Lincoln's generation, North and South, of responsibility for its choice of war to resolve conflict. Probably we judge the past as we would have posterity judge us. Thus "inevitability" relieves our generation, East and West, of responsibility for its choice of war or peace. Worse, the fatalism that denies choice may effectually prevent those who truly abhor war from making meaningful efforts toward peace—and may aid those who would justify as "inevitable" the easy use of war to secure their ends.

Historians would serve us well not to explain away but rather to examine carefully the choices of war or peace for which other generations are responsible. Thoroughly, without partisanship, and with a keen intelligence Professor Stampp has done this for us. His volume deserves the widest attention.

RICHARD D. HEFFNER

Verse-Dramas

BEYOND THE MOUNTAINS. By Kenneth Rexroth. New Directions. $1.50.

PLAYS by poets are works to be regarded with mistrust: not because one has any protective concern for the theater (like most Americans who are separated spiritually—and geographically—from the New York stage, I know little and—*in flagrante delicto!*—care little about the affairs of the dramatist) but rather because one has observed repeatedly that, in spite of the obsessive interest in the drama which has appeared in the practice and criticism of the followers of Yeats, Eliot, Pound, and even Bridges, most modern poets go haywire when they try to write speeches for other people to recite. It is an uncommon pleasure to report that Kenneth Rexroth has managed to com-

pose verse-dramas that are as well written as his lyrics.

This volume contains four plays—"Phaedra," "Iphigenia at Aulis," "Hermaios," "Berenike." They are short: I suppose they can be called "one-act plays," though in a negative way this does some violence to Rexroth's structural method, which makes plays that are whole, flowing, and "unscenic," like good lyrics. As the titles indicate, the situations in these plays are derived from Greek antiquity, the first two from standard mythology, the last two, which are related sequentially, from Rexroth's imagined re-creation of a historical episode. The motivating idea of all these plays is the same—the struggle of the individual to transcend the web of events through strength of will or purity of love or the euphoria of acceptance. The action is plain and often ugly; dramatic tension comes from the simplest conflicts of sex. The compulsion of circumstance, the unity of cause and effect, the intimacy of the family of mankind, whose interdependent acts fill time, are conveyed by a controlling order of incest. These are Greek plays: the gods are incestuous, for they have only themselves. So must heroes be; so must men.

The statement that the lines of these dramas are as well written as those of Rexroth's lyric poems does not constitute unqualified praise. In both there is a tendency toward unfinished figures which avoids the first rule of good writing: that is, describe everything absolutely faithfully. Thus in the first lines of the first play we find a description of the wind rising "With an uncanny rustling/Noise like stiff pleated tissues/Moving." There are many kinds of tissue, several kinds of stiffness. Dress, arras, tarpaulin? Silk, burlap, canvas? The wind is making almost any sort of noise, and we cannot hear it. Such imprecision is common in these plays. On the other hand, Rexroth has made a line that is flexible and capable of great variety; it can absorb the most archaic inversion and the flattest colloquialism. It is a good line for verse-drama.

The ultimate question is: Can these plays be performed? I am not qualified to answer. But Rexroth has obviously written them with performance in mind, and I think I should like to see them if they were well done. The doing would be hard, for these plays are to be performed as a dance, formally, arbitrarily. In each of them the highest moment is an actual dance, and therefore the music would be important too. Only the most imaginative of directors could make this attempt, and even he would consult the poet often. Yet the attempt should be made.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

Science: the Test of Ideas

SCIENCE AND COMMON SENSE. By James B. Conant. Yale University Press. $4.

FOR the purposes of this book President Conant postulates an intelligent but uninformed layman to whom he proceeds to explain the aims and methods of contemporary physical science. The intention is not wholly unlike that of Karl Pearson's nineteenth-century classic "The Grammar of Science," and the most interesting as well as the most original sections are those explaining the shift of emphasis which has taken place largely as the result of the paradoxes inherent in modern physics.

There is, says President Conant, no such thing as "the" method of science, and Pearson's once orthodox assumption that the collection and classification of facts is the first step in any fruitful investigation is quite wrong. Science, as distinguished from the practice of traditional mechanical arts, does not arise until experiment is directed toward the testing of "speculative general ideas," and the extent to which a science has reached maturity is measured by the extent to which it has freed itself from purely empirical procedures. Essentially it is not so much a body of known facts as "an interconnected series of concepts and conceptual schemes that have developed as a result of experimentation and observation and are fruitful of further experimentation and observation."

Such a definition is of course in line with the thinking of modern physicists, who have been driven to the assumption that science's account of the order and meaning of phenomena is not a simple statement of what "really is" but a frequently paradoxical intellectual construction meaningful to the human mind and fruitful of results even though its relation to "ultimate reality"—if there is any such thing—is dubious. President Conant not only accepts this fact but devotes the major part of his book to an account of various crucial scientific discoveries which came about in a fashion illustrative of his thesis that, even during the early scientific renaissance, it was not the mere collection and arrangement of observed fact but the testing of conceptual schemes that was responsible for the fundamental discoveries.

Thus, to take a single example, the existence of the atmosphere as a fluid having weight was not the result of simple empirical observations but of attempts to test the ancient concept of the "full universe," and the most significant aspect of the discoveries of Torricelli and Pascal was the substitution of one conceptual scheme for another. In his view, therefore, the scientific renaissance of the seventeenth century did not come about because, as used to be said, men began to be more interested in induction than in deduction but rather because, for the first time in history, deductive methods began to be applied to the data accumulated by mechanics and artisans whose methods were purely empirical and who had no "conceptual schemes."

This interesting and important thesis tends rather to run away with a volume whose avowed purpose seems to be somewhat more narrowly practical and didactic. The result is that the lay reader will get a good deal of theoretical enlightenment but may feel that he has not been told as convincingly as he expected to be told just how, why, and to what extent he should leave his problems in the hands of the scientists. In fact, the concluding chapters, dealing with such subjects as Federal Funds for Fundamental Research and Value Judgments and the Social Scientist, are so brief, so general, and so hurried as to seem very inconclusive indeed. To me, at least, the last-mentioned chapter seems to miss the point. The fact that doctors generally agree that medicine should save lives does not prove the incorrectness of the common thesis that "science is neutral so far as value judgments are concerned." What it actually does do is to confirm that opinion, since the value judgment concerning the

worth of human life obviously comes from outside the science of medicine and is not a scientific judgment at all.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Cluttered Perspective

VALIANT PILGRIM. The Story of John Bunyan and Puritan England. By Vera Brittain. The Macmillan Company. $4.

IN A recent poll designed to name the "most boring classic" "Pilgrim's Progress" won first place without serious opposition. Mrs. Brittain, if she knew of the poll, would certainly demand a recount. But if the outlook for Bunyan is not so dull as the pollsters envisage it, neither is it so glorious as she portrays it.

Since his death, it is true, he has steadily if slowly gained the attention of the educated and won the praise of discerning critics. On the other hand, during the last half-century at least, he has as steadily lost much of the mass appeal he enjoyed for two centuries. He is the victim of the decline of evangelical zeal. Though he speaks profound truths with luminous simplicity and though he had remarkable understanding of what we now call psychology, he uses a frame of reference either totally unknown or only dimly familiar to vast numbers of present-day readers. Students of the history of human rights recognize Bunyan as a valiant and determined fighter for one of the most precious of these, the freedom of conscience and belief. Since all too few, however, yet fully understand the fundamental importance of this freedom, he is not now widely revered as a champion of man's liberty.

It is with Bunyan the champion of faith and of freedom of conscience that Mrs. Brittain is chiefly concerned. Certainly she is most effective in portraying the known facts of his rather uneventful life. For his youth she leans heavily on his partial autobiography "Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners." In fact, it may be said that she uses this book uncritically, for she seems not to realize fully that in it Bunyan was more interested in giving positive proof of his youthful depravity than in recording simple biographical facts. She fully recounts his career as pastor and itinerant preacher and the frustrations and dangers he faced because of his determination to save souls in defiance of the Crown and of the Church of England. Bunyan stands out as a passionate advocate, stubborn, fearless, aflame with zeal to rescue frail humanity from a very real hell and draw it to an equally actual heaven.

The treatment of Bunyan the literary artist is far less effective. All his many books are noted, and "Pilgrim's Progress," "The Holy War," and "The Life and Death of Mr. Badman" are given extended consideration. Too much stress is placed, however, on possible parallels between the stories and the characters and events and persons in Bunyan's life. Much of the analysis is uncritical, and the very interesting subject of style is neglected.

Though the bibliography is inadequate, the book gives evidence not only of great energy and of delight in the subject but also of a vast amount of research. The many excellent photographs with which the book is illustrated add much to the reader's knowledge of places important in Bunyan's life.

The author's excessive eagerness to make Bunyan both real and great, however, leads her into many bad practices. The work is cluttered with very long and minute descriptions of buildings, bridges, rivers, and streets. One has the impression that every physical spot that Bunyan may have looked at is portrayed in detail. The forcing of a sense of intimacy by the constant use of Bunyan's first name by itself is annoying. Even more serious is the author's habit of stating as fact matters she cannot possibly know, such as the thoughts of Bunyan's parents as they carried him to his christening, what flowers grew outside the houses Bunyan visited, or exactly what species of bird he frightened into flight as he made his way to a secret woodland conventicle. Finally there are such errors of fact as the statement that Milton's masques started a literary fashion, the assertion that "the far-reaching claims of the papacy were archaic" in the seventeenth century, and the reference to one of the best-known students of the period, David Masson, as Professor Gustave Masson.

The wings of Mrs. Brittain's enthusiasm are not strong enough to carry her readers to the height of her rapture.

DONALD A. ROBERTS

Return of a Native

THE BROKEN ROOT. By Arturo Barea. Translated from the Spanish by Ilsa Barea. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

IN THAT seedtime of war, the thirties, the theme of exile bulked large in fictional literature, and it is to be expected that at war's end the finale to exodus should be written. The return of the native is an old story, appearing, like most old stories, at its best in "Hamlet" and Homer. Usually spoiled by lush episodes with faithful dogs and ecstatic shivers occasioned by the familiar, it has not frequently been as modestly told as by Arturo Barea in his recently published novel, "The Broken Root."

After ten years as a political refugee in England, Mr. Barea's exile, Don Antolin Moreno, returns to Spain. Not in the least sure that he will stay, uncertain as to the wisest division of a small capital accumulated by working as a head waiter in London, and fearful of provoking a pretense at affection, Antolin goes to a boarding-house where he can survey his family and country at a distance. What strikes his eye is below hope and beyond redemption—a microcosm of Spain itself. His wife, Luisa, has become a household drudge whose only escape from toil is spiritualism; his daughter, Amelia, a shiftless hypocrite spiting the world by religious mania; his youngest son, Juan, a poorly paid worker with little skill and a Communist spiting the world by political mania; his eldest son, Pedro, a Falangist black marketeer and pimp; his Spain "a place where every good thing is poisoned and every bad thing grows." In Antolin everyone sees a private dream come true—a debtor obliged to pay for their misery. His wife wants a new flat and a dutiful, bank-clerk husband so that decent people can call again. Amelia angles for a dowry to assure herself of a good job at the convent she wishes to enter. Pedro tries to work the old man for a monetary boost into the cocaine traffic, and Juan stumbles about in the hope of securing either money for the party or access to a big deal whose revelation will impress the party bosses with his diligence and loyalty. In the battle for spoils which develops as soon as private dreams are made public, Pedro put the Falange on

to Juan, and Amelia through the agency of her confessor acts to have her mother's spiritualist group broken up by the police. As a result Juan is murdered by the Falange, and Luisa, deprived of her seer, loses her wits. Antolin patches up the shattered family by buying his daughter's way into the convent and providing a nurse for his stricken wife. After his son's funeral he prepares to cut short the native's return and live as a broken root in England.

The point, of course, is obvious; indeed, it is too explicitly made. Like many political novelists Mr. Barea lets ideology do the work of drama, thereby fashioning contrived action and wooden characters. Nevertheless, the portrait of a Communist who is neither a professional revolutionary nor a starving laborer with seven children but a sorry and neglected individual whose political commitment gives him a sense of importance can pass for subtle in a day when Wall Street Marxism identifies passing the rice around with putting an end to communism. In addition, the treatment of the churchmen, though harsh, is refreshingly bare of the pious sentimentality that in American and English literature shrouds most representatives of the religious bureaucracy. And finally, the suggestion of the utter purposelessness breeding in the Spanish mire of filth, corruption, and ignorance fully justifies the warning—applicable on all levels—that Spain is a place to be only if escape is impossible.

JOSEPH KRAFT

The Vatican View

THE VATICAN AND ITS ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS. By Charles Pichon. Translated from the French by Jean Misrahi. E. P. Dutton and Company. $4.50.

THIS book bears the "imprimatur" of Cardinal Spellman. On the fly-leaf it displays also a letter to the author from the Papal Secretariat of State informing him that His Holiness read several chapters of it, expressed "His august satisfaction," and congratulated M. Pichon not only "because of his proven attachment to the Holy See," but also because "his information is seldom in error." A book that makes its bow to the public under such "august" auspices is entitled to some consideration.

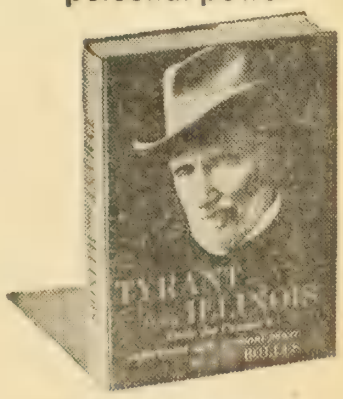
In the French original M. Pichon, a well-known correspondent of French newspapers in Rome for many years, had called his book "Histoire du Vatican." This title was changed in the American translation, not because it might have appeared too ambitious, but because it was not ambitious enough. In fact, we are told in the Foreword that this book "is not merely a history." Its author intended to show also that "the acts of heroism" of the church and of the papacy do not belong only to the past but also to the present and that "further splendors are to come in the future." In common language this means that this "history" is a book of Catholic apologetics and propaganda with a tinge of prophetism to boot.

In the same Foreword, signed by both the author and the translator, we are told also that while many books are available which offer adequate accounts of the history of most countries, "there is none which treats of the most ancient of the great powers," the papacy. We assume that this does not mean that M. Pichon does not know of any other book dealing with the political history of the Vatican, as if he were living behind some iron curtain, but only that in M. Pichon's judgment there is not in the large historical literature on this subject a single "adequate" book and that this gap has been finally filled by M. Pichon's own book. We are afraid that the pontifical blessing has seriously affected M. Pichon's sense of modesty.

To remain within the sphere of Catholic scholarship and within the limits of one-volume works, L. Sturzo's "Church and State—Historical-Sociological Study" is a thoughtful exposition and interpretation, at times even bold for a Catholic theologian, of the impact of papal ideas and programs of action upon the political and social conditions of Europe throughout the centuries. In dealing with the recent period of papal policies Sturzo's keen critical sense is dulled by his sense of ecclesiastical discipline; yet his pages on the political and social program of Leo XIII are perhaps the best ever written from a Catholic but not fanatical point of view. Only a few years ago appeared also Bernhart's "Der Vatican als Weltmacht," which created a stir in Catholic circles and was translated into several modern languages. In spite of its limitations and its rhetorical emphasis, Bernhart's book outlines effectively the dramatic contrast between the ideal and the reality, between the sacred and the profane, the temporal and the spiritual elements of papal policies and aspirations to universal domination. It compares very favorably with M. Pichon's "History of the Vatican," which is a kind of potpourri of exuberant journalistic impressions thrown together with the presumption of writing history.

M. Pichon has given only eighty-two pages to almost nineteen hundred years of papal history, from the beginning to the death of Pius IX, and over three hundred pages to the last seventy years. This disproportion was intentional, because the past history has only the func-

UNCLE JOE CANNON'S
experiment with
personal power



TYRANT
from ILLINOIS
By BLAIR BOLLES

"A lucid, often amusing, occasionally terrifying account of the way in which American politics is managed . . . He (the author) brings in enough to explode the myth of the national scoundrel . . . The book is loaded with admirable thumbnail sketches of figures that once loomed terrifically upon the national horizon . . . an excellent job."—*N. Y. Herald Tribune Book Review*

$4.50 *at all bookstores*

OTHER RECENT SUCCESSES

POLICY for the WEST
by BARBARA WARD
3rd Printing $3.75

A SOCIALIST'S FAITH
by NORMAN THOMAS $4.00

tion of providing the "background" of contemporary papal political and social history. In reality this supposedly "adequate" background or synthesis of nineteen centuries of pontifical history is nothing more than a series of often disconnected episodes—it jumps from Charlemagne straight to Gregory VII—forming a kind of loose summary of general church history such as might be used in Catholic Sunday schools.

An outline history of the popes is given in only one chapter, From Leo XIII to Pius XII. It is followed by three more which form the bulk of the book and deal respectively with the expansion of Catholic missions, with the movement for the union of the churches, and with the Vatican. The third is titled Between Washington and Moscow. The historical literature covering this period, both Catholic and non-Catholic, is very large. M. Pichon has given us a mere summary in which the traditional and worn-out clichés of Catholic modern historiography concerning the last five popes are recast in the most extravagant language. We hear once more of Leo XIII, "a political genius," founder of Christian Democracy and discoverer of the Social Question; of Pius X, a saintly pope who crushed the deadly heresy of modernism and freed the church of France from the clutches of the atheist state; of Benedict XV, the sleepless apostle of peace; of Pius XI, who possessed both the political genius of Leo and the religious fire of Pius and who by a chain of concordats brought back God to Italy and many other nations; and finally of Pius XII, another apostle of peace and the pope of "social Catholicism."

France, of course, often holds the center of the stage in this picture. In his description of the political activities of Leo XIII, M. Pichon has preferred to pass over in silence the fact that most of Leo's papal maneuvers and diplomatic intrigues were dictated by his plan to raise enemies against Italy in the hope of recovering the lost Papal States. On the contrary, historians will be surprised to learn that the alliance of France "with the monarchs of St. Petersburg" was the work of Leo XIII, who thus "spared France from being crushed in 1914 by the Germans." They will learn also that in the Lateran agreements with Mussolini, Pius XI received only 700,000,000 gold lire but not that one billion lire in state bonds was added to those millions according to the agreement. Very interesting will be the revelation that Pope Pius XI concluded "more than forty concordats" with nations, while only about a dozen are known to have been made.

Writing about the concordat of Pius XI with Hitler, M. Pichon remarks that the Vatican "had no illusions about Hitler and his band of thieves." Yet the Holy See "signed the concordat, according to its invariable custom, first because regimes are passing and written documents are more lasting, and then because a refusal would have put it in a most unfavorable position." We wonder what Pius XII, if he read this chapter, must have thought of the statement that it is the invariable custom of the Holy See to come to agreements with bands of thieves either for the sake of gaining some advantages or out of fear of reprisals. L. Sturzo, who is a good theologian, confronted with the problem of the Fascist and Nazi concordats, raised at least indirectly the question whether collaboration with evil is permitted under any circumstances. M. Pichon has no such scruples. He believes that, after all, those concordats did not confer upon the Duce or the Führer "a sort of consecration in the eyes of all the Catholics."

In the long chapter called Union of the Churches, M. Pichon traces back the whole history of the origin of the eastern schism and of Protestantism and then deals at length with the movement for the union of churches which has lately been so active in the Protestant world. Here he has written some interesting pages which also manifest his sincere effort to understand the point of view of the dissident churches. He writes without the bitterness usual to Catholic historians when dealing especially with Protestantism. But the part of the Vatican in this movement has been only negative. It has rejected every offer to discuss the matter, holding a priori that the union of churches can be achieved only by their unconditional surrender to papal teaching and jurisdiction.

The last chapter describes in glowing colors the progress of Catholicism in the United States, where "the policies of the White House seem to be the present-day application of the maxims of St. Paul, St. Thomas Aquinas, and of Leo XIII" and where the Pope and the Catholic hierarchy are considered to be the stalwart defenders of liberty and democracy. American Catholics, being essentially Irish, are devoted to the papacy, but "though they have no objection to the *Latin* tradition in the church, they are somewhat less cordial to the Italians." Does this mean that the Americans would prefer, let us say, a French pope? M. Pichon then mentions incidentally the delicate question of Catholic-American resentment at not having a larger share in the central government of the church in Rome. Pius XII already has a couple of American prelates in the diplomatic service, and more will be called in the near future, because the Pope "on occasion accepts the assistance of American forces, simply because a purely spiritual power in certain cases needs temporal assistance." But this does not mean that the Vatican subordinates its policies to those of Washington; on the other hand, the White House cannot at present adopt an entirely "Catholic policy."

The irreconcilable conflict between the Vatican and Moscow has its parallel to that of Washington and Moscow. There is a fundamental coincidence of the interests—temporal and spiritual—of the Vatican and those of the United States in their struggle against the common enemy. They are both fighting for liberty and democracy. Only a close alliance of these two powers may save the world. It must have been a rather bitter experience for M. Pichon to be unable to say that France, *la fille ainée de l'Eglise*, cannot be depended on to save mankind once more, and that the old noble

Thursday, April 12th at 8 PM

RIVERSIDE PLAZA HOTEL

253 West 73 St., New York City

HONOR: John Howard Lawson
Albert Maltz
Dalton Trumbo

first public appearance on release from prison

DEFEND: YOURSELF *and the victims of the UnAmerican Activities Committee*

SPEAK UP FOR PEACE: *on the 6th anniversary of the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt, father of the United Nations*

Admission: $1.20, including tax

Auspices:

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF ARTS, SCIENCES AND PROFESSIONS

49 West 44th St., N. Y. C.; MU 7-2161

mission assigned to France, *Gesta Dei per Francos,* is now superseded by that of the United States, *Gesta Dei per Americanos.* GEORGE LA PIANA

The Evolutionist View

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF INTELLIGENCE. By Jean Piaget. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

THE pragmatic or evolutionist view has an effective exponent in Professor Piaget. Famous for his brilliant work in genetic psychology, he presents a brief discussion of intelligence as the culmination of growth, in virtue of its "sensorimotor" component or affinities, its variability and spontaneity, together with the freedom that constitutes subjectivity. His emblem of course as an evolutionist is that he notes the similarity of thought to other organic events, but he is conscious of the differences too. No doubt the evolutionist view is a sort of jaded perfectionism; but perhaps the essential vulnerability of every idea lies in the degree in which it is of necessity unconsciously moralistic. This means neither the defeat of "intellect" nor the primacy of "morals": "motivation" being a useful hypothesis (yet quite crude even though less "anthropomorphic" than, for example, logic) because, for one thing, it supplies a sort of implicit prototype of both behavior and logic, though one could also assume, with Hegel, that logic comes first; the dilemma is that of the chicken or the egg. No doubt "function" is the best moral concept we have, or the only one, but the synechist view of intelligence will prove much subtler than Piaget expects. The ideal of sanguine inadvertence may not, in fact, be a pitfall. That the ethicist prepossession is methodology itself is beautifully shown by Piaget's belief—vague, conceivably fruitful, certainly dubious—that the progress of intelligence depends on the decline of egocentricity.

Piaget is friendly to *Gestalt* psychology even though it tends to see in the obvious adaptiveness of intelligence evidence of an esoteric, possibly impersonal or even "static" design. *Gestalt* psychology seems indeed, like Whitehead's philosophy, to emanate from the absence of a cogent distinction between "organic" and "inorganic": the fact that "intelligence" is distinctly "active" is naively related in Piaget's mind to the separation of psychology from metaphysics. It is ironic rather than inconsistent, however unfortunate, that symbolic logic, despite the vigor with which Piaget challenges the pretensions that form its connection with certain philosophic schools, nevertheless supplies his final definition of intelligence. Otherwise the book is unexceptionable. Even though it eschews the profuse statistical methods and material, it presents the hypothesis by which they must be construed. MARTIN LEBOWITZ

Books in Brief

TYRANT FROM ILLINOIS. By Blair Bolles. Norton. $4.50. The story of Uncle Joe Cannon, an ingrained conservative who as Speaker of the House of Representatives made himself dictator of Congress and the most powerful man in Washington from 1906 to 1910. By stemming for too long and too sternly the rising tide of progressivism, Uncle Joe was to some extent responsible for the reaction that swept Woodrow Wilson into power. An interesting study of the methods employed by Cannon to consolidate his power and by La Follette and George Norris to destroy it.

JOURNEY INTO LIGHT. By Ishbel Ross. Appleton-Century. $4. A detailed and readable book about the blind and about the men and women who have achieved greatness under this handicap or who have labored to alleviate and educate its victims.

MY SIX CONVICTS: A PSYCHOLOGIST'S THREE YEARS IN FORT LEAVENWORTH. By Donald Powell Wilson. Rinehart. $3.50. The director of a research project in drug-addiction, which he carried on inside Leavenworth Prison for three years during the thirties, sketches with humor and insight his relations with the six convicts whom he trained to be his assistants and who in turn gave him an extra-curricular course in human nature and the workings of prison protocol. The story is told with a real flair for character and incident, and is incidentally a very persuasive plea for the new penology as the author saw it in effect at Leavenworth.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

HAVING learned from the Metropolitan's new production of "Don Carlo" what kind of opera Mr. Bing would like to give, I attended a performance of "Il Trovatore" to see what kind he is giving meanwhile with standard repertory that hasn't been newly studied, designed, and staged. For the eye it was, I am sure, the kind he hopes to do away with; and I have in mind not scenery and costumes but the absurd things people did on the stage. Could these not be changed even with the old scenery and costumes? Could not thought and work be devoted to the activity of the chorus; could not Kurt Baum's arms be tied to his sides, and similar means, if necessary, be used to keep Fedora Barbieri from tossing herself about in a storm of emotion and action?

For the ear, on the other hand, there was the succession of great melodic structures that Verdi contrived for this opera, superbly sung, especially by Leonard Warren and Zinka Milanov. I had last heard Milanov in 1943, at a time when she had an insecure method of voice production that might cause her to go through most of a perfor-

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR
Just Arrived! KONSTANTIN FEDIN
NO ORDINARY SUMMER
Two Volumes — Stalin Prize Novel
In English — 1255 pp. — Set: $2.25
Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
1951 Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals
Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

Buy Your Books through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular list price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the list price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

mance with tremolo-ridden stridency and then suddenly begin to produce tones of marvelous purity and beauty; and I recall a performance of "Norma" in which she sang not only with such beauty but with breathtaking phraseological continuity and style. In the years since then, by the evidence of the recent "Il Trovatore," she seems to have acquired secure technical control, but also to have paid the inevitable penalty for her earlier lack of it: where formerly she would have sung the several high notes of an aria with full voice she now produced the earlier ones as exquisite pianissimo head tones and only the last with full voice that had clarity and power but not the lusciousness of former years.

Concerning the newly produced "Die Fledermaus" I will say first that it confirmed my previous experience with opera in English; and I speak of this first because of the alarming rumor that Mr. Bing is planning to give "Così Fan Tutte" in English and that English is to replace Italian in the New York City Opera Company's "Don Giovanni." The argument for the use of English is that an audience needs to know what an opera is about, that it must be able to get this knowledge directly from the performance without preliminary reading of a libretto, and that for this purpose English must be used in a performance for an American audience as German is used for the audience in Berlin or Vienna. At "Die Fledermaus" I tested this once more—i.e. I got my knowledge of the dramatic action directly from the performance; and though I sat in seats that were excellent for hearing I found that I could hear the English words when they were spoken, even with the foreign accents of Ljuba Welitch and Set Svanholm, but could not distinguish most of them when they were sung, even by Patrice Munsel and John Brownlee, and that as a result I got a very fragmentary and inadequate knowledge of what was going on. Not only that, but when I strained to hear the words I didn't hear the music. And all this, as I said before, confirmed previous experience.

The fact is that an audience does need to know what "Così Fan Tutte" is about, but that in theaters the size of the Metropolitan it cannot get this knowledge from the performance; and that even if the opera is sung in English an American has to read a libretto beforehand, just as the German reads a libretto before a performance in German. And I contend that if advance reading has to be done it should be done for a performance in Italian which retains the delightful effect of the sound of the Italian words with Mozart's music (the post-war productions of Mozart's operas in Vienna have used Italian; and if I remember correctly the innovation has been extended to Verdi). Also, with advance reading for a performance in Italian there won't be a concentration of attention on the words, and the following of the dramatic action will be such as not to distract attention from the music—a recognition of what one already knows, not a straining to discover what one doesn't know.

The new English translation by Garson Kanin and lyrics by Howard Dietz were only part of all that Mr. Bing did to make "Die Fledermaus" entertaining to the Metropolitan's audiences: there were also scenery and costumes by Rolf Gerard, staging by Mr. Kanin, a cast of first-line singers, a ballet by Antony Tudor. And the audience of the performance I attended seemed to be greatly entertained; but for myself I must report that I found the humor of the work to be of the kind that is accepted as such only in the opera house; and while I could imagine the work being put across by the cast of brilliant singing actors my European friends tell me Max Reinhardt assembled and by the kind of theatrical brilliance he contrived, nothing like that happened at the Metropolitan. What I enjoyed was the music, the singing, and Jack Gilford's solo clown routine in the last act.

Listening to Charles Ives's Second Symphony, which Leonard Bernstein performed with the New York Philharmonic, I heard nothing that should have kept it from being played fifty years ago, but on the other hand nothing that called urgently for performance now. The great to-do about Ives's having used this or that revolutionary technique years before this or that famous European composer is about something irrelevant and unimportant: the important thing is what music he produced with whatever technique he used. It is especially irrelevant in the case of the Second Symphony which contains nothing horrendous that should have frightened conductors fifty years ago. And when one considers this work in and for itself as it reveals itself to the ear, one hears this bit of lovely writing here, that bit of lovely melody there, but in sum a constant shifting from one thing to another in one tempo and another in succession that rambles on with no integration and no cumulative effect.

CONTRIBUTORS

ANITA MARBURG is a writer with a special interest in Tolstoy's theories.

RICHARD HEFFNER is a lecturer in history at Columbia University.

HAYDEN CARRUTH is associate editor of the University of Chicago Press.

DONALD ROBERTS is assistant professor of English at the City College of New York.

JUST ISSUED
JASQUIN DES PREZ
14 Secular Songs
Instrumental and Vocal
Performed by Pro Musica Antiqua
E. M. S. 213 12" L. P. $5.95
ELAINE MUSIC SHOP
3 EAST 44th STREET bet. Fifth & Madison
NEW YORK CITY 17 MUrray Hill 2-6154

GOOD NEWS for Music Lovers
Pocket-Sized, Low-Priced Editions
BEETHOVEN: All Violin Sonatas, 2 vols., each $ .98
BRAHMS: Violin Sonatas .98
CHOPIN: 2 Piano Sonatas; 25 Preludes; Fantasy .98
BACH: 3 Cello Sonatas and 7 Flute Sonatas .98
& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG
Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From
LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138 New York 32, N. Y.

BUY 3—GET 1 FREE
Save on All Selections of
LONG PLAYING RECORDS
Save from 25% or more and build up your collection of LP records this new, convenient way. From our complete 76-page catalog of all LP records—Columbia, R. C. A., London F. F. R. R., etc. — select whatever records you want whenever you wish. With third selection at the same price within six months, you receive any one LP record—of equal price—absolutely FREE! Quick, safe delivery to your door is guaranteed!
Yes, it's as simple as that. You buy as few or as many records as you choose —you pay no membership dues or fees of any kind—and with every three records purchased, you get a bonus record without extra cost.
Write for full details to Dept. 14
BONUS RECORD CLUB
40 East 23rd Street New York 10, N. Y.

Letters to the Editors

Hawkins Case Not Prejudged

Dear Sirs: In his article The Case of David Hawkins (*The Nation,* March 10), Carey McWilliams ventures the guess that "the 'trial' will be long drawn out and will poison the atmosphere of free inquiry at Boulder as surely as the loyalty inquisitions have poisoned the atmosphere at Berkeley and Seattle." If this prediction should come true, Mr. McWilliams and his informer could claim a share of the credit for it by having distorted facts and made unwarranted insinuations.

Mr. McWilliams failed to mention that the "charges" against David Hawkins were allegations made by the public and press, collected and presented by President Stearns, a former dean of the Law School, in accordance with principles of judicial procedure. President Stearns stated publicly on February 15 that by announcing the charges "the university has not prejudged the case. . . . In any judicial inquiry it is necessary to define the scope of the hearings." The charges, he continued, "consist of questions of alleged fact. The committee [on privilege and tenure] must determine the truth or falsity of the statements and make its findings thereon."

The sixth charge is misquoted by Mr. McWilliams as "sponsorship of a Marxist Study Group"; actually the charge is that as sponsor of this group Mr. Hawkins "permitted it to become a political-action committee rather than restrict its activities to a study group as authorized by its charter."

On February 1 President Stearns declared publicly that admission by Mr. Hawkins of previous membership in the Communist Party "is not sufficient ground for his summary dismissal." Of David Hawkins, who by the way has many well-wishers on this campus including myself, Mr. Stearns further said, "He has been an excellent teacher and a valuable member of the university community."

In commenting on a separate investigation, carried on apart from the Hawkins case, of "possible Communist influence among faculty members," Mr. McWilliams states that it is to be made by two former FBI agents and that "their use raises the question whether only the methods of political police were adequate." Actually the regents authorized an investigation by "experienced and qualified counsel." The investigators are graduates of our Law School who happened to have worked with the FBI during the war. Whether or not "some doubt may be felt about their ability to rise above local pressures and prejudices" can be judged only after their report has been received. One reason for employing outsiders instead of faculty members may have been a desire to avoid all suspicion of a whitewash. On February 3 Mr. Stearns stated publicly that "good will be accomplished if we reserve judgment until all the evidence is in, and until we reach conclusions and take action on the basis of fact. . . . Harm will come from engendering suspicions, creating doubts, and making false accusations based only on surmise."

Finally, Mr. McWilliams reveals his prejudice by referring to a speech made by Howard Mumford Jones on the Boulder campus recently and by concluding his article with the words, "One can only wonder whether Dr. Jones would be invited to repeat this speech today." I trust that my quotations from Dr. Stearns will be an adequate answer.

KARL F. MUENZINGER

Boulder, Col., March 13

No Good Will Come of It

Dear Sirs: In the first place, I have no "informer" at the University of Colorado; my feeling about informers is, I think, well known.

I am well aware that the administration of the University of Colorado is "decent and honest" and that President Robert L. Stearns is a fine man, keenly aware of the importance of academic freedom. Unfortunately the history of similar issues at Seattle and Berkeley has convinced me that investigations of this type have a logic of their own.

I not only believe that the atmosphere may be poisoned at Boulder as a result of the hearings and the investigation, but I firmly believe that hearings and investigations of this character necessarily produce an impairment of, or limitation upon, academic freedom. Naturally I hope that this impairment can be minimized at Boulder, but in part it has already occurred. President Allen of the University of Washington also said, and no doubt believed, that the hearings at Seattle could result in great good or great harm; but I think it would be hard to find many members of the faculty of the University of Washington who now believe that any good can come from such hearings.

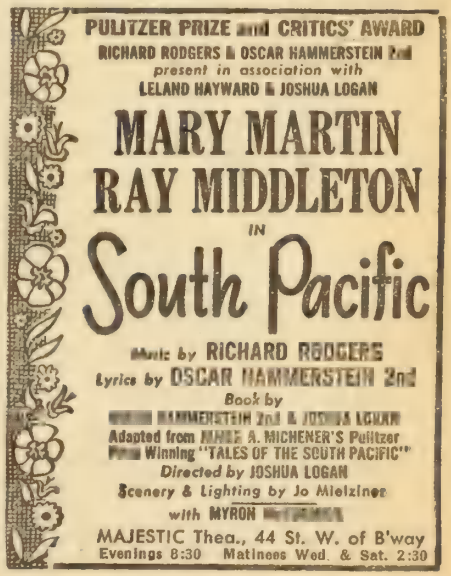
At Boulder as at Seattle, a political test will be used to determine general fitness under a tenure code; I contend that the effect of this is to destroy the meaning of tenure. Doubtless President Stearns will do everything in his power to prevent a repetition at Boulder of what has happened at Seattle and Berkeley, but—to repeat—the issue does not turn on his good faith or his intentions. I only wish it did.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, March 20

Fear and Freedom

Dear Sirs: The undergraduate leaders of Wesleyan University's annual student parley invited Communist leaders Henry Winston and John Gates to speak this year because they believed that "real live Communists" would enlighten the topic to be discussed: "Can Communism and Capitalism Coexist?" The parley's panel of speaker, however,



reflected anything but Communist control: it included the managing editor of *Counterattack,* T. C. Kirkpatrick, and Tilford Dudley, a Wesleyan alumnus and attorney for the C. I. O.-P. A. C.

On March 11 David Snell, a radio commentator, noticed a piece about the parley in the *Daily Worker.* In his network program over WOR that afternoon he censured its leaders for inviting the Communists. Soon Wesleyan alumni and Middletown citizens were overwhelming them with telephone calls and telegrams. The acting mayor of Middletown remarked that no Communist would speak in Middletown as long as he had anything to say about the matter.

The students in charge of the program, Charlie Ellis and Bill McCluskey, under no pressure from the Wesleyan administration but fearing another Peekskill incident, withdrew their invitations to the Communists. The Hartford *Courant,* in a fine editorial, commented that if freedom "can live only because some other doctrine has been suppressed in its favor, it has been puny and weak."

The Wesleyan story shows once more that fear throws an iron curtain of dogma over our thought and robs us of the freedom which once we cherished. JOHN E. WILLIAMS

Middletown, Conn., March 14

Cooperation Is Cheaper

Dear Sirs: It was painful to read Stuart Chase's article Paths to Labor Peace in *The Nation* of March 17. In the first place, the piece was little more than a condensation of Selekman's book and might better have been printed as a book review. In the second place, Chase's idea of labor-management "cooperation" is about as realistic as wearing snowshoes in hell.

As every mature person knows, there exist in the labor movement both conservative and liberal, or radical, union officials. Those employers who feel they can avoid the penalties imposed by unions damn both types of officials with equal fury. But where the union is there to stay and a frontal attack against it would be unfeasible, the employer usually proceeds by a flank movement. Directly or indirectly he tries to aid the more moderate unionists to stay in power. The savings in dollars and cents in this type of "cooperation" runs into a lot of money.

Ordinarily before such cooperation is achieved, the union has to beat the employer to a frazzle in innumerable fights. That was true of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the clothing manufacturers. At a certain stage in the war the employers decided it would be cheaper—please note the word cheaper—to try to deal with moderate unionists rather than face the danger of boiling the pot in negotiations each year. Furthermore, once the industry was totally organized there was little to lose, since wage increases had to be paid by all manufacturers and were no factor in competition between them.

The implication in the Chase article is that all we need for cooperation is the rule of reason. This may sound well to those who know nothing of labor unions but it has a dull ring in the ears of people who live in the movement. Cooperation is practiced only where the employer is reasonably sure that the union can put him through a costly strike if some compromise is not worked out. The only way for labor to win cooperation is by being strong.

Can Mr. Chase give me one instance of cooperation not based on the considerations I have mentioned in this letter?

SID LENS

Chicago, Ill., March 20

No Debate

Dear Sirs: I find it hard to see any grounds for a debate with Mr. Lens. He says employers never cooperate with labor except from a profit motive. Being no mind-reader, I cannot prove motives, and will not argue with him, as long as he agrees that employers sometimes *behave* in a cooperative way. He says cooperation works best when a union is strong; this is correct and I have often made the same point. I wish Mr. Lens had committed himself about the Selekman classification. Apparently he belongs either in the second stage—class-struggle ideology—or in the fourth—power bargaining.

My forthcoming book, "Roads to Agreement," on which the article was based, is addressed to people who want to reach agreement and avoid conflict, and describes many methods, both in the labor field and out of it. I am afraid it is not a very good start to make a reader as angry as Mr. Lens seems to be, but perhaps the book will find other readers who are not so upset by the mere idea of peace.

STUART CHASE

Georgetown, Conn., March 25

Savagery in South Africa

Dear Sirs: Recently much has been written about the condition of natives in South Africa, but I doubt if many Americans realize the naked savagery of the white man's attitude toward his black neighbor. After a six-month visit to my Africaner father's farm in Transvaal I feel it is no exaggeration to say that natives in South Africa are treated worse than slaves.

On the farm the African works sixteen or eighteen hours a day. His entire diet, prescribed by law, consists of three pounds of mealie-meal (cornmeal mush) made with water, unrelieved by vegetables, meats, fruits, or milk. Despite the large number of diseased, dying, and anemic natives, most farmers will argue stubbornly that this is an adequate diet.

Though they get better food, the natives in towns are in some respects worse off. They are required to live either in compounds or locations. Compounds are army-like barracks surrounded by barbed wire, to which the inmates are not allowed to bring their families. The "locations" are separated from the white community by a stretch of vacant land. They are without streets, sewerage, or utilities. In them the natives are separated from tribal law and customs, denied all human rights, subjected to constant brutality and hunger.

Only in the "reserves" may a native own property, work, and live as a member of the human race. But here, too, overcrowded conditions and poor farm methods have reduced his living standards to starvation level.

What is being done about this situation? Nothing. White South Africa is frantically searching for an answer to the question: "How can we keep the natives down and still keep communism from appealing to them?" Many natives feel that if they are too uneducated to be given the franchise, after four centuries of white rule, something needs to be changed. However, don't think that either white or black South Africa will heed sermons from America. Even the natives have had entirely too much experience with whites "interested in their welfare."

So if one day you read in your newspapers that the original Sons of Africa have started a revolution, don't be too surprised. After all, the black man has waited patiently for nearly four centuries for the white man to become civilized. MARY MOSTERT

Memphis, Tenn., March 10

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • APRIL 14, 1951 NUMBER 15

The Shape of Things

THE PRESIDENT'S PATIENCE WITH GENERAL MacArthur's meddling with policy and virtual insubordination has ceased long ago to be a virtue. It would be difficult for him to relieve MacArthur solely on the basis of the letter which was used by House Republican leader Joe Martin as an opportunity to air MacArthur's criticism of the President's policies on the House floor. But this is not the first time that MacArthur has publicly attacked the President's leadership in both diplomatic and military affairs. Instead of subsiding after the Veterans of Foreign Wars incident, when he was gently rebuked by Mr. Truman, MacArthur has kept up guerrilla warfare against the President's policies. Last week a British correspondent quoted him as saying that in the differences of opinion between the government and himself it was not he, the soldier, who trespassed on the political field but the politicians who interfered with the soldier. The General insisted that the great question of how to extricate ourselves and the U. N. from the Korean situation, with the honor of both upheld and the fighting kept to the narrowest limits, should be decided by the Field Commander, not by the constitutionally designated Commander-in-Chief advised by his aides in the State Department and the Pentagon who have the advantages of a world view.

*

OVER LAST WEEKEND REPORTS MOUNTED that MacArthur would be sharply reprimanded or recalled from duty. Hitherto the White House has wished to avoid an open break with the Far Eastern commander while the Japanese peace treaty is pending. When the treaty is concluded, MacArthur's original responsibility in the Far East will be over, and it may be easier to invite him to return home. But months may pass before the treaty is sealed and ratified, and in the meantime MacArthur's apparent determination to keep up a running fire on the President can do incalculable damage. If the General chooses to abandon his post and appeal to the people, he has every right to express his opinions freely, but he should not be left in command when he is being used—and anxiously seeking chances to be used—to voice attacks on his superior military officers and on the civil authorities to whom he and his superior officers are responsible. The principal question is not even whether MacArthur is right and the President wrong in the matter of using Chiang Kai-shek's divisions and American sea and air forces to open a second front against the Chinese Communists. The question is who is to run this country's foreign and military policy. MacArthur should no longer be allowed to try to run it from Tokyo.

*

THE BIG FOUR CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN Ministers now seems assured even if the debate is prolonged for a couple of weeks. It has already taken too much time to draw up an agenda, and for the general public the discussions in Paris have often been as incomprehensible as they were exasperating. Outwardly the Western deputies have stuck together insisting, on a broad agenda against the initial Soviet effort to make the rearmament of West Germany the sole important topic. But underneath Western unity, energetically maintained to foil any splitting attempt on the part of the Russians, considerable differences of opinion were perceptible to anyone who followed the performance in detail. The French want the ministers' conference on almost any terms. When Gromyko, in a move to counter Western insistence on broadening the agenda, asked for the inclusion of the Atlantic Treaty, the French reaction at first was to agree even to this. If a total discussion of everything was wanted, why be afraid of touching the Atlantic Treaty? The British who, especially since Mr. Morrison became Foreign Secretary, have tried hard to prevent a breakdown in the talks, did not like the idea of an over-expanded agenda, but understood the difficulty of demanding that the Foreign Ministers deal with other causes of world tension besides the rearmament of Germany and then opposing inclusion of a new item. Ambassador Jessup has found himself in the uncomfortable position of having to take into account anti-Soviet feelings and political pressures at home as well as the realistic factors of the situation as it developed in the course of the Paris debate; for him any concession is harder to make than for his Western colleagues. The debate has practically turned into a duel between Jessup and Gromyko. But the fact remains that, should the full conference be held, this in itself would be a concession since, only a few months ago even the idea of a Big Four meeting was regarded as appeasement.

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 337
Britain's Outlook 339
The Cohorts of Fear *by Freda Kirchwey* 339

ARTICLES

Vote of No Confidence *by Willard Shelton* 341
The U. A. W. Convention *by Mary Heaton Vorse* 342
Is Gottwald Next? *by Hubert Ripka* 343
Government by Whitaker and Baxter *by Carey McWilliams* 346
Victory for the French Workers *by Alexander Werth* 348

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Mr. Mencken *by George Genzmer* 350
By Guess and by Gosh *by Richard L. Neuberger* 350
Two Novels *by Harvey Swados* 351
Group Against Group *by Harvey Levin* 352
Books in Brief 353
Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 353
Films *by Manny Farber* 353
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 354

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 356

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 408 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 356

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Contributing Editor: Robert Bendiner
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

MR. TRUMAN TOOK HIS FIRST DECISIVE STEP to save the mobilization program from Charles E. Wilson's bull-in-the-china-shop blunders when he appointed his new top advisory board and won labor's agreement to participate. Wilson's broad powers, which he frequently describes with utmost relish, were not formally reduced, but clearly the President has intervened to make sure that labor's just grievances against Wilson are settled equitably. If Wilson understands the true requirements of his job, he will use the new board as an instrument of cooperation. Instead of making arrogant remarks about union leaders, he will persuade industry to consent to the creation of a labor-disputes board and a workable wage-stabilization policy. He may even discover, as he sits with the advisory board, that union leaders with their special knowledge and connections, can make a vital contribution to the social organization of a democracy. The members of the board named by the President seem to represent the best leadership in the fields from which they are drawn. If Wilson will heed their advice, and when necessary perform the skilled mediation required to bridge clashes of interest, he may repair his reputation as the President's deputy in charge of mobilization. Considering his past actions, that is a good deal to hope, and labor's acceptance of a place in the new advisory group will not automatically solve all problems. But Mr. Truman himself plans to meet his advisors at least once a month and will probably soon learn whether Wilson is constitutionally incapable of handling issues effectively.

*

SOME TIME AGO DR. LINUS PAULING OF THE California Institute of Technology accepted an invitation from the Regents of the University of Hawaii to dedicate a new chemistry building on their campus. The regents have now voted unanimously to rescind the invitation on the ground that Dr. Pauling, a distinguished American scientist, is "unfit," because of his "activities and affiliations" with subversive or un-Hawaiian organizations. The sole basis for this charge is certain findings of California's notorious Tenney committee. We feel sure that the regents are unfamiliar with this group's weird inaccuracies and witch-hunting techniques. It is a reasonable inference that the regents were needled into taking this action by the Tenney committee or its Hawaiian counterpart and affiliate, the Hawaiian Legislature Commission on Subversive Activities. But the question is not whether the Tenney committee's findings are entitled to quite this degree of reverent respect; the real question relates to the responsibilities, in these times, of institutions of higher learning. If universities capitulate so easily to this sort of political blackmail, they will forfeit their independence and integrity. And to act without asking Dr. Pauling for explanation hardly measures up to the standards of Hawaiian hospitality.

Britain's Outlook

BRITAIN'S economic survey for 1951 combines a notable record of past achievement with a warning that future prospects are "in many ways harsh and unpleasant" because reconstruction must now play second fiddle to rearmament. Last year marked a new stage in Britain's recovery from the losses, stresses, and dislocations of World War II. By comparison with 1947, when the first of these annual surveys was published, industrial production was 30 per cent and export volume 60 per cent greater. A balance-of-payments deficit of $1,526,000,000 in the earlier year was converted into a surplus of $641,000,000. The past twelve months also saw a dramatic improvement in the sterling area's gold and dollar reserves which rose by no less than $1,612,000,000, but this was not an unalloyed blessing: in part it reflected failure to import sufficient quantities of raw materials to maintain stocks.

Commenting on the progress made since 1947, the survey stresses two major contributory factors: generous American aid, without which "the process of recovery would have been far more painful if not impossible," and the willingness of the British people to work hard and accept austere conditions of living. A major part of Britain's increased production has been absorbed by exports and by essential domestic investments. Personal consumption in the past four years increased by only about 5 per cent, although account must also be taken of an increase in what may be called "communal consumption" brought about by extension of the social services.

The British government's first aim, the survey declares, is now the execution of a greatly enlarged and accelerated rearmament program. "It cannot, however, be the sole objective. The potential military strength of this country depends upon a well-equipped industrial system, a healthy population at home, and an ordered balance of overseas payments." To meet the demands of defense without impinging seriously on investment requirements or halting the expansion of exports will be immensely difficult for Britain, since it has practically no unused margin of resources. In fact, unless the estimated 4 per cent increase in production proves too low, the equation of supply and demand can be solved only by some contraction in personal consumption.

The estimate may also turn out to be over-optimistic, for the output of many industries is threatened by shortages of essential raw materials, including sulphur, zinc, copper, iron ore, steel scrap, and cotton. At the same time the rising cost of such materials, most of which must be imported, threatens Britain's balance of payments. Exports, therefore, must be enlarged at a time when the metal-working industries, which account for 40 per cent of all exports in 1950, must divert part of their capacity to defense work. Thus efforts to sell abroad textiles and other consumer goods must be redoubled, which means that supplies for the domestic market will be curtailed. At the same time the pressure of demand is growing greater owing to increases in money incomes; so that a new threat of internal inflation is developing. Not surprisingly, therefore, the survey hints at strong counter-measures, including increased taxation; but just what form these will take will not be known until the Chancellor of the Exchequer presents his budget to Parliament on April 10—too late for comment in this issue of *The Nation*.

NO COMMENT

INVITATIONS to the celebration of the Hungarian Communist Independence Day, sent out by the Hungarian Legation in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, were written in Russian.—From a dispatch by Gaston Coblentz in the New York *Herald Tribune* for April 5, 1951.

[*Readers are invited to contribute to "No Comment"; $2 will be paid for each item printed.*]

The Cohorts of Fear

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE vitality of American liberalism is not to be measured by the volume of indignation directed against McCarthyism or against the outpourings of ex-Communists bent on expiating their past sins. It is easy to attack such inviting targets, and since it is also necessary to do so, many a liberal or independent radical feels his job is done when he lands a direct hit on either one. McCarthy's open and calculating use of false denunciation to spread fright and reinforce with public suspicion his own political forays against the party in power has so much in common with totalitarian tactics everywhere that decent democrats have to fight it as they would fight an invading army. As for the refugees from the far left, the harm they may do is just as grave, for they clothe their fanaticism in the lingo of liberalism and, like all psychotics, seek through the destruction of others the destruction of what they fear within themselves. Both constitute a clear and present danger to the freedom on which this democracy must feed—or die. From them springs much of what is unreasonable and oppressive in the government's security measures; the repressions that have sucked the vigor and independence out of radio and films and injected the pure poison of Peglerism; from them—but from the McCarthys in particular—stems also the epidemic of official timidity that has turned too many liberal public men into cringing facsimiles of their enemies on the right.

But more alarming than these direct effects of the blackmail of the extremists is their subtler influence upon

countless people who not only detest repression but consider themselves immune to the current virus of fear. At this moment, when solidarity among liberals and progressives was never more needed, a process of disintegration is going on which can only end in all-out victory for the fear-mongers—both the calculating and the obssessed. I could name, but will not for the sake of the intended victims, at least three liberal organizations in which a top official is under pressure or direct attack because of past left-wing associations, or denunciations by interested outsiders, or "listings" published by some Congressional witch-hunting body. In no case was the person accused or even suspected of being a Communist. These particular instances may be cleared up without serious damage to individual or organization. That they could occur at all must be taken as a warning, for never would they have arisen in a time less ruled by terror.

TODAY liberal journals which rush to the counter-attack when McCarthy moves into action turn upon other journals whose views are somewhat farther to the left than their own. The *New Republic's* surprising blast against the London *New Statesman and Nation* was an unhappy example of this. The article by Richard Strout comparing the *New Statesman* with the Chicago *Tribune* —since each bombards with equal vigor the country of the other—was not in any real sense an argument on the issues involved. It was basically an attack on the British journal and its editor, published at a time when the propriety of British dissent from American policies needs the warm support of liberals on this side, even those who disagree. The criticisms of the United States printed in the *New Statesman* have been sharp, and a few have certainly, in my view, been too sweeping, but the function of a friendly liberal journal in this country should be, I would think, to set the record straight without resorting to equally sweeping criticisms of its contemporary. Kingsley Martin, in his major rejoinder, restored the argument to the level of friendly debate. But my own feeling, after reading the exchange and the letters commenting on it, was close to that of a reader, John H. Bunzel of California, who said: ". . . the *New Republic,* along with a diminishing number of more or less similar voices in the United States today, constitutes the 'liberal' oasis in a reactionary desert. . . . It strikes me as being . . . strategically absurd to lower your sights for a single page from the much more serious dangers of the conservative coalition in this country simply to take a few pot shots at a British journal which is still more *with* you than *against* you." This is well put; I think one can go farther and say that the cold war against Soviet totalitarianism will not be advanced by this strife among brothers, but the war for a democratic Western policy may easily be lost by it.

A somewhat similar journalistic attack appears in the current *Commentary*, a monthly of liberal Jewish opinion. Written by Granville Hicks and entitled The Liberals Who Haven't Learned, the article uses *The Nation* as a surviving example of those liberals of the 20's and 30's and even 40's who, for one reason or another, cooperated with Communist and fellow-traveling organizations. As a bit of only-yesterday reminiscence the essay is interesting if, here and there, inaccurate in detail. But the author, as evidence of the continuing illusions that possess some liberals, cites this journal's eighty-fifth anniversary issue on "Peace with Russia, Can It Be Negotiated?" and particularly this writer's contribution to the issue, a discussion of the Korean war in terms of its political implications. The result is, of necessity, an amazing distortion of fact. Somehow Mr. Hicks manages to find in *The Nation* symposium, which represented the varied views of an impressive cross-section of expert opinion, liberal and otherwise, and which arrived at no concerted conclusions, enough "pro-Soviet" bias "to color the entire issue."

This rather labored attack is perhaps a poor example of the liberal in-fighting which I am here considering. For Mr. Hicks is himself an ex-Communist, whose conversion yielded one book and a number of articles (so I am in no danger of serving here as informer), and who may share with other former comrades a natural distrust of those who never joined the fraternity. His animus may be revealed in the curious passage in which he refers to this writer's presence on the "executive board" of the *New Masses* along with John Dos Passos, Rex Stout, and other non-Communists when it was founded in 1926 and when, according to Mr. Hicks, "the Communists controlled it and it was purely an instrument of Communist propaganda." The *New Masses* was not in fact controlled by Communists when it was founded or indeed for several years afterward, as Mr. Hicks could ascertain if he would ask one of its then editors. But it is at least odd that he should make so flat an error. Mr. Hicks himself after the *New Masses* had come under Communist control, was for five years one of its editors —a fact he fails to mention. But actually his article is not as hostile as these errors might lead one to expect. It is, rather, a typical instance of verbal sniping, a verbal brickbat flung by one liberal—or supposedly liberal—organization in the direction of another with which it happens to disagree. Mr. Hicks refers to the "time when *The Nation* spoke for all the liberals"—although the main point of the article as a whole is just the contrary—and comments sadly on the "fragmentation of liberalism" today. One can only say, with equal sorrow, that Mr. Hicks's article is a symptom of that fragmentation and one I was sorry to run across in *Commentary.*

It must be evident to all persons of independence and a sense of their own rights as citizens of a traditionally free society that a mighty effort must be made to over-

come the debilitating fears which have turned liberals into a league of frightened men. It is not enough to say that Russia is to blame, or McCarthy, or any of the assorted un-American activities committees. Nor is it conscience that has made cowards of us—unless we accept Mark Twain's cynical definition of the word. The facts are the reverse. Russian doctrines and threats feed on McCarthyism as McCarthyism feeds on the divisions in the ranks of liberal democrats. There is no party discipline which can hold those ranks together or make them toe a line—and there is no "line." But unless some courage and sense of solidarity develop and liberals stop clearing their own skirts by spattering those of their colleagues, unless they abandon the servile habit of looking over their shoulder before making a move, then the battle will be lost. Then the fanatics of all breeds will simply take over and America will deserve the suspicion and hostility with which it is even now too generally regarded by liberals and other democrats abroad.

Vote of No Confidence

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, April 5

MR. TRUMAN today accepted with the best possible grace the result of the Senate's debate on sending troops to Europe. Since the resolution as finally passed approved Administration plans to send four additional divisions this year, the President interpreted the action as showing that the country "stands firm in its support of the North Atlantic Treaty" and recognizes that our security "is intimately bound up with the security of other free nations." Perhaps this will be the verdict of history. But the Administration swallowed so many restrictions in order to get through any resolution at all, and suffered so many defeats in the course of the voting, that the entire sequence looks much like an expression of little or no confidence in the President's policy. It is difficult to see how it could be regarded otherwise in European countries.

For days the Administration program was whittled down, amputated, and punctured. Tactically and psychologically the President's supporters were outmatched. While time was equally divided between friends and foes, the debate seemed dominated by the opposition, headed by Taft, Wherry, Hickenlooper, and McCarthy. Two of the most effective spokesmen for the Administration were Republicans, Senators Lodge and Ives. Ives and the Democratic McMahon took the initiative in making the major proposal designed to improve the resolution rather than weaken it, and on this critical occasion they could not even get the united support of the Democratic leadership: Senator McFarland, the floor leader, split with Senator Connally, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. McFarland once was driven to confess with wringing of hands that he simply did not "have the votes" to prevent emasculation of the resolution.

The parliamentary tactics of the opposition were brilliant. On the key amendment—a proposal by Senator McClellan, Arkansas Democrat, that the President be required to come hat in hand for further Congressional approval if in the future he wants to send more than four divisions to Europe—the Administration first won a narrow two-vote victory. A few hours later its opponents forced a reconsideration, changed three votes, rounded up some earlier absentees, and triumphantly passed the amendment by a six-vote margin. Similar methods obtained the adoption of the McCarthy amendment urging that Spain and West Germany be added to our allies. McCarthy lost on the first test, but when he brought up a revised version the next day, a solid phalanx of forty-six Republicans, plus two Democrats, wrote the amendment into the resolution. The Republicans could have done it alone; on this as on other occasions so many Democrats were absent that the G. O. P. for practical purposes was the majority party.

Talking privately during these events, Democratic spokesmen explained the result in various ways. "Mink coats" was one excuse, a reference to the blows dealt the Administration by the Kefauver and Fulbright investigations. Another was "poor liaison" between the White House and Capitol Hill. "Political maneuvering" just before an election year was mentioned of course. It was even suggested that Republican intraparty politics had a lot to do with things. "Whether Bob Taft realizes it or not," said one Senator, "he is cutting down Eisenhower." Eisenhower is Governor Dewey's candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination and believes with Truman that Western Europe must be defended with ground troops, including American divisions. On the day the General assumed formal command of the forces of the North Atlantic coalition and called for generous, swift American support, the majority of the Senate Republicans, led by Taft, voted for the McClellan amendment. The next day thirty Republicans—almost exactly two-thirds of the party delegation—voted to send the whole proposal back to committee; despite Eisenhower's prodding, they showed no desire to expedite approval of even the initial four divisions.

Add all this up, and the result indicates a low point in Mr. Truman's influence with Congress. A month ago, when the Administration's troops-for-Europe program suffered a partial defeat in committee, it was generally believed that victory would be retrieved on the floor. On the contrary, the muddled "compromise" written into the committee draft by Alexander Smith was clarified in the direction of isolationism. The President's position was made worse rather than better by

adoption of the McClellan amendment. Senator Wherry, his cup of joy brimming over, stage-whispered from the floor to the high press gallery, "This is the Wherry resolution"—the view that no troops should be sent without advance Congressional approval had been upheld.

Substantively the debate was at a low level. The most powerful argument against the Administration's policy was Senator George's reminder that the North Atlantic Treaty did not provide for self-implementation and that assurances were given two years ago that the President would consult Congress before sending forces to carry out our treaty obligations. But nothing said two years ago implied that specific Congressional action, through a formal resolution, would be required every time a navy task force, a fighter squadron, or a division was moved. American sea and air forces, plus supporting ground units, have already been sent to Great Britain, North Africa, and the Mediterranean in implementation of the Atlantic Pact, and the Senate has not insisted on its right to approve such action in advance. In principle the dispatch of ground divisions is no different. Congress can exercise its veto power by withholding appropriations. It can properly ask to be consulted—though Presidents in the past have felt it necessary to move forces secretly. But the Senate cannot say that it is constitutional for the President to send the air force to Britain and unconstitutional for him to send an armored division to France or Germany. So the debate in a sense was a fraud.

The Senate was ruled by a collection of deluded legalists, bitter-end isolationists, self-appointed admirals and air strategists, and men who were simply angry at Harry S. Truman. Not the least remarkable achievement was Senator McCarthy's in phrasing the amendment on Spain and West Germany in such a way as to get the support of every Republican, including Aiken, Ives, Morse, Tobey, and Margaret Chase Smith. Only Democratic Senators—among them, some who honestly believe that we should embrace Franco—voted against the McCarthy amendment. Led by Russell of Georgia, they argued that the explosive question of Spain should not be handled in a resolution involving a treaty already signed by powers that are unwilling to associate with Franco. But they lost.

Near the close of the debate diehard opponents of troops for Europe declared that the Senate had not tied the President's hands, that the vote on the McClellan amendment was merely advisory and lacked the force of law. They also made it clear that they hoped Joe Martin and the House Republicans would pick up the ball and run with it; they specifically invited the House to take their work, change it in form to a joint resolution, send it back for Senate approval, and force the President into an even tighter corner.

The U. A. W. Convention

BY MARY HEATON VORSE

Detroit, April 5

THE current convention of the United Automobile Workers (C. I. O.) may well prove to be the most important labor assemblage in years. It is the first convention to be held since labor's walkout on Charles E. Wilson; the first since the mass-meeting called by the United Labor Policy Committee in Washington on March 21, at which labor voiced its wrongs.

The Automobile Workers are carrying the ball for the workers as a whole by virtue of their victories in the post-war period. A year ago, during the Chrysler strike, management was outraged by the union's demand for the funding clause for pensions. When the Chrysler strike was over, funding was established as the only method satisfactory to labor for safeguarding old age pensions.

After winning the hard-fought Chrysler strike, the U. A. W. painlessly secured the General Motors contract, which was generally considered almost revolutionary in union-management agreements and which has set a pattern for all labor with its escalator and cost-of-living clauses. As this contract and the Ford contract, which followed it, will raise wages more than the 10 per cent permitted by the wage-freeze order, they may easily lead to a showdown between the U. A. W. and the Administration. In this connection Walter Reuther said:

> We have our basic contracts. . . . we fought Mr. C. E. Wilson of General Motors to get these contracts; and we will fight C. E. Wilson of General Electric just as hard to keep them. The fight of labor in Washington transcends the interests of labor alone. This is a fight for all the American people. . . . We are not fighting the government. . . . We are fighting big business, which is trying to take over the government.

There is no other union quite like the U. A. W. Its members are fiercely loyal, jealous of their rights, afraid of nothing, scrappers from the word go. Every local has an arrogant, touch-me-not personality. The Auto Workers were born into factionalism and nursed on contention. Naturally the proposal, made on the second day of the convention, that dues be increased $1 a month was unpopular. But as Emil Mazey explained in a lucid speech, raising dues was a vital necessity to the union at this moment. U. A. W. dues have always been low—only $1.50 a month up to now. The union has made gains since 1946 of 59 cents an hour in wages and 21 cents an hour in such things as hospitalization, insurance, pensions, and holidays. With dues of $2.50 a month, there will be no more strike assessments.

It seems strange that this modest increase should have been opposed at all. Yet there were fierce arguments

against it, primarily because the rank and file are always suspicious of a pork-chopper—meaning a paid union official. Some of the delegates tried to play union politics with the issue. There was interference with delegates speaking over the microphone. But Reuther's virtuosity in guiding his restless membership approached genius.

The pay-off came in the voting. An opposition proposal for a roll call, requiring 700 votes for consideration, was able to muster the support of but 495 of the 2,000 delegates present. It was a personal triumph for Reuther, who must have vivid memories of the bitterly fought conventions of 1946 and 1947, when he needed all his skill to retain his power.

Alert to the gossip that he wants to trade his position as president of the United Automobile Workers for that of United States Senator, or some other government job, Reuther scotched these rumors when he said: "My heart belongs to the U. A. W., and that is where I'm going to stay."

Echoing labor's disappointment in the Democrats, the convention voted overwhelmingly to attempt to forge a new, united American labor movement. The union's leaders were instructed to meet with representatives of the C. I. O., A. F. of L., United Mine Workers, railway brotherhoods, and bona fide independent unions with a view to "the development of organic unity out of joint action and joint struggle on the economic and political fronts." Reuther suggested that the United Labor Policy Committee call a national union conference early in 1952, in advance of the Republican and Democratic conventions, which would state labor's aims and program and declare its independence of both parties. Specific criticisms of President Truman's mobilization program were expressed, but proposals for forming a third party were rejected in favor of a resolution urging the support of a liberal coalition in 1952.

Reuther's greatest strength is his ceaseless relation of the parts to the whole, his seeing the U. A. W. in universal terms. If you look through his principal statements of recent years, you see that they form a unified whole. In his statement before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate in the middle of 1948 he outlined a program which would have effectively checked inflation had it been carried out. His plans for domestic prosperity and European rehabilitation were bold, comprehensive, and practical. Three years ago he foresaw the differences that have developed between Charles E. Wilson and labor and recommended a broadly representative advisory board as a solution.

His far-flung plan "A Proposal for a Total Peace Offensive" was transmitted, with a letter, to the President soon after the North Korean attack. It advocated taking "the price tag off of peace" through an annual expenditure of thirteen billion dollars for developing and expanding the economic resources of the world, especially in backward regions.

This concern with the nation as a whole—the world as a whole—is what sets Walter Reuther apart from most of the other labor leaders in this country and gives to his union ever greater importance.

Is Gottwald Next?

BY HUBERT RIPKA

IN RUSSIA and its satellites purges are considered normal political occurrences. Now it is Czechoslovakia's turn. Vladimir Clementis, Mrs. Marie Svermova, and Otto Sling have been arrested and accused of being spies, traitors, and agents of capitalist imperialism. Last week the names of three Prague envoys were added to the list: Vladimir Clutrata, ambassador at Washington; Adolf Hoffmeister, ambassador at Paris; and Rudolf Bystricky, ambassador at London—all friends of Clementis. The West is speculating about the real reason for this move with more interest than it has displayed in Soviet house-cleaning in the past. Does the charge of "nationalist deviationism" against the arrested leaders mean that there is, or was, a genuine Titoist movement in Czechoslovakia? Or is the purge part of Soviet military preparation—the elimination of weak spots in satellite governments?

The source of the Titoist evil, in the Russian view, is "bourgeois nationalist deviation," the doctrinaire term for the tendency of satellite Communists to place national aims above revolutionary discipline and unswerving devotion to Moscow. The success of a Titoist movement, however, depends upon special conditions, among which are a favorable geographical location, the inclination toward the West of the international balance of power, and exceptionally strong local leadership. Czechoslovakia's location, all but encircled by Soviet-controlled territory, is not as advantageous as that of Yugoslavia. The help which Czechoslovak resistance can hope for from the West will of course depend largely upon the

HUBERT RIPKA was Minister of Foreign Trade in the Benes government of Czechoslovakia. He is now teaching at the New School of Social Research in New York.

military and moral strength the West can build up, a matter in which the solving of the German remilitarization problem will play no minor role.

Tito's effectively centralized control of internal Yugoslav politics can also be contrasted with the situation in Czechoslovakia. Whether or not the Russians are now wiping out rebel party elements—or indeed, whether or not such elements existed—there is little evidence that President Gottwald, even if he wanted to, could declare Czechoslovakia's independence from the Soviet Union and make his declaration stick. I find it hard to believe that the type of personal authority and local party unity which set Tito free from Russia exists in Czechoslovakia, or in other satellite countries; much more than a mere nationalist yearning is necessary to escape from Russian domination.



Klement Gottwald

Although Clementis, the former Czech Foreign Minister, was a life-long, devoted party member, a "good" Communist, his career was not unblemished in the eyes of Moscow. At the same time he commanded little respect from his comrades in the Czech Communist Party, who always disliked his overbearing ways; nor did he have the character or the moral and intellectual courage to be a true schismatic.

AFTER Hitler occupied Prague in 1939, the Comintern sent Clementis to Paris, where he made no effort to hide his bitterness from his comrades in exile. He strongly criticized the Hitler-Stalin pact. In 1945, at a time when the Communists were primarily concerned with consolidating their control over the post-war Czech government, he paid a visit to Moscow in his capacity of secretary of state in the Foreign Affairs Ministry. Clementis himself told me that Stalin asked him, in the presence of Molotov, whether he still believed that the pact Molotov had concluded with Ribbentrop was such a grave mistake, implying that the pact was Molotov's, not Stalin's, personal project. Embarrassed by Stalin's ironical though shrewdly phrased question, Clementis admitted having given an evasive answer. Later, however, Stalin invited him to his country villa and there apparently assured him of absolution. At any rate, until he fell from grace last March, Clementis thought of himself as enjoying Stalin's special favor. Apparently, his rather capricious adherence to the Moscow line was suffered in the Kremlin only so long as he could be considered a useful tool.

Clementis is accused not only of the crime of conspiring with Western governments but also, and justly, of a special brand of national deviationism—Slovak nationalism. If he is made to pay for this transgression he will suffer for something which at one time at least was entirely in keeping with Moscow's policy. Gustav Husak, the former chief of the Slovak governing Board of Plenipotentiaries, was imprisoned less than a year ago for Slovak nationalism. Husak was also a fanatical Stalinist, and in 1944, after the Slovak uprising against the Germans, he had gone so far as to advocate incorporation of Slovakia into the Soviet Union. However, last spring he was reported to have confessed to the "crime" of having failed to appreciate the "strength of the Czech working class" and of having desired to weaken Slovak ties with Prague. Now that it is expedient for the Soviet Union to bring this separatist movement to a halt, the men who might destroy the illusion that all is serene behind the Iron Curtain must be eliminated.

The other two Czech dissenters, Sling and Mrs. Svermova, were allegedly plotting to usurp the party leadership and ally Czechoslovakia with the West. Mrs. Svermova, formerly deputy secretary general of the Czech Communist Party, was the widow of Jan Sverma, a Communist war-time resistance hero. There is a persistent rumor that when Sverma, suffering from tuberculosis, was leading a partisan group in the Slovak mountains, his chief rival, Rudolf Slansky, secretary general of the Czech party and a member of the special staff that directed Communist partisans in Central Europe during the war, did not evacuate him, although Sverma's life depended on it. The implication is that Slansky was responsible for Sverma's death. Both Mrs. Svermova and her husband were immensely popular in the Czech Communist Party; Sverma is said to have been second in prestige only to Gottwald. The fact that her husband had so promising a future in Czechoslovak politics made his loss all the more bitter for Mrs. Svermova; and in all probability back-stage rivalries played a part in her arrest.

The specific charges against Clementis and Sling mask an offense considered far more serious in Moscow—membership in a clique known as the "London group," a tight little circle of Communists who were in England during the war and who have since been particularly devoted to Gottwald. Clementis and Sling are not the only "London Communists" who face liquidation. The group is being systematically sifted for men who, though loyal party members, can no longer be counted on to go along with the ultimate phases of a Moscow-conducted revolution. Among those who have already been elim-

inated are Eugen Loebel, former Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, and Vilem Novy, editor-in-chief of the leading party newspaper, *Rude Pravo*. Others are being stripped of their power by degrees. Mrs. Anezka Hodinova-Spurna, vice-president of Parliament, and Karl Kreibich, ambassador to Moscow, hold their posts in name only. Vaclav Nosek, Minister of the Interior, is in the same situation; control of the police force has been taken from his ministry and vested in a separate Ministry of National Security, with Ladislav Kopriva, a man noted for his brutality, as its chief.

Long before the war these leaders had worked consistently for the Communist cause in Czechoslovakia. In London, during the war, they were separated from the party command, which had fled to Moscow. Before Russia entered the war, a few of them may have taken issue with the Kremlin on occasion, but they all were accepted back into the fold. After the putsch in February, 1948, they continued to hold high office, obeyed Moscow's orders, and supported in every way the process of integrating Czechoslovakia into the satellite system. Why does Russia no longer consider them reliable? If the Kremlin were honest enough to reveal the actual trouble, how would the indictment of the accused Communists read?

I BELIEVE that the Czechoslovak leaders, tattered as was their nationalism, began to feel that the stringent measures of integration had become intolerable. As had been the case in other satellite countries, a new stage had been reached. The time had come for Czechoslovakia to be "sovietized." At this point relations between Prague and Moscow developed dramatic tension.

Some months ago the Russians began to insist on transporting certain Czech armament and heavy-industry plants to eastern Poland and to Russia itself. Not only were the physical installations to be removed, but the skilled laborers necessary to operate the factories were to be evacuated. It is hard to believe that the most fervent Stalinist could swallow such disastrous economic depletion of Czechoslovakia, whose economy had been more stable and far more advanced than that of any other East European country; the effect could only be to lower drastically the standard of living.

Popular feeling about such extravagant demands can be ignored by the Kremlin but not by Gottwald, who knows that national impoverishment will alienate the working classes, even the Communists among them, from the regime. No doubt the Russians believe that this preoccupation with public opinion is a left-over from the era of "petty bourgeois democracy." Gottwald's crew obviously are not of the stuff of the hard-boiled Bolsheviks. Only in Czechoslovakia among the satellite countries were the Communists a legal and effective political party during the inter-war period. The democratic habit of watching the barometer of working-class opinion was formed at that time, when they, like other parties, had to compete for labor's vote.

Thus the purpose of the present purge is not, strictly speaking, to wipe out any well-organized Titoist movement. It is rather a dose of preventive medicine. When the Cominform accused Tito and his collaborators of treason to the Communist cause, it was assumed that Yugoslav Communists would themselves liquidate the traitors. Tito, however, had the apparatus of the party well in hand, including the police and the army, and it was he who did the liquidating. In Poland the traditional hatred for Russia was so persistent that it was necessary to bring in the Russian Marshal Konstantin Rokossovsky to maintain order. In Czechoslovakia the appearance of an independent state may be preserved. Instead of attacking the top leaders like Gottwald directly, the Kremlin is depriving them of all effective support in the government machinery.

The drastic measures taken in Czechoslovakia, in my opinion, are based on military considerations. If war comes, the satellites must be firmly controlled and their valuable industrial assets kept safe inside Russian territory. Some light industries have been liquidated, having been thought superfluous to mobilization and a liability if a Russian retreat should ever require a scorched-earth policy. The quickening tempo of these preparations has probably been caused by the international tension, which has been increased by, among other things, Western plans to rearm Germany. I have the impression that most Americans fail to realize the intense fear aroused in former Nazi victims, in both Eastern and Western Europe, by the possibility of a new German Reich. They underestimate the cooperation they may sacrifice if they nurse Germany back to strength. The purge in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere, while it tells us that organized resistance is at present impossible, reveals that discontent in the satellites is real and widespread. This might vanish, however, if German military power were restored. On the other hand, if the satellite states did not need to fear Germany, a strong appeal to the nationalism in the hearts of both Communists and non-Communists might pay off.



Vladimir Clementis

Government by Whitaker and Baxter

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, April 3

ON AUGUST 16, 1949, Senator James E. Murray of Montana was boiling mad. A fantastic new weapon had just been added to the arsenal of the American Medical Association, something called "Whitaker and Baxter"—"a chromium-plated publicity firm" the Senator called it, "the biggest, most powerful, most unscrupulous lobby in Washington." The occasion of the Senator's anger was the defeat of the Administration's proposal to transform the Federal Security Agency into a Department of Welfare, as recommended by the Hoover Commission. The plan had seemed to be having smooth sailing when suddenly, out of nowhere, came a flash flood of telegrams condemning it; eloquent spokesmen against public health insurance appeared on the last day of the hearings as if by magic; and the propaganda of the opposition circulated a photograph of the rather portly Oscar Ewing, Federal Security Administrator, who was believed slated to head the new department, with the caption "Don't Make Ewing Any Bigger—He's Too Big Already."

In handling the A. M. A.'s $3,500,000 campaign against the Administration's health-insurance program for an annual fee of $100,000, the husband-and-wife firm of Whitaker and Baxter is making its debut in national politics, but Californians have long been familiar with government by Clem and Leone. Beyond any doubt, these talented hucksters have had more direct influence on California's legislation in the last fifteen years—and I speak of influence, not of power—than any combination of politicians or of special-interest groups, including the entire trade-union movement. In the last fifteen years Whitaker and Baxter, sometimes functioning as Campaigns, Inc., has won fifty-five out of sixty state-wide political campaigns in California. The first public-relations firm to specialize exclusively in political public relations, Whitaker and Baxter is, indeed, something new in American politics. Having discovered from a wealth of experience some of the sub-surface changes which have been taking place in American politics in the last twenty years, the firm has evolved a style of operation which makes the old-fashioned boss and lobbyist completely obsolete. Whitaker and Baxter has ushered in a new era in American politics—government by public relations.

Clem's father was a Baptist minister and a Republican; his uncle, Robert Whitaker, was a Baptist minister and one of California's best-known Socialists. Poet, speaker, pamphleteer, Robert Whitaker was for some years field secretary for the American Civil Liberties Union. Clem became a journalist at an early age. One day his mother went to the editor of the Willits *News*, in the little town of that name in Mendocino County, and said, "Can't you do something to get my boy off the streets?" Thus at the age of thirteen he was given a chance to write his first story at a type case. A few years later he went to work for the Sacramento *Union* and was covering the state capitol before he was eighteen. After a brief period in the army in the First World War he was back in Sacramento as city editor of the *Union*, earning $25 a week and feeling rich.

Sacramento is famous for its shade trees, floods, and political intrigues. It was here that Clem received his undergraduate training in politics, first on the *Union* and later as daily columnist for the San Francisco *Call-Bulletin* under Fremont Older. From 1921 to 1930 he also operated the Capitol News Bureau, a service which he organized to provide a string of eighty-odd California newspapers with political news from Sacramento. Later the bureau was sold to the United Press.

He had never thought of politics as a career until one day his barber told him of the trouble this talkative profession was having with a bill to create a State Board of Barber Examiners. Though lobbyists even then outnumbered legislators in Sacramento four to one, Clem undertook to get the bill through the legislature for a contingent fee of $4,000. With some adroit steering, the bill passed with only seven dissenting votes. Instead of lobbying the legislators, Clem had lobbied the principal backers of the legislators in their home districts.

Although Whitaker knows more about politics than any other living Californian, his own political beliefs are a mystery, except that he has always been opposed to capital punishment. One day Fremont Older telephoned him that Noel Sullivan, the wealthy San Francisco patron of art and other causes, was willing to finance a lobbying effort in support of a bill to abolish capital punishment. With the backing of the Hearst press Whitaker put on a campaign that attracted national attention. Casually pulling a chair up to the desk of his friend, Senator John B. McColl, he directed the debate

---

CAREY McWILLIAMS, a staff contributor and the author of many books, is an active liberal in California politics. This is the first section of a three-part article on government by public-relations agencies. The second, to appear next week, will describe the campaign to defeat public-health insurance, first in the California legislature and then in the United States Congress.

from the floor of the Senate. From time to time he would nudge McColl and tell him what to say.

The bill went along swimmingly and might have passed but for two untoward happenings. First, the lobbying activities of Whitaker's assistant, the comely Frances Vickers, became so blatant that they drew the fire of the opposition. For a week or more "the lady in gray" was too prominent a feature in the news from Sacramento. The second bad break was the commission of a particularly atrocious murder in San Diego on the eve of the final roll call. Had the murderer postponed his crime for a few days, he might have escaped with a sentence of life imprisonment.



Whitaker and Baxter

The legislature that defeated Senator McColl's bill to abolish capital punishment in 1933 passed the Central Valley Project Act, also sponsored by Senator McColl, which authorized the issuance of $170,000,000 in revenue bonds. The Pacific Gas and Electric Company immediately sought to repeal the act by referendum. Senator McColl was from Redding, the political hub of northern California and a community intensely interested in Shasta Dam—one of the major constructions of the Central Valley Project. The Redding Chamber of Commerce sent its manager to Sacramento to confer about the referendum. The manager was a beautiful young lady with red hair, green eyes, and a deceptive mildness of voice and manner. Born in Portland, she had worked for a time on the *Oregonian*. She had gone to Redding in 1929 and had soon become one of the first women to manage a Chamber of Commerce in the United States. Her name, of course, was Leone Baxter.

THE future partners of America's first political public-relations firm met in the Sacramento law office of Sheridan Downey, a partisan of the Central Valley Project but not yet United States Senator. It was Downey's suggestion that the campaign to defeat the referendum should be run by Whitaker, the experienced newspaperman, and Baxter, the shrewd Chamber of Commerce tactician and organizer—this was perhaps the most penetrating insight of the Senator's career. Clem and Leone were not married until some years later, but then and there the firm of Whitaker and Baxter came into being.

It may not be the perfect marriage, but it is certainly the ideal partnership. Together the two members take on qualities greater than the sum of their separate talents. They are not collaborators; they are a single political personality. In chatting with them, you have the feeling of being unfairly pitted against a team—or an act. Both partners avoid personal pronouns; every reference is to the firm, the entity. She is never Leone but always "Baxter," and he is seldom—and only somewhat forgetfully—Clem.

There is no division of functions between the partners; on the contrary, they insist on being interchangeable in all phases of their work, on reflecting a single point of view. To create this illusion, they make it a practice to plot the day's work at a long two-hour breakfast conference, exchanging ideas, bringing each other up to date, and deciding what "Whitaker and Baxter" thinks about the issues of the hour. They avoid separate speaking engagements, usually appearing on the platform together, splitting the subject between them. This is all done consciously and, so the partners say, because they like to work together; whatever the reason, it makes for a nearly perfect fusion of the male and female points of view in American politics.

The senior partner is a tall, smiling, immensely likable person, with mannerisms which derive from the by now nearly extinct tradition of "Ned" Hamilton, Ambrose Bierce, and Fremont Older in San Francisco journalism. When we had lunch together recently, he was wearing a light gray suit with a violet tie, the shade of which was just sufficiently insistent to suggest that it was worn as the badge of a suppressed romanticism, some book of poems unpublished, some novel unwritten. Baxter, the sea-green eyes protected by tinted sun glasses, the red hair demurely covered with a soft white snood, kept purring gentle assents in a manner that suggested that she was making private ironic comments on the folly of male animals.

THAT first campaign—in 1933—was the toughest the firm of Whitaker and Baxter has ever managed. For one thing, the opposition was the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, an astutely managed monopoly with unlimited funds and vast experience in blocking public-

power legislation. For another, the campaign had to be run on a meager budget of $40,000. Nevertheless, the referendum was voted down, by the narrow margin of 33,603 votes. Knowing that Southern California would automatically oppose any measure for the special benefit of Central California, Whitaker and Baxter concentrated on rolling up huge majorities in the rural counties to be benefited—twenty-five to one in Kern County, thirty to one in Contra Costa. The revenue bonds were authorized, but strangely enough they were never issued, and when an attempt was made to "unfreeze" them by another initiative in 1938, Whitaker and Baxter managed the successful opposition campaign for Pacific Gas and Electric! Since 1938 P. G. and E. has wisely kept the firm on an annual retainer.

After 1933 Whitaker and Baxter was really in business, often handling as many as five or six initiative campaigns in one election. It directed the California League Against Sinclairism in 1934. The list of its victories is too long to give in full, but it includes two initiative campaigns for the California Teachers' Association to raise salaries; passage of the state Employees' Retirement System Act, the state Civil Service Act, the Riley-Stewart tax plan, the state sales tax, and the state income tax; defeat of the single tax; campaigns against the Hetch Hetchy bond issue and the Garrison Revenue Bond Act; establishment of the first old-age-pension system, conducted for the Eagles, a fraternal order; campaigns against Ham 'n' Eggs and the pension scheme of "Gorgeous" George McLain; defeat of legislative reapportionment; repeal of the "full-crew" law. These campaigns, won by Whitaker and Baxter, decided the key issues of fifteen years of California politics.

The firm also managed Earl Warren's successful campaign for the governorship in 1942—it taught him to smile and brought the large Warren brood into the limelight; elected George Hatfield as lieutenant governor in 1934 over its old friend Sheridan Downey in a campaign in which all mention of Downey's name was avoided; elected Goodwin Knight as lieutenant governor in 1946—one of its more unforgivable victories; and after the defeat of George Reilly for mayor of San Francisco, one of its rare setbacks, managed Mayor Roger Lapham's successful campaign to defeat a recall. Its gracious waiving of a fee for this service was even rarer than its setbacks. By 1945 people were saying in California, not "What are the odds?" but "Where are Whitaker and Baxter?" The stage was now set for a major triumph—the defeat of Governor Earl Warren's health-insurance plan.

Victory for the French Workers

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, April 2

IN THE great wave of strikes, beginning on the Paris underground, which swept in a few days across all France, comic relief was provided by the headlines and dispatches in some very democratic British papers on how the Queuille government was gallantly "fighting the strikes" and maintaining railway and bus services. Three cheers for the cops running the underground trains—about one every half-hour—at the risk of their own and their passengers' lives!

The Paris Métro strike was merely the spark that caused French working-class discontent to burst into flame. Time and again in the last few months the trade unions had warned the government that it was high time something was done about the rising cost of living. When M. Queuille took over the government, he seems to have had the strange idea that it was merely a caretaker government which would prepare for the elections, leaving the labor situation to take care of itself. But several days after the bus and underground strike had broken out and was threatening to spread to other branches of transport and to industry, the mild-looking little man did some strong-man stuff on the radio, saying he wouldn't tolerate this and wouldn't tolerate that. "The strike," he declared, "must not become an attempt to assassinate France." The "assassination" of France, however, went a stage farther the next day, when not only the Paris suburban lines but nearly all long-distance trains came to a standstill, the gas and electricity workers threatened to walk out, and the building, engineering, and dozens of other trades seethed with demands. For my part, I had not seen anything quite like it since the great stay-in strikes of 1936, which forced on the employers and on Parliament the forty-hour week, holidays with pay, and collective bargaining. This time the workers' aims were not so ambitious. But one thing the recent strikes had in common with those of 1936 was the *very widespread, not to say unanimous, popular support for the strikers.*

Writing in *Figaro,* Raymond Aron angrily sneered at "these great pseudo-spontaneous strike epidemics for which our country has such a regrettable capacity"; but

ALEXANDER WERTH is The Nation's *Paris correspondent.*

actually all the trade unions—Catholic, Socialist, and Communist—were behind the strikes, and even if it is true that in many cases the Communist C. G. T. led the way, working "from below," the very fact that the others—had they wished to—could not resist the movement is highly significant. Despite much disagreement among the trade-union leaders, the rank and file revealed something of the old Popular Front unity.

By Thursday, March 22, the government, after a week of doing nothing, suddenly burst into feverish activity. Throughout the week the Socialist and M. R. P. members, pestered by their respective unions—the Force Ouvrière and the C. F. T. C.—had been at sixes and sevens. Finally M. Queuille was shaken out of his lethargy, and on Friday the government announced that the minimum wage would be raised between 11 and 15 per cent, the cost of living having gone up 12½ per cent in the last seven months. It is too early to say exactly how wages in both the "public sector" and the "private sector" will be affected by the raising of the minimum rate and other concessions that may have been won, but it seems clear that many trades and occupations will benefit in varying degree. A general 7 per cent wage increase was granted in the engineering industry. There has been a marked tendency on the part of employers to make deals with the trade unions outside the Communist C. G. T. and then to confront the C. G. T., whose terms are always stiffer, with a *fait accompli.*

In the "public sector" the raises will of course make another big hole in the budget, and one cannot help suspecting that the Queuille government was so scared by the spreading strikes that it offered a wage increase without waiting to see where it would find the necessary revenue. With the election so close, it may be tempted to resort to some plain currency inflation, or it may, as some have suggested, "get its money back" by increasing indirect taxation, which would in the main hit the low-income groups. Will the Paris underground, for instance, boost its fares again? Or will it be granted some form of state subsidy?

One thing to which the government would on no account agree was any sort of sliding scale. One has the feeling that it has "bought off" the strikers, and the rest of the working class, in an emergency but has solved nothing. It is not even certain how well the government's promises will be kept: in other words, how much of the increase will be paid and how much only promised. A year ago, for example, the gas and electricity workers were promised a revision of their wage scales if they went back to work, but last week they were still waiting for this promise to be kept. The threat of a wages-and-prices race, with wages always lagging behind, is very serious, especially since the government is firmly opposed to any kind of planning or effective controls; there are no serious illusions that the slight increase in the railwaymen's wages, provisionally raised from 14,000 to 18,000 francs a month (approximately $40 to $50), will prove more than a temporary expedient. Workers dispute the estimated 12½ per cent rise in the cost of living since August, 1950, reckoning it much greater; and the railwaymen's increase is only one-third what the Paris Métro workers asked for originally.

WHAT is the way out? Two courses widely discussed might be described as the "external" and the "internal" solution. The "external" one is curtailment of the rearmament program and liquidation of the war in Indo-China—this is strongly supported by the neutralists. The "internal" solution, urged by such a "pro-Atlantic" paper as the *Franc-Tireur*, makes maintenance of the standard of living of the working class dependent on a far-reaching reform of the entire French taxation system. Its proponents quote some interesting revenue figures for 1949: Whereas there are more than a million private cars in France, only 131,000 persons declared an income of more than $2,380 a year, and 272,000 persons declared an income of between $1,680 and $2,380. Only four million people out of a total "active" population of seventeen million paid any income tax at all, and of these four million more than half were wage-earners receiving an average of $740 a year. The 950,000 "personal commercial undertakings"—mostly shops—declared an average income of $630. The Ministry of Finance itself thought tax evasion might have been $700,000,000 in 1949, a very modest estimate.

Among the employer class some old convictions have lately found cynical new expression: there is much admiration, on the quiet, for General Franco's system of "free" prices and frozen wages, and a desire to see a "tough" government in France apply the same sort of policy. *Esprit*, in its last number, quoted some gems from a big employers' conference: "No need for running water in workers' dwellings; they can go and fetch it outside." "Perfectly good suits that will last five years can be bought for 3,600 francs ($10). Anyway the minimum wage should imply some hardship lest the fellows get lazy." "The unskilled worker puts a suit on only twice—to get married in and to get buried in." "Half a ton of coal for every worker? What for? On getting back from work he can go to bed and take his wife with him, and they'll both keep warm." This is not a collection of feeble jokes but quotations—the speakers' names are available—from the minutes of a recent meeting of a subcommittee of the Collective Contracts Commission at which family budgets were discussed.

After all the government talk about working-class inertia and the lack of fighting spirit, many observers were surprised by the great vigor of the strike movement. The French working class scored an unquestionable victory, but the future looks bleak, for all that.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Mr. Mencken

DISTURBER OF THE PEACE: THE LIFE OF H. L. MENCKEN. By William Manchester. With an Introduction by Gerald W. Johnson. Harper and Brothers. $3.75.

THE latest attempt to put Mr. Mencken in a book takes the form of an intimate biography. Its every page proclaims it the work of a disciple. It is honest, lively, generous, brash, uppity, intransigent, self-consciously independent, and aggressively youthful.

The story moves swiftly and vividly. In the opening sentence Grandfather Mencken disembarks at Baltimore with five hundred dollars and a tobacconist's certificate in his wallet. In the final sentence, 102 years later, the grandson, quietly celebrating his seventieth birthday among old friends, blows out the candles on the cake. The whole book is like that, rich in detail, every sentence thrusting the saga onward, with no digressions into analysis or interpretation. There are comments by the way, but the narrative is never allowed to pause for them.

Some episodes have already been told, for the first crop of hard-cover disquisitions on the Sage of Baltimore—he was then the Baltimore Antichrist—was reviewed in these columns a full quarter-century ago, and Mr. Mencken himself had begun in his *Smart Set* days to experiment with reminiscential essays. His doings and utterances have long been news. Mr. Manchester passes quickly over the familiar, refurbishing it as he goes, adds much that is new, and has joined new and old into a generally well-proportioned narrative that affords an adequate outline of Mr. Mencken's career and portrays his charm, vigor, and humor with notable effect. He is slapdash in handling some details and in brushing in the background, but, such matters aside, the story is authentic.

Some scenes have been brilliantly realized, notably the first meeting with George Jean Nathan, which catches the quintessential spirit of young men's friendships in the magical hours of their beginning. Mr. Mencken's genius for friendship and his unending helpfulness to other writers receive their due. The two final chapters, on his marriage and the years following, are especially good, although the elegiac note is sounded insistently. During these years, after all, Mr. Mencken did write a large part of what seems sure to prove his most memorable work, but Mr. Manchester harbors the juvenile notion that a man of fifty is halfway up the crematory chimney.

An entertaining and informing book that spreads the contagion of its affection and admiration, but it has the limited aims of a popular biography. Critically, historically, and psychologically it does not venture far, and it is probably the better for not doing so. The author's skill is obviously in storytelling, not in criticism or analysis.

The title of the book means what it says. Mr. Manchester regards his hero primarily as an intellectual emancipator of youth, a smasher of idols, unstuffer of shirts, disturber of the peace, and measures the success of these enterprises by the decibel. Having studied Mr. Mencken's vast and fascinating collection of clippings about himself, he has charted precisely the annual fluctuations of adulation, abuse, and miscellaneous clamor, local and national. The noise has been terrific. The author makes a good story out of it but possibly overrates its significance.

Gerald Johnson seems to think so and insists politely in his introduction that there is another reason for esteeming Mr. Mencken, that his greatest influence has been exerted through "The American Language," and he is sure that influence will continue. There are other reasons. A generation ago he wrote the specifications for a new American literature, as well as for a better prose style, and got what he called for: whatever his limitations as a critic, he has been a literary force. In behalf of "dignity, decency, and honor"—a triad he used often—he has written some of the most trenchant and courageous editorials of our time, and he has not always proved a bad prophet. His greatest gift he has never quite understood, and in consequence he has been a poor editor of his own work, leaving much of his most characteristic writing in the files of newspapers and periodicals. For of his several talents the most precious is a comic spirit of extraordinary vitality, consistency, and brilliance. And behind the comic mask is a great humanist.

On his last page Mr. Manchester recalls Mr. Mencken's summary admonition to him: "Remember, write what you damn well please. But be sure to tell 'em I've always been a Christian. And a patriot." He has followed the admonition to the letter. When he goes farther, he will find someone more significant than a disturber of the peace.

GEORGE GENZMER

By Guess and by Gosh

THE WATER AND THE POWER. By Albert N. Williams. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. $4.50.

AMERICA is in danger of becoming a have-not nation. Its high-grade reserves of iron ore are perilously near depletion. The oil of California, Texas, and Oklahoma will not last forever. The country's final stands of virgin timber are being stripped ruthlessly from the hills of Oregon and Washington.

But snow will always fall in the Western winter, and it will melt during the Western spring and summer which follow. As it surges off the mountains, vast quantities of hydroelectric power lurk in the booming rapids and plumed waterfalls. This power, in turn, can pump water on to arid but fertile land that needs only irrigation to grow alfalfa, apples, or row crops. This source of wealth is eternal, and Albert N. Williams has assayed it in an able and vivid book about the five great rivers of the West—the Colorado, the Rio Grande, the Sacramento, the Missouri, and the Columbia.

"Water is the one resource on earth which is never used up," writes Mr. Williams, whose own home is in the basin of the silt-laden Colorado. But the author shows how difficult it is, in our political hurly-burly, to bring about in-

telligent use of water for the benefit of mankind. Land companies have resisted federal reclamation projects. Utility corporations have not wanted the restless Western rivers funneled into penstocks for the production of low-cost water power. Politicians block needed projects because they cannot decide who should receive the credit.

But the American West is not an entity, as Mr. Williams demonstrates. In the valley of the Colorado the up-river and the down-river states fight over water. If Arizona extends its irrigated tracts, California may not be able to quench the thirst and water the lawns of Los Angeles. In the watershed of the Columbia, by contrast, the rainfall in some places is 100 inches a year, and the problem is how to construct dams and yet divert the tremendous flow from the ramparts of the Selkirks and the Cascades.

Every person interested in the bitter quarrels over water in the Southwest should read "The Water and the Power." Arizona claims 1,200,000 acre-feet of the Colorado; California seeks 4,400,000 feet. But frequently there is not enough water to satisfy both demands, particularly now that Mexico has been pledged 1,500,000 acre-feet "to be delivered to the border."

This book correlates well with the report of the President's Water Resources Committee, headed by Morris L. Cooke. The United States lacks a genuine water policy. Everything is "by guess and by gosh." A valley authority here, the Bureau of Reclamation there, the Army Engineers everywhere—this is how the energy of our rivers is being tapped at present. And the necessary job isn't under way.

Mr. Williams points this up with special attention in his chapters on the Missouri. The Reclamation Bureau and the Corps of Engineers are the Hatfields and the McCoys of government agencies. Their six-shooters are always unlimbered. Each wants to foil the other along the Missouri. They plan projects on creeks a child could leap. "The truth of the matter," complains Mr. Williams, "seems to be that the Bureau of Reclamation is merely staking out possible rather than necessary projects, presumably to protect its vested interest in itself."

Roosevelt launched such undertakings as Bonneville, Shasta, and, the greatest of them all, Grand Coulee Dam. Yet these huge dams now are operated on an extremely casual basis. Three separate federal bureaus, for example, are involved in the distribution and generation of power at Bonneville. That excellent crusading daily, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, has often cited the failure of the Administration to press for a regional authority in the watershed of the wide Missouri.

Mr. Williams's thorough and complete book contains a fine statement of the case for "postage-stamp" power rates. When the government projects first were erected, industries near the power plant sought lower charges for electricity. But President Roosevelt ruled otherwise. He pointed out that first-class mail cost a person in New York 3 cents an ounce, whether the letter went to Newark or to Spokane. "The postage-stamp arrangement," concludes Mr. Williams, "is the only possible method for the circulation of government-produced power if the hoped-for benefits are to be achieved over a wide region."

If there is any omission in this study of Western water and power, it is the failure of Albert N. Williams to discuss the proposed dams which might destroy Western scenic values. In the Dinosaur National Monument of Utah several projects are planned that conservationists fear may wreck the majesty of a great wilderness realm. This conflict has presumably led to the forced resignation of the director of the United States National Park Service. What has the author of "The Water and the Power" to say about projects that might turn our last solitudes into artificial lakes?

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Two Novels

THE DIVIDING OF TIME. By Elizabeth Sewell. Doubleday and Company. $2.75.

THE LOVED AND THE LOST. By Morley Callaghan. The Macmillan Company. $3.

ELIZABETH SEWELL is a young and very intellectual English poetess who is being introduced to the American public with a first novel that is apparently an autobiographical fairy tale. Those who are willing to struggle through this mysterious labyrinth with Miss Sewell's "I" will emerge with some vague ideas about her inner conflicts—as expressed in a series of trials which "I" undergoes with her seven selves—her conversion to Catholicism and her acceptance of the poet's high task.

It need not be held against "The Dividing of Time" that one seldom knows what is "going on" or for that matter why; the fantasy must be taken on its own terms. But the writer of fantasy does have the obligation—in exchange for the pleasure of mystifying his readers with a set of arbitrarily selected symbols—of telling a story in the strictest and most literal sense. The best of modern fairy tales, whether they are

BOOK SALE

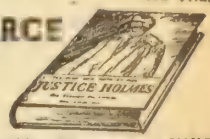
$3.00—$5.00 Brand New Books in HISTORY • ECONOMICS • POLITICS

ONLY $1.25

(While we are closing out our remaining stocks of 20–30 copies per title.)

1. FIGHTING LIBERAL: Autobiography of George W. Norris. 419 pages. Published at $3.50. Now only $1.25
2. 1000 AMERICANS: The Real Rulers of America by George Soldes. Influence of DuPont, Luce, NAM. 312 pages. Published at $3.00. Now $1.25
3. TREASON'S PEACE: German Dyes and American Dupes by H. W. Ambruster. Standard documentary of chemical cartels. 438 pages. Pub. at $3.75. Now only $1.25
4. FIRST FREEDOM by Morris Ernst. Monopoly trends in press, radio and movies. 316 pages. Published at $3.00. Now only $1.25
5. FEAR, WAR, AND THE BOMB by P. M. S. Blackett. Nobel Prize-winner's study of atomic energy's military and political consequences. 244 pages. Published at $3.50. Now only $1.25
6. AMERICAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN GERMANY by Harold Zink. History and analysis. Published at $4.00. Now only $1.25
7. SELECTED WRITINGS OF THOMAS PAINE. 223 pages of sections from Rights of Man, religious, political, historical works. Published at $2.50. Now only $1.25
8. THE ENDURING FEDERALIST. Comprehensive selections from Federalist papers, edited and analyzed by Charles Beard. 391 pages. Pub. at $4.00 Now only $1.25
9. BEATRICE WEBB by Margaret Cole. Fabian Socialism and one of its outstanding leaders. Illustrated. Published at $3.00. Now $1.25
10. GLOBAL MISSION by H. H. Arnold. Recent Source Book on air power and power politics. 626 pages. Published at $5.00. Now $1.25
11. EAGLE FORGOTTEN by H. Barnard. Biography of John Peter Altgold and story of 19th century civil rights. 484 pages. Published at $5. Now $1.25

HOLMES SOURCE BOOK NOW ONLY $1.25



SPECIAL—only $1.25 for absorbing 474-page THE MIND AND FAITH OF JUSTICE HOLMES: His Speeches, Essays, Letters and Judicial Opinions. Edited and with introduction and commentary by Max Lerner. Originally $4.

MAIL TODAY. QUANTITIES LIMITED

DOVER PUBLICATIONS, Dept. N 4,
1780 Broadway, New York City 19

SEND BOOKS CIRCLED BELOW POSTPAID:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
9 10 11 _____ Holmes Book. I am enclosing $_____ in full payment. UNCONDITIONAL MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE, if books are returned in 10 days.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

Kafka's stories, or Saint-Exupéry's "The Little Prince," or Herbert Read's "The Green Child," accept this obligation: they stimulate us into a concern with expanding circles of meanings by locating them within a factually patterned story.

Since Miss Sewell is a highly intelligent and sensitive writer, she attempts to cope with this problem by placing "I" in the highly charged atmosphere of war-time London, whence she floats off to meet Nebuchadnezzar, Samson, and so on. But she simply does not succeed in interesting us in the *literal* fate of "I," and if we are bored on this plane, how can our attention be commanded by the more serious questions of personal salvation with which we are asked to become involved?

Mr. Callaghan's heroine is also essentially uninteresting, but for very different reasons. Peggy, his little Montreal blonde, has a special love for Negroes, which is hideously misinterpreted even by the college professor-columnist who risks his career by his instinctive response to her saintliness. But he does not risk enough, and Peggy dies a martyr at the hands of those for whom she was willing to sacrifice herself. The point is clear enough, but Peggy is merely an abstraction, and her demise means only another page to be turned.

"The Loved and the Lost" is done in soft focus, like those portraits of pretty girls which photographers place in their front windows. Aiming, like the photographers, for tenderness, Mr. Callaghan rarely succeeds in being more than sentimental. There is in addition a mingling of the provincial and the old-fashioned in his latest novel, for all its neon lights, juke boxes, and drunken brawls, which makes one marvel at its remoteness from our own world.

HARVEY SWADOS

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR
Just Arrived! KONSTANTIN FEDIN
EARLY JOYS Stalin Prize Novel
In English — 503 pp. — $1.50
Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
1951 Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals
Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

Buy Your Books through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

Group Against Group

THE SOCIAL CRISIS OF OUR TIMES. By Wilhelm Röpke. University of Chicago Press. $3.50.

HERE is a statement of our social maladies that smacks of Ruskin's humanism and those romantic diatribes against the railroads when they first blackened England's countryside. Many of capitalism's afflictions have apparently emerged from mechanization and the division of labor more than from anything inherent in the social and economic system. Agricultural societies have been transformed rapidly into urban ones. Masses of workers, says Röpke, have been subjected to the exacting rhythm and discipline of specialization and reduced to a body devoid of pride in workmanship.

Inequalities in property and incomes, recurrent and widespread unemployment, concentration of economic and political power in progressively fewer hands—these are outward manifestations of our ailment. But the illness itself is spiritual. Röpke is dreadfully concerned with the individual's plight in an overwhelming universe which thwarts personal fulfilment. He condemns the "cult of the colossal" which permeates the capitalism of today just as he ridicules the answers offered by the "complete collectivism" of communism.

Where Marx saw the dynamics of capitalism as an insoluble struggle between owner and worker, Röpke views the conflict on other lines. Because each person's economic judgment "is more strongly determined by his position as a producer than as a consumer," groupism, we are told, has emerged among business men, workers, and farmers. It is no longer simply rich versus poor, farm versus industry, but rather organized groups against each other at the expense of unorganized individuals. Our "producer-mindedness," it appears, has resulted in laws which disrupt the market economy, lead to monopoly concessions, price rigidity, and even business cycles.

Fortunately Röpke's nostalgia for the peasantry of Scandinavia and France and the artisans of Austria and Switzerland does not so becloud his thinking as to render his views quixotic. For though he extols the social, moral, and political values of such societies, he obviously doubts we could turn back the clock "without jeopardizing the existence of millions of people." But he faces realistically the consequences of decentralizing and humanizing industry and finds hope in the fact that economic power may have become concentrated in part by reason of the defects of our legal and institutional framework. For, after all, men make laws, and laws can be changed and enforced.

Without apparent evidence, he discounts the possibility that socialist institutions, though they prevent men from expressing themselves in certain ways, might conceivably offer equally desirable outlets not found in competitive societies. His views here are hardly unusual among liberals cut of Röpke's cloth. None the less, where competition cannot be made to work for *technological* reasons, he justifies public monopoly. Indeed, his list for state operation is somewhat more extensive than we might expect, and includes radio and other communications.

Unfortunately Röpke offers no consistent criteria by which to draw the line between public and private endeavor. Nor does he consider which trade practices are really "monopolistic" and which may actually give us more competition than would their abolition. Even more disturbing, in his feverish concern with "bigness" Röpke ignores a new stream of thought—that the growth of national wealth, if not of welfare, may be more rapid where some element of monopoly cushions the innovator. This may be incorrect, but be-

fore it is tested, why prefer the opposite view?

Röpke tells us little that is new, though his curious blending of ideas will intrigue those concerned with major social problems. HARVEY LEVIN

Books in Brief

THE GEORGIAN LITERARY SCENE, 1910-1935. By Frank Swinnerton. Farrar, Straus. $4. A revised edition—omitting some of Mr. Swinnerton's comments on himself—of this highly personalized piece of cultural history. Mr. Swinnerton is sometimes acute, sometimes obtuse, but he is out to deflate what he calls the "modn," and the one consistent impression he manages to leave of his contemporaries is that none of them from Henry James on was any great shakes as a writer—or at least no greater shakes than Mr. S.

THE SACRED RIVER: AN APPROACH TO JAMES JOYCE. By L. A. G. Strong. Pellegrini and Cudahy. $2.35. A brief study, written mainly for an Irish public. In a critical sense, it goes over familiar ground somewhat perfunctorily, though Mr. Strong makes a fresh contribution to Joyce lore from his special knowledge of Irish singers and Irish singing. The last chapter is an attempt to rehabilitate "Finnegans Wake" in the eyes of the orthodox as a work of morals and theology.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

THE latest musical comedy of Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein 2d, "The King and I" (St. James Theater) has a great deal of charm. I need hardly say that it is very pretty to look at, since no expense has been spared, Jo Mielziner and Irene Sharaff know how to combine glamour with taste, and the Siamese motif gives them scope.

The trouble is that there is too much charm for the amount of wit that has gone into the production. And the final effect is similar to that of a salad dressing made with too much oil and too little vinegar. Moreover, some of the charm is derived from corn and the wit is also adulterated—by a reverence for the eternal verities that overwhelmed the Messrs. Rodgers and Hammerstein in "Allegro" and makes serious inroads on some of the scenes of "The King and I." I came away feeling that irreverence rather than brevity may be the soul of wit.

Fortunately, Gertrude Lawrence has the leading role. She may not much resemble the Anna who went to the court of Siam, but her showmanship and skill, her humor and élan, keep the piece from sagging too often or for too long. Even Miss Lawrence, however, can do little with the last scene.

Fortunately, too, Jerome Robbins of "Fancy Free" was called in to do the choreography. His ballet, "The Small House of Uncle Tom"—an American choreographer's free and fanciful Siamese interpretation (if you follow me) of "Uncle Tom's Cabin"—is the wittiest and most imaginative number in the show. Little Eva, Uncle Tom, and Eliza in Siamese costume are delightful to begin with, but the paces through which Mr. Robbins puts them—and his use particularly of Siamese dance positions and steps—are deliciously funny. I might add that Mr. Robbins shows reverence neither for Siam nor for Harriet Beecher Stowe, and the result is a ballet that would, I am sure, generate amity in Bangkok as well as New York.

The next best number is the schoolroom scene. The children of the King, especially the littler ones, are genuinely charming, and Miss Lawrence has them well in hand.

Some of the songs are pleasant, though none are outstanding. The lyrics are well enough, though several of them seem to be based on the proposition that there is no real difference between prose and verse. The first act is much the better of the two—the second is saved by the Robbins ballet.

Yul Brynner as the King plays a rather difficult part very well, but in the end the script defeats him as it does Miss Lawrence—not because it gets serious but because it gets solemn and thin and is long drawn out.

Films

MANNY FARBER

THE death of Val (Vladimir) Lewton, Hollywood's top producer of B movies, occurred during the final voting on the year's outstanding film contributors. The proximity of these two events underlines the significant fact that Lewton's horror productions ("Death Ship," "The Body Snatchers," "Isle of the Dead"), which always conveyed a very visual, unorthodox artistry, were never recognized as "Oscar"-worthy. On the other hand, in acclaiming people like Ferrer, Mankiewicz, and Holliday, the industry has indicated its esteem for bombshells who disorganize the proceedings on the screen with their flamboyant eccentricities and relegate the camera to the role of passive bit player.

Lewton always seemed a weirdly misplaced figure in Hollywood. He specialized in gentle, scholarly, well-wrought productions that were as modest in their effects as his estimate of himself.

Why Put Up With City Life?

Wouldn't you rather
—live on your own small farm?
—or own your own business in the country?

PLAN FOR INDEPENDENCE—Live in the Country and Make It Pay, a fact-filled book, does for you just what you could do if you had the time to search out the hundreds of ways by which you could make a good living in the country, whether or not you want to farm. Just look over this *partial* list of chapters.

- The surest way to earn a good living in the country without farming
- Your chance to own your own business: the best way known to learn which business to start
- Trailer camps and tourist cabins—a sure profit maker?
- The only sure way to get a good buy in a business put up for sale
- Proven plans how men and women earn a good living in the country without farming
- Today's golden opportunity if you do want to farm—the NEW one-man poultry farm
- New road to rebuilding cheap land and abandoned farms
- Your chances in part-time farms, resort farms, 5-acre farms, pecan groves, orange groves, etc.
- Your chances in New England, the South, Florida, the Southwest and Northwest, the Rockies, California, etc.

And there's much more information as well: how you can slash food costs, how to get city comforts in the country, proven ways to increase the value of your property, etc.

Why not live where you can go fishing, hunting, boating, swimming practically from your front door? Where it costs less to live, you can stay vigorous and healthy, and it's like having your vacation all year long?

PLAN FOR INDEPENDENCE—Live in the Country and Make It Pay costs only $1, and we gladly refund your money if you don't agree that it will show you how to make a comfortable living in the country.

Don't bother writing a letter. Simply tear out ad, PRINT name and address, and mail with $1 bill, check, or money order to HARIAN PUBLICATIONS, 102 Second Avenue, Greenlawn, (Long Island), New York.

Said he: "Years ago I wrote novels for a living, and when RKO was looking for a horror producer, someone told them I had written horrible novels. They misunderstood the word horrible for horror and I got the job." Having taken on the production of low-cost thrillers (budgeted under $500,000) about pretty girls who turn into man-eating cats or believe in zombies, Lewton started proving his odd idea, for a celluloid entertainer, that "a picture can never be too good for the public." This notion did not spring from a desire to turn out original, non-commercial films, for Lewton never possessed that kind of brilliance or ambition; it came instead from a pretty reasonable understanding of his own limitations. Unlike the majority of Hollywood craftsmen, he was so bad at supplying the kind of "punch" familiar to American films that the little mayhem he did manage was crude, poorly motivated, and as incredible as the Music Hall make-up on his Indians in "Apache Drums"—the last and least of his works. He also seemed to have a psychological fear of creating expensive effects, so that his stock in trade became the imparting of much of the story through such low-cost suggestions as frightening shadows. His talents were those of a mild bibliophile whose idea of "good" cinema had too much to do with using quotes from Shakespeare or Donne, bridging scenes with a rare folk song, capturing climate with a description of a West Indian dish, and in the pensive sequences making sure a bit player wore a period mouth instead of a modern lipsticky one. Lewton's efforts not infrequently suggested a minor approximation of "Jane Eyre."

The critics who called Lewton the "Sultan of shudders" and "Chillmaster" missed the deliberate quality of his insipidly normal characters, who reminded one of the actors used in small-town movie ads for the local grocery or shoe store. Lewton and his script-writers collaborated on sincere, adult pulp stories which gave sound bits of knowledge on subjects like zoanthropia or early English asylums while steering almost clear of formula horror.

"The Curse of the Cat People," for instance, was simply for the over-conscientious parent of a problem child. The film is about a child (Ann Carter) who worries or antagonizes the people around her with her daydreaming; the more they caution and reprimand, the more she withdraws to the people of her fantasies for "friends." When she finds an old photograph of her father's deceased, psychopathic first wife (Simone Simon, the cat woman of an earlier film), she sees her as one of her imagined playmates; the father fears his daughter has become mentally ill and is under a curse. His insistence that she stop daydreaming brings about the climax, and the film's conclusion is that he should have more trust and faith in his daughter and her visions. Innocuous plots such as these were fashioned with peculiar ingredients that gave them an air of genteel sensitivity and enchantment; there was the dry documenting of a bookworm, an almost delicate distrust of excitement, economical camera and sound effects, as well as fairy-tale titles and machinations.

The chilling factor came from the perverse process of injecting tepid thrills with an eyedropper into a respectable story, a technique Lewton and his favorite script-writer, Donald Henderson Clarke, picked up during long careers of writing sex shockers for drugstore book racks. While skittering daintily away from concrete evidences of cat women or brutality, they would concentrate with the fascination of a "voyeur" on unimportant bric-a-brac, reflections, domestic animals, so that the camera would take on the faintly unhealthy eye of a fetishist. The morbidity came from the obsessive preoccupation with which writers and camera men brought out the voluptuous reality of things like a dangerously swinging ship's hook, which was inconspicuously knocking men overboard like tenpins.

Lewton's most accomplished maneuver was making the audience think much more about his material than it warranted. Some of his devices were the usual ones of hiding leading information, having his people murdered offstage, or cutting into a murderous moment in a gloomy barn with a shot of a horse whinnying. He, however, hid much more of his story than any other film-maker, and forced his crew to create drama almost abstractly with symbolic sounds, textures, and the like that made the audience hyper-conscious of sensitive craftsmanship. He imperiled his characters in situations that didn't call for outsized melodrama and permitted the use of a journalistic camera—for example, a sailor trying to make himself heard over the din of a heavy chain that is burying him inside a ship's locker. He would use a spray-shot technique that usually consisted of oozing suggestive shadows across a wall, or watching the heroine's terror on a lonely walk, and then add a homey wind-up of the cat woman trying to clean her conscience in a bathtub decorated with cat paws. This shorthand method allowed Lewton to ditch the laughable aspects of improbable events and give the remaining bits of material the strange authenticity of a daguerreotype.

Unfortunately, his directors (he discovered Robson and Wise in the cutting department) became so delirious about scenic camera work that they used little imagination on the acting. But the sterile performances were partly due to Lewton's unexciting idea that characters should always be sweet, "like the people who go to the movies"—a notion that slightly improved such veteran creeps as Karloff but stopped the more talented actors (Kent Smith, Daniell) dead in their tracks. Lewton's distinction always came from his sense of the soundly constructed novel; his $200,000 jobs are so skilfully engineered in pace, action, atmosphere that they have lost none of the haunting effect they had when released years ago.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

HERE is a report on some recent recordings of operas:

"Don Giovanni" (Haydn Society). Though Stabile's voice has little sensuous beauty left, it is still agreeable enough, and his singing is enlivened by the dramatic animation which gives extraordinary effect to the recitatives. Pernerstorfer, the Leporello, and Poell, the Masetto, are excellent; Handt, the Ottavio, uses a colorless voice with taste; Hilde Konetzni is a good Elvira; but there is no charm in the singing of Heusser, the Zerlina (the tempos of her arias are too fast for the prescribed

grazioso), and Grob-Prandl, the Anna, has a harsh, tremulous voice which cannot cope with the florid passages of *Non mi dir.* The orchestra is the inferior Vienna Symphony (not the Philharmonic of the State Opera); Swarowsky is not a conductor who can make it sound any better than it is; and the performance has a coarseness which contrasts strikingly with the refinement of execution and sonority, the sensitive phrasing of the old Glyndebourne Festival performance (which RCA Victor will reissue on LP next fall). Violins are stridently sharp.

"Idomeneo" (Mercury). This turns out to be the Wolf-Ferrari revision; and the notes in the album contain the inevitable reference to "the purist" who will object to, among other things, the omission of Elektra's extraordinary final aria. I do object, and advise you to stick to the original.

"Fidelio" (Oceanic). Some of Pflüger's slow tempos are almost as damaging to the music as Bäumer's tremolo-ridden singing of Leonore's *Abscheulicher!* aria. But the other singers and the orchestra and chorus of the Leipzig Mitteldeutsche Rundfunk are good; and the recording provides a means of hearing some of the greatest dramatic music after Mozart's—the wonderful first-act quartet, Leonore's duet with Rocco after her aria, the tremendous introduction to the dungeon scene and Florestan's *Gott! welch Dunkel hier,* the duet, trio, and quartet that follow, the sublime *O Gott! welch' ein Augenblick* at the end. There are high-frequency distortion near the ends of some sides and occasional stridency in the violin sound.

Act 2 of "Die Meistersinger" (London). Some of the most beautiful music of Wagner's finest work, superbly sung and played by Gueden, Treptow, Schöffler, and other soloists, chorus, and orchestra of the Vienna State Opera under Knappertsbusch. A few constricted high notes of Treptow, an occasional questionable tempo of Knappertsbusch (e.g. the excessively slow concluding page) are the flaws in the performance; singers up close obscuring the orchestra in back, and the violin sound veiled are the flaws in the reproduction; and there are several momentary breaks. Americans will be hearing the act for the first time without the cuts in the Sachs-Beckmesser scene made at the Metropolitan—cuts which are retained in the Metropolitan libretto provided with the records.

"Salome" (Oceanic). Along with things like the dreadful Dance of the Seven Veils this work has effective and beautiful pages which culminate in Salome's final monologue, the high point of Strauss's writing for the stage. The performance by soloists and orchestra of the Dresden State Opera under Keilberth is excellent, except for Goltz's occasional excessive tremolo in high notes; the singers are again up close and the orchestra in back and a little distant.

"Elektra" (Cetra-Soria). Strauss's prodigious technical mastery fills out much of the time with mere hubbub, and for the big moments he has only a sugary style which is incongruous as well as inadequate. The performance is the one conducted by Mitropoulos in Florence last May, with singers from the Vienna Opera and chorus and orchestra of the Maggio Musicale Fiorentino. Anny Konetzni, the Elektra, sings with the tremolo-ridden shreds of a voice; the singing of Ilitsch, the Chrysothemis, is sharp-edged; and the only good singing is that of Mödl, the Klytemnestra. But the orchestra's performance is superb; and fortunately it comes off the records in front of the singers.

Peter Anders's singing of Ottavio's arias from "Don Giovanni" (in German, unfortunately), *Dies Bildnis* from "The Magic Flute," and three arias from "Die Entführung" on a Capitol LP is good.

Fedora Barbieri's singing of Azucena's arias from "Il Trovatore" on a noisy-surfaced Columbia 78 is very fine; but there are excessive tremolo and shrillness in parts of *O don fatale* from "Don Carlo" and *Re dell' abisso* from "Un Ballo in Maschera" on another.

A London LP offers remarkably beautiful singing by Suzanne Danco in *Ah! fors è lui* and *Sempre libera* from "La Traviata," Micaela's aria from "Carmen," *Divinités du Styx* from "Alceste," and *When I am laid in earth* from "Dido and Aeneas." Arias from "Louise" and "Manon" are also on the record, which has a pronounced hum.

Pagliughi's performances of arias from "Rigoletto," "La Sonnambula," "The Pearl Fishers," "Lucîa," and "The Daughter of the Regiment" have been dubbed from the Parlophone 78's onto a Decca LP which reproduces her lovely voice of earlier years, but with occasional distortion.

On one RCA Victor LP Traubel sings part of Isolde's Narrative (with Brangäne's part omitted) and the Finale from "Tristan," Elisabeth's Prayer from "Tannhäuser," and *Euch Lüften* from "Lohengrin"; on another Elsa's Dream, Senta's Ballad from "Der fliegende Holländer," *Ich sah das Kind* from "Parsifal," and some "bleeding chunks" of "Die Walküre" and "Die Götterdämmerung." The voice is lovely in its lowest range; as it goes higher (E and above) it loses warmth and luster and becomes tremulous; but some of the high notes are clear and powerful.

The London record of excerpts from "Parsifal" is something to skip.

TOWN HALL • Sunday, APRIL 22 • at 5:30
BACH CANTATA GUILD
PETER SOZIO, Conductor
CHAMBER ORCHESTRA AND SINGERS
Program: Bach Cantatas No. 176 & No. 10 (uncut, in German) Schuetz "Drei Geistliche Gesange" & "Der Herr Ist Mein Licht"; J. J. Fux "Madrigale"
Tickets: $2.40; $1.80; & $1.20; loge seats $3.60 at Box Office. Kindly mail order checks payable TOWN HALL BOX OFFICE, 113 W. 43rd St., New York City

JUST ISSUED
JASQUIN DES PREZ
14 Secular Songs
Instrumental and Vocal
Performed by Pro Musica Antiqua
E. M. S. 213 12" L. P. $5.95
ELAINE MUSIC SHOP
9 EAST 44th STREET bet. Fifth & Madison
NEW YORK CITY 17 MUrray Hill 2-6154

25% Less than List on LP Records
Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:
DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB
DEPT. N-20
Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.
Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges (50¢ minimum) SAME-DAY SHIPMENT

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN
MARY MARTIN
RAY MIDDLETON
IN
South Pacific
Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with MYRON McCORMICK
MAJESTIC Thea., 44 St. W. of B'way
Evenings 8:30 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

CONTRIBUTORS

GEORGE GENZMER is working on a critical biography of Thomas Jefferson for the American Men of Letters Series.

HARVEY SWADOS has published short stories in the little magazines. He writes reviews for the New York *Post* and has contributed to the *Progessive* and the *Menorah Journal.*

HARVEY LEVIN is assistant professor of economics at Pennsylvania State College.

LANGUAGES

STOP WISHING—START TALKING
At home, in leisure time, quickly, easily, correctly master French, Spanish, German, Russian, any of 29 languages through LINGUAPHONE World's Standard Conversational Method. 7 languages approved for VETERANS training. Send for FREE book.
LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE
8104 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

FINANCING

FINANCING—
We will provide temporary or permanent financing of $500,000.00 or upwards for large, established industrial enterprises.
L. N. Rosenbaum & Son
Financing & Reorganizations
565 Fifth Avenue
New York 17

PUBLISHING SERVICE

WRITERS!—Book mss. wanted for publication, fiction, non-fiction. Free booklet. Write today! **Daniel S. Mead Literary Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. C. 16.**

TYPING SERVICE

MANUSCRIPT TYPING, theses, medical articles. Speed, intelligence, economy. AMBASSADOR OFFICE SERVICE, 17 East 48th Street. PLaza 5-1127.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, $5.00.

PERSONAL

APPALACHIAN Mountain-bound boy wants to correspond with reasonably attractive mid-twenty gal musically and liberally inclined. Box 220, c/o The Nation.

Classified Advertising Rates
74¢ A LINE (SIX WORDS)
Minimum three lines
Box No. counted as three words
Remittance must accompany all orders
THE NATION
20 Vesey St. • New York City 7 • BA 7-1066

Letters to the Editors

Korea's Costly Freedom

Dear Sirs: In *The Nation* of March 24 reader Jacob D. Hammer criticizes you for objecting to the total destruction of Korean villages because of the activities of a few snipers. He declares that "our men are in Korea to save the people's freedom and not their homes." Of course, if the Koreans are so foolish as to be living in their homes when the bombs fall, well, that's just too bad.

Even if one takes Mr. Hammer's hypothesis at face value, the fallacy in his reasoning is evident. How can you save a man's freedom if you take away his life in the attempt? And what is worth more to the poor Korean peasant, his life or some vague concept of freedom which he certainly has never experienced and knows nothing about? Furthermore, how can we be fighting for freedom when we support a regime like Syngman Rhee's which is the very antithesis of freedom and democracy?

By these maniacal acts—there is no other word which can describe them—the United States is losing the faith of people all over the world.

LAWRENCE GRASIN

Brooklyn, N. Y., March 24

Contempt and Due Process

Dear Sirs: My article in the January 13 issue of *The Nation,* The Legal Defense of Hated Men, considered among other matters the contempt proceedings against the lawyers who defended the "Communist eleven." A supplementary observation is necessary.

Judge Medina held the attorneys guilty of "a deliberate and wilful attack upon the administration of justice" and acts of grave misconduct. Further study requires a sharper separation of the two types of offense—conspiracy and specific misdeeds.

As to the specific acts, Judge Medina could, at the moment of offense, have cited the lawyers for contempt and fixed a punishment to be applied then or later. He could have done so under the provisions for summary contempt action embodied in the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure, Rule 42 (a). Instead he read the contempt citation, embodying both conspiracy and "offensive act" charges, at the end of the trial and then imposed penalties—all by summary judgment. At that time and since the lawyers involved have insisted that they should have had a hearing as required under Rule 42 (b); they contend that summary procedure is possible only when the contempt is committed in the court's "actual presence" and that it cannot be stretched out in time. These are not mere legalistic arguments; they lie at the heart of due process.

Professors Fowler Harper and David Haber explore the whole problem in Lawyer Troubles in Political Trials in the *Yale Law Journal* of January, 1951. Their chief conclusion appears to be that the conspiracy charge was inextricably woven into the contempt citation and punishment, that a conspiracy charge must by its nature be presented in a hearing, and that the Appellate Court erred in sustaining the citation for separated-out "offensive acts."

G. LOUIS JOUGHIN

New York, March 18

Spell of Ingersoll

Dear Sirs: Joseph Wood Krutch's review of "The Letters of Robert G. Ingersoll" in *The Nation* of March 3 is doubtlessly a reasonably fair and impersonal evaluation. It would be interesting to see an equal degree of impersonality in a review of the currently extolled "London Journal" of James Boswell. Most reviews of the Boswell book stressed the sort of person Boswell revealed himself to be in his writings. No reviewer of Colonel Ingersoll's writings acquainted with the personality behind them could have produced the distorted emphasis of Mr. Krutch's review.

It is a pity that Mr. Krutch never experienced the spell cast by Colonel Ingersoll when he lectured. Had he ever done so, I doubt that he would have in his mind the picture of a money-making "corporation lawyer." And had he experienced the compelling warmth and candor of a large and kindly heart, he would have seen more than a few high-flown figures of speech in writings which were always notable for a broad humanism, honestly thought and openly expressed. EDWARD H. DAVIS

Waterbury, Conn., March 1

Through the Nylon Curtain

Dear Sirs: The article Morocco Wants Freedom by Claude Bourdet (*The Nation,* March 24) makes a peephole in the nylon curtain we have drawn over exploited and neglected peoples under Western rule. It is refreshing after all the nonsense and fairy tales we have had about North Africa.

NICHOLAS KLEIN

Cincinnati, Ohio, March 26

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • APRIL 21, 1951 NUMBER 16

The Shape of Things

ACCORDING TO THE LATEST GALLUP POLL General Eisenhower is the best-liked potential candidate for President among both Republicans and Democrats. But Republican voters must probably now abandon any idea of having Eisenhower as their nominee next year. Their party leaders in Congress and in Albany have swallowed hook, line, and sinker the Asia-first, pro-war, pro-Chiang Kai-shek doctrines of General MacArthur. The Republicans cannot have both MacArthur and Eisenhower. MacArthur, writing contemptuously of European diplomats and our Western allies, wants to use our limited surplus of arms for Chiang's forces; Eisenhower favors the Atlantic Pact. MacArthur thinks that the way to solve all our problems is to bomb, blockade, and invade the China mainland; Eisenhower supports the Truman doctrine of limiting the fighting in Asia while continuing to sustain the integrity of the United Nations. MacArthur has practically turned himself over to the stage-management of Republican Party leaders: Eisenhower, recognizing both the proprieties and delicacy of our relations with our allies, publicly expressed a hope that MacArthur would not allow himself to become the center of "acrimony." Politicians are capable of astounding reversals, but it is difficult to see how the Republicans, having married MacArthur in April, 1951, could divorce themselves by June, 1952, and marry Eisenhower. A more plausible suggestion is that Mr. Truman, if he decides Eisenhower is really a powerful candidate, might ask the General to run on the Democratic ticket to vindicate the Truman foreign policy.

*

PHYSICALLY AND MENTALLY ERNEST BEVIN was a twentieth-century embodiment of John Bull, with most of the virtues, faults, and prejudices of that symbolic Englishman. He had the strength of character of the man who has made his way against immense odds, but the struggle left its scars, and at times he was not merely tough but brutal. Born to deep poverty, Bevin went to work at thirteen and fought his way up through the ranks of labor while painfully acquiring an education. In this country we have known him well only since the war—in the final and most chequered phase of his career. As Foreign Secretary, a post which in 1945 he had neither expected nor wanted, he was working in an unfamiliar field, and his inflexibility perhaps reflected his lack of ease. He has been praised, and rightly, for his firmness in resisting unjustified Soviet demands, but although firmness is an essential ingredient in the art of diplomacy it needs to be supplemented by imagination. Bevin showed himself at his best in his quick recognition of the potentialities of the Marshall Plan—he had a real grasp of economic realities. His greatest failure was his disastrously clumsy handling of Israel, born of failure to understand the issues involved and an intolerant disregard for the passionate idealism that inspired the Zionist movement. But neither his successes nor his failures as Foreign Secretary will determine his place in history. He will be remembered rather for the great part he played in building up the British Labor movement, for his skill in welding a number of struggling local unions into an immensely powerful organization, and for his decisive leadership of the British Trades Union Congress at critical moments. Above all, perhaps, his fame will rest on his services as Minister of Labor in World War II, when his effective mobilization of manpower provided one of the major pillars of victory.

*

THE SPANISH REPUBLIC CELEBRATED ITS twentieth anniversary over the past week-end. In many cities—New York, London, Paris, Mexico—Spanish Republicans of all political shades gathered to proclaim their faith in the liberation of their country. Their hopes, maintained during eleven long and painful years of exile, had been heightened by recent events at home and abroad. Inside Spain the fascist regime was going through the hardest crisis of its existence, with such illuminating new developments as the suppression of Catholic newspapers because of their criticism of the social and economic policies of the government and spontaneous mass demonstrations in Barcelona and elsewhere against hunger and repression. Abroad, support of the Spanish people in their fight against Franco seemed to be reviving. It was certainly impressive to see the Committee of Foreign Relations of the French National Assembly, in which all parties are represented, adopt unanimously a resolution denouncing "the fascist regime of Franco" for "the state of terror and misery in which it holds the people of Spain" and "declaring its sympathy for the valiant fighters for freedom in Bar-

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 357
Trial by Printer's Ink 359
Next Moves *by Freda Kirchwey* 360

ARTICLES

Inevitable Showdown *by Willard Shelton* 362
"Thou Art Soldier Only" *by Howard K. Smith* 363
Judgment Reserved *by Alexander Werth* 364
Relief, Hope, and Shame *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 365
Government by Whitaker and Baxter, I. *by Carey McWilliams* 366
Everybody's Business: Britain's Honest Budget *by Keith Hutchison* 369

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

André Gide: The Hazards of Immortality *by Albert J. Guerard* 371
The Other Roosevelt *by M. R. Werner* 374
The Worlds of Stephen Spender *by Ernest Jones* 376
James: A Unified Image *by Elizabeth Stevenson* 377
A Policy for Peace *by Charles E. Noyes* 379
Letters to the World *by Richard Chase* 380
The Relevance of Irrelevance *by Leslie A. Fiedler* 381
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 382
Art *by Manny Farber* 384

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 409 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 384

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Executive Editor: Harold C. Field

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo — *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Washington Editor: Willard Shelton

Contributing Editor: Robert Bendiner

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

celona." The vote was particularly remarkable because the motion was introduced by a Communist deputy, Alfred Biscarlet. Another motion requested the withdrawal from Madrid of the French ambassador, just appointed. This obviously extreme proposal was rejected, but only by eighteen votes against thirteen. As further evidence of renewed feeling, the international Socialist organization, Comisco, adopted at its last meeting a very strong resolution against the inclusion of fascist Spain in the Atlantic Pact.

*

A NEW LEASE ON LIFE WAS GIVEN TO THE Reconstruction Finance Corporation when the Senate last week refused to turn down Mr. Truman's reorganization plan. The agency will now be run by a single administrator, and presumably everyone will be anxious to repair the damage to its good reputation wrought by the exposés of the Fulbright committee. The private banking interests, however, have not given up their fight to destroy the agency, and bills are pending either to kill it or to limit its operations. It should be emphasized again, therefore, that as recently as 1948 a Republican-controlled Senate committee warned that abolition of the RFC would be extremely shortsighted, since such an agency might be vitally needed in the event of a future depression or other emergency. Today the RFC's ability to finance small business and defense projects is of immediate importance; the emergency forseen in 1948 is here. The reorganization proposed by Senator Fulbright and eventually adopted by Mr. Truman offers a cure for existing evils. Any effort to go beyond this plan and abolish the RFC or restrict its functions should be recognized as an attempt by private lenders to regain a monopoly of credit and to get rid of the RFC's ameliorative effect on interest rates.

*

THE MYSTERY OF THE STONE OF SCONE, which was kidnapped from beneath the Coronation Chair in Westminster Abbey on Christmas Day last, has been solved by a neat piece of Scotland Yard detection. On the theory that the removers were Scottish nationalist students who were likely to have prepared for their exploit by careful research, a check was made on libraries to discover if anyone had been displaying an unusual interest in the Stone and its history. In this way the culprits were tracked down early this month, but perhaps because the whereabouts of the relic were still uncertain, no arrests were made. On April 10, however, the Stone was deposited by three unidentified men in the ruined Abbey of Arbroath, a historic Scottish shrine, and now that the authorities have decided to restore it to Westminster Abbey, its resting place since Edward I "borrowed" it from Scone Abbey in 1296, their hesitation

as a public issue will stay won—for some years at least. And it is probably cheaper in the long run to lobby the people than to lobby their servants. It took some talking to convince the doctors of all this, but they were finally sold on a public-relations campaign.

Without wasting any time in Sacramento, Whitaker and Baxter went directly to the people with the theme that "political medicine is bad medicine." The main prongs of the attack were (1) a campaign for indorsements, not because indorsements are important per se but because they are a means by which sentiment is organized—within three months more than a hundred powerful state-wide organizations were corralled; (2) a speech-making campaign in which 9,000 doctors were first inflamed with Whitaker's rhetoric and then sent out "to do a job," heavily laden with Whitaker and Baxter speeches couched in "fighting prose"; (3) an intensive lobbying campaign in which the doctors in each of California's eighty assembly and forty senatorial districts were told to approach the principal backers of their Assemblymen and Senators—Whitaker and Baxter insist that if the legislator's backers are thoroughly lobbied, the legislator will have to deliver; (4) an equally intensive lobbying of "thought leaders," including the presidents of 400 service clubs, 280 officers of veterans' organizations, 500 officers of women's clubs, lodges, and civic organizations, 200 insurance executives, and almost every city, county, and state official. Incidentally, one of the keys to the influence of Whitaker and Baxter is the enormous quantity of political favors receivable that the firm has accumulated from prior campaigns.

ANOTHER key to its success is found in its adroit manipulation of the press. Whitaker and Baxter, be it noted, consists of four divisions: Whitaker and Baxter, political public relations; Campaigns Inc., professional campaign management; the Clem Whitaker Advertising Agency, an accredited agency; and California Feature Service, which is an outgrowth of Whitaker's Capital News Bureau of an earlier period. California has some 700 newspapers, including any number of rural and small-town papers, which are always grateful for boiler-plate copy, cartoons, and editorial material—and, of course, for advertising. California Feature Service sends, without charge, a weekly political clip-sheet to all its subscribers and to about 1,500 "thought leaders" in the state.

Some 300 newspapers make fairly regular use of this clip-sheet, many running it as a column, others reworking its material in editorials. The sheet is invaluable in keeping the political pot boiling between elections, in promoting—for a fee—various candidacies and issues, and in presenting the views of the more important clients who provide Whitaker and Baxter, the public-relations firm, with annual retainers. Among these clients are Pacific Gas and Electric, the California Medical Association, the major railroads, and forty of the large farm cooperatives. In California campaigns the Clem Whitaker Advertising Agency collects, in addition to the fee charged by Whitaker and Baxter, the usual 15 per cent commission on all business regularly subject to commissions, such as radio and billboard advertising, but *not* on newspaper advertising. This policy, in conjunction with the free clip-sheet, has made the words "Whitaker and Baxter" music to the ears of small-town editors. The commission may be insignificant to the newspaper accounts in terms of net revenue but it wins friends. In recent years, however, the firm has collected commissions on advertising placed with the metropolitan dailies in San Francisco, Oakland, and Los Angeles.

The real inwardness of this policy was misunderstood by Don Hollenbeck, the CBS commentator who keeps an eye on the wayward press. Hollenbeck criticized an advertising schedule of Whitaker and Baxter's during the California Medical Association's campaign as an improper attempt to influence editorial opinion. The schedule, however, was offered to every newspaper in California, those that opposed as well as those that favored the Warren health program. It is difficult to see anything improper in such an offer, though it could scarcely be argued that the advertising was without influence on editorial policy, particularly among the smaller papers. Whitaker is too experienced a newspaperman not to realize that the press would be quick to resent a clumsy attempt to buy its favor, but as an astute expert in public relations he knows that advertising is never resented. While the charge of "bribery" was unjustified, the waiving of commissions is undoubtedly largely responsible for the popularity of Whitaker and Baxter campaigns among California newspaper publishers.

Rule No. 8 in the fifty rules which Whitaker and Baxter has formulated for running campaigns reads, "You Can't Beat Something with Nothing," or, stated another way, "You Can't Win a Campaign Defensively." From the outset it sought to get the doctors off the defensive by having them talk about *voluntary* health insurance. The advertising ballyhooed "Voluntary Health Insurance Week," which was officially observed in fifty-three of the fifty-eight counties of California; more than 120 mayors and 600 city councilmen lent their names to the crusade. How could any politician afford to be against *voluntary* health insurance? Some 40,000 inches of paid advertising appeared in 420 daily and weekly newspapers, and nearly 30,000 inches of tie-in advertising was donated by druggists, grocery stores, dairies, bowling alleys, and even bars—all in an effort to win favor with the doctors and to whoop up the campaign against "socialism."

When the campaign started, 2,500,000 Californians were enrolled in voluntary health-insurance plans; when

it ended, 5,000,000 were enrolled—nearly 1,000,000 more than Governor Warren promised to care for with his plan. Need I add that the Governor's plan was defeated by the narrow margin of 39 to 38 votes in the Assembly in 1945 and by a larger margin in 1947 and that today it is given no chance of passage? Moreover, before the campaign was over, the number of newspapers opposing the Warren plan had doubled.



Governor Warren

There are those who contend, with good reason, that the figures cited by Whitaker and Baxter on the increased enrolment in voluntary health-insurance plans are subject to drastic deflation and are actually meaningless apart from a detailed specification of what risks and hazards, if any, are covered. But this crude realism should not be permitted to minimize the accomplishment of Whitaker and Baxter in having written a political script in which doctors, originally cast as special-interest heavies, emerge as crusaders for the people's health. This is expert political management; this is government by Whitaker and Baxter.

TO THE headquarters of the American Medical Association in Chicago the victory in California was welcome news. Back in 1938 the A. M. A. had inspired the formation of the National Physicians' Committee, through which it could engage in lobbying without jeopardizing its tax-exempt status. In seven years the committee spent well over $1,000,000, most of which was contributed by manufacturers of proprietary medicines and instruments, insurance companies, real-estate interests, and so on.

After Whitaker, a masterful speaker and a superb salesman, appeared before the National Medical Public Relations Conference in St. Louis on November 27, 1948, the A. M. A. decided to switch horses. The N. P. C. was disbanded, and the A. M. A. assumed direct charge of the campaign against the Administration's health-insurance program by setting up the National Education Campaign, with Baxter as general manager and Whitaker as director. An assessment of $25 a member was levied to raise a $3,500,000 war chest, and by January, 1949, Whitaker and Baxter were installed, with a staff of thirty-seven, at 1 North LaSalle Street, Chicago. A "Plan of Campaign" was sent out with the compliments of the authors to every member of Congress and to hundreds of newspaper and magazine editors, so that they might read the score while enjoying the music. Then, in February, 1949, Dr. Morris Fishbein was removed as editor of the *Journal*. As Fishbein was the symbol of the old leadership, so Whitaker and Baxter represents the new.

Critics promptly pointed out that the sum raised by the assessment was more than the Council on Medical Education and Hospitals had spent in forty-five years to improve medical training programs, but Whitaker and Baxter replied that the dues and assessments were considerably less than those levied by many trade unions for essentially the same purpose. Dr. Thomas S. Mattingly, a prominent Washington physician, charged Whitaker with being an evangelist—after all he *is* the son of a Baptist minister—who, "never missing a single suffocating cliché," had assured the A. M. A. that "Oscar Ewing would never socialize medicine so long as Whitaker and Baxter had three million dollars to spend on tracts, holy relics, and pictures." As a tart postscript Dr. Mattingly observed, "I have never been much for cure by testimonial." Later David Brown, former editor of *Liberty*, resigned his $15,000-a-year job as editorial director of the campaign in protest against Whitaker and Baxter methods, but Whitaker and Baxter says he resigned after it sent him a critical memo. Herbert Baus, the public-relations expert, returned to Los Angeles after a short sojourn in Chicago because he objected, it is said, to the way the campaign was being waged. Nevertheless, the Truman program was stopped cold by the late spring of 1949.

One of Whitaker and Baxter's first acts was to get permission to make color reproductions of Sir Luke Fildes's famous painting "The Doctor," which shows a kindly, bearded family physician of the 1840 period sitting, head in hand, by the bedside of a sick child—suggesting, according to some, that the doctor was in one hell of a quandary about the child's illness. Some 70,273 poster reproductions with the caption "Keep Politics Out of This Picture" promptly went up in doctors' offices across the country. A traveling medical press conference was launched, more to improve relations with the press than to reach the public; 8,000 organizations were induced to voice enduring enmity to the Truman-Ewing program; and more than 100,000,000 pieces of campaign "literature" were printed.

A $1,000,000 advertising campaign which was started last October and culminated just before Election Day reached approximately 60,000,000 newspaper readers. About $560,000 was spent for newspaper advertising—enough to buy two quarter-pages in every bona fide daily and weekly in the United States. Two-thirds of the copy promoted voluntary health insurance; the rest was devoted to Oscar Ewing and "socialized medicine." Ap-

proximately $440,000 was earmarked for magazines and radio, including a network show to tell medicine's story to the nation.

In addition, of course, many state societies, notably the Indiana Medical Association, conducted simultaneous public-relations campaigns. The A. M. A.'s offensive opened with the usual ads in *Editor and Publisher, Advertising Age, Printer's Ink,* and *Tide,* explaining that the schedule was offered to the entire press, with no strings attached. This advertisement was placed by a national agency and not by the Clem Whitaker Advertising Agency. *Editor and Publisher* advised newspapers to come out against compulsory health insurance before the schedule started; "then the critics," it said, "won't have anything to talk about. They can smother in their own indignation."

The A. M. A. can look back on this campaign with pleasure. For although the Democrats narrowly retained their majority, the liberals in Congress took a bad licking, and mention of the Ewing bill is no longer considered good manners around the Democratic National Committee.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Britain's Honest Budget

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

IN A broadcast speech on the evening of April 10, Hugh Gaitskell, Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, told his listeners that the budget he had presented to the House of Commons that afternoon was "not the kind I could have introduced if Korea and its consequences had not happened." But for the need to divert resources to the rearmament program, he continued, his budget "could have been quite a popular affair, some reward for all the hard work and waiting, for the big rise in production, for the dollar gap filled, for export targets hit, for getting the country on its feet again."

Thus the fruits of recovery, won by disciplined labor and austerity, have once again been snatched away from the British people. Instead of a "popular" budget they are offered an "honest" one: under the circumstances, Gaitskell said to the House of Commons, it could not be both. In particular, the budget had to be so framed as to hold in check the inflationary tendencies encouraged by increased spending on defense, which adds to money incomes—wages, salaries, and profits—but subtracts from the total supply of consumable goods. Hence it was the Chancellor's task to absorb excess purchasing power in order to prevent over-abundant money from chasing scarce goods, which leads to taxation by rising prices.

There were two ways, Gaitskell pointed out, in which the government could tackle this problem: it could cut down the social services—a suggestion that evoked Tory cheers—or it could increase taxes. As was to be expected, Britain's Labor government decided on the second alternative. Even though hopes of enlarging the structure of the welfare state must be postponed by the exigencies of rearmament, the government is not prepared to begin the demolition job urged by some of its opponents.

The budget, in fact, includes only one minor blow at the social services—the proposal to charge Health Service patients half the cost of dentures and eyeglasses, now supplied free. This change will, it is estimated, yield some $36,000,000, partially offsetting higher costs for food, medicines, and nurses' pay, and enable the Chancellor to limit the total Health Service bill to $1,120,000,000, a sum which he believes to be the maximum that the country can now afford. Since such a charge is by nature regressive—that is to say, it falls most heavily on those with the smallest incomes—it is likely to be protested strongly by the Labor Party's rank and file. On the other hand, there will be general approval of Gaitskell's decision to increase the rates of old-age pensions, assisting a group which has been particularly hit by rising living costs.

Altogether the total cost of the social services, including the subsidies which enable basic food prices to be stabilized at a relatively low level, will be $4,522,000,000 in 1951-52, about 37½ per cent of the budget total and 12½ per cent of national income. Critics of the Labor government maintain that this is a greater burden than the country can bear when there is so large a defense bill to be met. If expenditure in this department were trimmed, they argue, it might be possible to avoid any increase in taxation. This would mean, however, loading the costs of rearmament mainly on the weakest backs—a departure from the principle of "fair shares" which has been the foremost plank in the Labor Party platform.

Since Gaitskell firmly refused to make this departure he was bound to seek more revenue—not an easy task

in view of the range and height of British taxes. His object, as he stated frankly, was not merely to balance the budget but to "discourage people from buying," and particularly from buying goods which can be exported or which compete for materials and labor with defense production. That was the reason why he doubled purchase taxes on such consumer-durables as automobiles, household appliances, radios, and television sets. In the case of the gasoline tax, increased sharply for the second year in succession, the Chancellor's aim is presumably to hold down demand for a commodity a large amount of which must be paid for in dollars.

In addition to these indirect taxes, which serve to discourage buying, there are to be a number of increases in direct taxes designed to reduce spendable income. Thus the tax on distributed profits is being raised from 30 to 50 per cent to restrain corporations from increasing dividends and persuade them to reinvest their earnings —a kind of forced-savings measure. Individual incomes are to be hit by a 2½ per cent increase in the standard rate of income tax. However, since exemptions for married couples and children's allowances are to be rather larger, the total tax bills of families in the lower brackets will not be any greater. Moreover, this boost in income tax will, according to Gaitskell, "take back" only a fraction of the tax reductions made since the end of the war.

Nevertheless, "Dr. Gaitskell's slimming course" for taxpayers will be accepted as the price that must be paid to meet the increased cost of defense—nearly $1 billion more in 1951-52 than last year and destined to rise steeply again in 1952-53—without resorting to inflation. It is a high price, but whether it will prove high enough depends on a number of factors, some of which are beyond the control of Britain. A further sharp rise in world prices of food and raw materials, leading to sharper increases in the cost of living than the budget anticipates, would throw all calculations out of kilter. But the biggest danger at present seems to be sheer inability to obtain sufficient raw materials at any price. That may mean a decline in both British production and exports sufficient to cut real national income and upset the balance-of-payments position. Thus consideration of Britain's efforts to maintain stability while providing for its share in the Western defense effort reminds us of the urgent need for international action to secure an equitable and balanced distribution of essential raw materials—action which lags pending a firm American lead.



IS SLIMMING DANGEROUS ?

London *Daily Herald*

ANDRE GIDE: THE HAZARDS OF IMMORTALITY

BY ALBERT J. GUERARD

ANDRE GIDE died in quiet apotheosis, honored on nearly every side, the hostilities of the 1920's and 1930's appeased. Even François Mauriac did him a kind of justice at the end, and suggested that God willed Gide to be such as he was. The respects of the government were paid, appropriately enough, by the Ministry of Education; and no doubt there will soon be a Rue André Gide. In the last months all the seemly preparations had been made. The mobile ancient visage and friendly teasing voice were preserved in "La Vie commence demain," a film on the makers of the modern mind. And near the end Marc Allegret made a film of Gide in the bosom of his family—at the dinner table, giving a piano lesson, playing with his grandchildren. For the sound track he recited his first and last article of faith that the world will be saved by the few. By his deathbed the fit last words were duly heard and recorded: "C'est bien." And now Gide faces the hazards of immortality. In a few years he will enter the twilight period which follows on the death of the great writer who has found honor in his own time. How will he emerge in, say, 1965 or 1970?

Gide's posthumous reputation will surely follow different curves from those described in his lifetime. The vagaries of his fame have been singularly instructive. The Gide of 1891-1909 —whose movement away from symbolism and realism now seems historically so "important"—was read only by an élite. And even that élite thought him wilfully delicate and minor. "L'Immoraliste" did not sell its three hundred copies, and "Les Nourritures terrestres" sold only a thousand in fifteen years. Gide briefly reached a wider public with "La Porte étroite" in 1909; this deceptive novel seemed to combine piety with the traditional conflict of love and duty. But the "general public" was not the public he needed to win. In the same year Gide and a few friends founded *La Nouvelle Revue Française,* and its success insured his own. Its peculiar combination of classicism and experiment, of austerity and relativism, created an atmosphere which has dominated French literature ever since. And a policy of rigid non-commercialism led to the spectacular commercial success of Gallimard, the associate publishing house. By 1911 Gide, leader of the group, was already a representative figure: representative in his multiple *artistic* contradictions. But he was not yet the corruptor of youth and "demoralizer" he wanted to be.

Over the war years Gide's reputation prospered in much the way Sartre's did between 1940 and 1945. The rebellious and the lost of 1918 discovered "Les Caves du Vatican," published four years before. Young men saw themselves in Lafcadio, and the Dadaists adopted Gide as their "uncle." But even this does not explain the drastic change from exemplary self-contradictory artist to exemplary self-contradictory moralist. Why did Gide suddenly seem *le contemporain capital* and incarnation of his age? Gide said, partly to spite them, that Massis and Béraud had made him famous by their attacks. The "Morceaux Choisis" of 1921 certainly counted for much. This anthology designed for young people underlined the contradictions and evasions. But most important of all was the descent on the astonished reader, within a very few years, of five most contradictory books: "Corydon," "Numquid et tu . . .?" "Si le grain ne meurt," "Les Faux-Monnayeurs," and "Le Voyage au Congo." How could the same mind contain so much perversity and such a fervent piety, such diabolic cynicism concerning itself, so much amusing vivacity and novelistic talent—and such an honorable social conscience? Today, to be sure, we see Gide's "representativeness" in slightly different terms. In his struggles with guilt he defined and cultivated that anxiety and dissolution of personality from which so many others suffered and hoped to escape. And in retrospect he suggests more than anyone else—in his political and religious hesitations—the modern intellectual's dual longing for independence and for consoling commitment.

In all this the living presence and personality played a major part—the active encouraging editor, the charming and evasive friend, the sage of Pontigny, the sympathetic father-confessor to whom so many young people carried their troubles. He was, for men as different as the over-subtle Rivière and the earthy, innocent Francis Jammes, the one man who always understood and to whom anything could be said. There was also the changing vivid legend: the legendary chaste young man who went to Mallarmé's salon with a Bible under his arm; then the sinister figure in a black cape who was always leaving for North Africa and who brought Athman to the 1900 Exposition; then the repository of unspeakable vices. The Catholic efforts to convert Gide go back to the early years of the century. But the greatest issue for the Catholics was whether "Si le grain ne meurt" should be published. These vices are not permitted, they argued. *But above all they must not be confessed.*

All this will not help Gide when he emerges from the twilight period and his living presence is unfelt. By then literary historians will have done still more simplifying and abstracting—and will perhaps even have confused Gide's egoism with that of his arch-antagonist Barrès, or his relativism with Renan's. More personally: the meditative gloomy introvert of the Journal may have altogether superseded the man who lived so fully and who so enjoyed his life. (This, to be sure, will have its justice, for it was the introspective solitary who wrote most of the important books.) In



Return to Paradise

By JAMES MICHENER. More tales of the South Pacific by the Pulitzer Prize winner. *$3.50*

World So Wide

By SINCLAIR LEWIS. Mr. Lewis' last novel is a love story set in Italy. *$3.00*

I Took It Lying Down

By MARIAN SPITZER. An engaging account of how a dynamic career woman fought and beat tuberculosis. *$2.75*

COMING JUNE 13

THE Troubled Air

By IRWIN SHAW. A stirring and prophetic new novel by the author of THE YOUNG LIONS. *$3.50*

At all bookstores, RANDOM HOUSE, N.Y.

one respect, historians may improve on the evasive accounts already given. They may speak more frankly of Gide's extraordinary experiment in living and contemporaneous fidelities—to the loved wife in Cuverville, the loved mistress and mature male companions in Paris, the succession of loved Arab boys. In the 1890's Gide professed to hate the family as an institution, but he ended by enlarging it as few have done before him. He resolved to suppress nothing; and did not, in the end, suppress very much. Yet all this time he cultivated his own particular ethic of austerity, and affirmed himself through innumerable renunciations. He followed his inclinations—upward and by combating them.

GIDE is very nearly the most versatile of French "men of letters," which makes prediction all the more difficult. What six or seven works will dominate the others in 1970, what two or three a century later? We may assume that "Corydon" will exist only as an oddity, and that the second "Robert," a wretched melodrama on labor relations, will never find appreciative readers. But will some later age rediscover the somber tragedy "Saül," which Gide himself rated so highly? There are many tangibles and intangibles to consider. "Le Retour de l' enfant prodigue" and "Thésée" are alike masterpieces of rich classical prose, of spiritual autobiography translated into symbolic terms and endlessly distilled. But the earlier work is just the right length for anthologies, whereas "Thésée" is too long for this purpose. The occasional works will of course have a changing interest, as the occasions themselves dwindle. Thus the beautifully written "Voyage au Congo" may outlast the hasty "Retour de l'U. R. S. S."

The situation, in this year of Gide's death, is clearer than it is likely to be for some time to come. Extreme Catholics in France—perhaps because they can read nothing else with impunity—emphasize the sensitive literary critic. And indeed it is hard to imagine the "Dostoevsky" or the "Journal des Faux-Monnayeurs" losing all their freshness and provocation. But by far the greater number see his Journal as the one "work" most likely to survive. For all his contradictions, Gide was no withdrawn and passive Amiel, on whom all the winds of doctrine might blow. Yet his Journal provides an unusually varied picture of sixty years of French and European cultural life at its finest; of the political and moral suasions of our century, which troubled not merely Frenchmen. It is not, any more than Rousseau's "Confessions," the complete picture of a man. Even a full edition, with expunged passages restored, will say little of Gide's happier days, when he had no time or inclination to keep a diary. But it does offer one of the fullest examples in all literature of a mind's effort to understand its own contradictions. Perhaps Gide came at just the right moment. A Freudian before he read Freud, he struggled to understand those self-destructive impulses which had puzzled Dostoevsky, Poe, Baudelaire. Born a little later, he might have read Freud in his youth, and so been spared the energizing struggle for meaning.

The struggle to understand and explain gives "Si le grain ne meurt" its lasting strength. In 1926 only the crucial North African episodes seemed to matter. Actually, these were confessions too long pondered and *decided upon* to make for very good writing. Today the slower and more exploratory pages on childhood and adolescence seem richer —richer, in fact, than anything in the Journal. It is hard to accept that some of the "spiritual autobiographies" must perish. The unread "Cahiers d'André Walter" and "Voyage d'Urien"—revealing Gide's homosexuality, through imagery and selective episode, before he had discovered it himself—will have their day as psychological documents, and the "Voyage" (1893) will also take its place as an important moment in the transition from symbolism to surrealism. But these are naive and cloudy books. All the later symbolic autobiographies—from the "Paludes" of 1895 to the "Thésée" of 1946—show an exquisite sensitivity, economy, control. Any one of them could survive for style alone.

The novelist? Perhaps the first task is to distinguish between Gide the novelist and Gide as an influence on the modern novel. In academic terms Gide was the most important figure of his time. He was at the start of both roads which the French novel has taken in our century, and led the way along

both. "L'Immoraliste" (1902) and the other orderly *récits* promised to save realism by teaching it economy and by giving it a Freudian complexity. The author never wasted pages on transition or description, and he almost never explained. It was left to the reader to correct the distortions of which the narrators were guilty. But the narrators themselves were caught up in our only too natural world; their histories were somberly realistic. The other novels moved in a very different direction. "Le Prométhée mal enchaîné" (1899), however calculated its formlessness and whimsy, pointed directly to surrealism. And "Les Caves du Vatican" and "Les Faux-Monnayeurs" moved toward the more moderate anti-realism of our own day.

The expertness of these entertaining books skilfully masked certain radical deficiencies in the novelist: a lack of creativity—there are scarcely a dozen memorable characters between "L'Immoraliste" and "Les Faux-Monnayeurs"; an inability to finish the books adequately, because the conclusions were too clearly conceived; an excessive dependence on the confession, the diary, and other forms of first-person narration. There is one interesting clue to Gide's limiting subjectivity as a novelist: he could not create a fool from within, where Dostoevsky could create scores. Thus the foolish narrators of "La Symphonie pastorale" and the novelette "Robert" betray themselves too succinctly and are lamentably unreal. Gide could not sympathize with such persons, even during the act of creation. He could fashion fools, but only through the objective satire of the *soties*.

The task of separating the major from the minor novels is therefore not too difficult. "La Porte Etroite" and "Isabelle" may find the quiet continuing life of James's "Madame de Mauves" or Radiguet's "Bal du Comte d'Orgel." But it is hard to believe that future generations will read "La Symphonie pastorale"; or, worse still, "L'Ecole des femmes," "Geneviève," or "Robert." "Les Caves du Vatican" and "Les Faux-Monnayeurs," on the other hand, are triumphs of wit and narrative energy and plot; and of stubborn perseverance, of Gide's determination to write the kind of free, irresponsible fiction he was little equipped to write. In the wonderful opening chapters of "Les Faux-Monnayeurs," at least, he did realize his old ambition to rival the vivacity of Stendhal. These are entertaining and intelligent novels. But Gide's first true novel was his best one. Misread for many years, "L'Immoraliste" now seems one of the most perfect of all "Freudian" novels; one of the most flawless stories, that is, of a conflict between the hero's conscious intentions and his preconscious energies and needs. But it is also a "terrible" book, a "fruit filled with bitter ashes," a mastered tragic experience. It involved Gide as no later novel did, and it involves every alert reader. It is, I believe, a very great book.

There is finally the demoralizer and corruptor of youth, the man whose mission was to disturb. The arguments of "Corydon" are too crude to convince any but those already convinced. And nothing dates so quickly, or so soon becomes innocuous, as the notoriously diabolic gesture; already "Les Caves du Vatican" is deemed proper fare for Thursday and Saturday matinee au-

SPENDER

WORLD WITHIN WORLD by STEPHEN SPENDER. An Autobiography. "An outstandingly clear and courageous statement of certain personal and social problems which concern all of us . . . an extremely lively, moving and amusing autobiography. A book which gives you fresh courage to live your own life and new eyes with which to examine its meaning."
—CHRISTOPHER ISHERWOOD, *Tomorrow.* $3.50

HARROD

THE LIFE OF JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES by R. F. HARROD. "A great biography of a great man. I predict that the English-speaking world will continue to read his 'Life' as it reads Boswell on Johnson and Trevelyan on Macaulay."—LOUIS M. HACKER, *N. Y. Herald Tribune Book Review.* 704 pages. Illustrated. $7.50

BAREA

THE BROKEN ROOT by ARTURO BAREA. "A work of first-rate importance, just as good as *The Forging of a Rebel.* It's a novel that you can't put down . . . accurate and truthful and understanding and full of spirit."—JOHN DOS PASSOS. "A story illumined at all times by an overpowering sincerity and a soul-deep knowledge of the tragedy of contemporary Spain."—FREDERIC MORTON, *N. Y. Herald Tribune Book Review.* $3.50

ARENDT

THE ORIGINS OF TOTALITARIANISM by HANNAH ARENDT. "A great book. Deeply thought-out and conscientiously documented, it will take its place among the major writings of our times . . . Dr. Arendt rises above a conventional despair. In the very futility of totalitarianism she sees hope for its eventual destruction."—H. STUART HUGHES, *The Nation.* "A notable contribution to original thinking."—*The New Yorker.* $6.75

KIRST

THE LIEUTENANT MUST BE MAD by HELLMUT KIRST. "With a sure touch, with amazing gaiety, with an implicit faith in the human spirit, Hellmut Kirst has written an immensely readable book, the first to come out of the German wreckage which might provide a bridge between us and them."—VIRGILIA PETERSON, *N. Y. Herald Tribune Book Review.* $3.00

At all bookstores

HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY · NEW YORK 17

THE HUDSON REVIEW

publishes poetry, fiction, essays, literary criticism, reviews of music, art, theater, film and dance, reports from foreign countries and book reviews. It has discovered young writers of promise; it has also printed work by some of the most distinguished American and European authors of our time. It has avoided academicism and faddism. The partial tables of contents that follow will indicate why the influence of THE HUDSON REVIEW, as well as its audience, is steadily increasing.

In our current issue:

SPRING 1951 VOL. IV, NO. 1

ROBERT GRAVES: The Language of Myth

WALLACE STEVENS: Final Soliloquy of the Interior Paramour

ERICH AUERBACH: The Triumph of Evil in Pascal

PAUL VALERY: Notebook B 1910

WILLIAM ARROWSMITH: Letter from England

JOSEPH KERMAN: Roger Sessions

And in subsequent issues:

ST. JOHN PERSE: Vents (Canto 1)

KENNETH BURKE: Othello

ROGERT GRAVES: Mother Goose's Lost Goslings

SERGEI M. EISENSTEIN: The Birth of a Film

SAUL BELLOW: Address by Gooley Macdowell (*story*)

YVOR WINTERS: The Audible Reading of Poetry

GEORGE P. ELLIOTT: Faq' (*story*)

A SHORT ANTHOLOGY OF CONTEMPORARY BRITISH POETS

THE HUDSON REVIEW
439 West Street, New York 14, N. Y.

Please send me THE HUDSON REVIEW for one year (4 issues), subscription to commence with Vol. IV, No. 1. Enclosed find a check, cash or money order for $3.00. ($3.50 in Canada and Hawaii, $4.00 in foreign countries.)

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____

STATE_____

diences at the Comédie-Française. The corruptions of "Les Nourritures terrestres" seem more valuable, more complex, more durable. No doubt the young people of 1970 and 2070 will write their own injunctions to leave family, teachers, books. But the positive hedonism of this "manual of disinstruction"—its poetic evocation of everyday pleasures—remains seductive after fifty-four years. It appears to have had a more diversely liberating effect than any of the other books.

And yet—it is probably a mistake to separate Gide's ethical treatises from his other works. For all his books are maieutic or psychiatric. All of them ask us to listen to secret voices, to question motives and assumptions, to doubt our most cherished institutions. And all of them do the asking in a peculiarly intimate way. For each reader the style composes a voice which seems to speak only to him. Is this the reason why nearly all the books about Gide become so personal, even so autobiographical? The abstracted message of Gide the demoralizer is not so very startling when we compare it with other such messages. Art and style make the difference. For Gide was the greatest prose stylist of his time. This meant, among other things, that he *evoked* more than other writers did; that he had the power to demand more responses than they.

The Other Roosevelt

THE LETTERS OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Volume I. The Years of Preparation, 1868-1898. Volume II. The Years of Preparation, 1898-1900. Selected and Edited by Elting E. Morison; John M. Blum, Associate Editor; John J. Buckley, Copy Editor. Harvard University Press. $20.

"SPEAK softly and carry a big stick," was one of Theodore Roosevelt's most famous maxims, but he seldom spoke softly. This superb collection of his letters, of which the two volumes under consideration are part of an eight-volume project, makes this fact exuberantly clear. "The great letter writer must be an egotist," Lytton Strachey once wrote. In this respect the 1,931 letters in these two volumes qualify the late President as a great letter writer, and although there are not many "great" letters in the volumes there is hardly one that is not worth reading.

These volumes furnish the material for the re-creation of much political and social history during the period from 1868 to 1900, when the seeds of our present advantages and woes were being vigorously and sometimes carelessly planted. Since Theodore Roosevelt was probably the most aggressively coherent man in American public life during that period and the one with the most numerous interests, the publication of his letters is an invaluable contribution to the history of the United States.

This edition shows respect for both the subject and the reader but refreshingly avoids the danger of becoming merely a vast funeral urn with adulatory inscriptions. The numerous footnotes not only give useful information about the men and events discussed in the letters but are impartial in their judgments and sometimes witty in their illuminations. I have seldom come upon a more ambitious project in American history or one so intelligently and thoroughly carried out. Professor Elting E. Morison, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology department of history, ably assisted by an assiduous staff, has pulled no punches. They have examined more than 100,000 letters and selected about 10,000 for their eight volumes, omitting letters of thanks, letters similar to those included, and other matter that can be spared. They have had access not only to the Theodore Roosevelt Collection in the Library of Congress, containing about 100,000 letters, but also to 129 private collections. It is a pity, as they state in the valuable introductory essay, that the Henry Cabot Lodge, Leonard Wood, and George B. Cortelyou papers were not also made available to them.

Theodore Roosevelt was fortunate enough to be born into a family closely knit by mutual affection and sufficiently wealthy to avoid money grubbing. These facts were also limitations. He could not condone personal aberrations in domestic affairs or be quite sympathetic enough with the sometimes violent demands of the underprivileged. He grew up at a time when the United States, with vast natural resources, had won its unity in bloody war and was flexing its political and economic

muscles and filling its lungs with industrial and political expansion. Coming early under the influence of that extraordinary Boston Brahmin, Henry Cabot Lodge, who remained his closest and most loyal friend and adviser, he developed the spirit of Alexander Hamilton rather than that of Thomas Jefferson, whom he despised outrageously—his "accession to the Presidency was a terrible blow to this nation," he could write to Sir Cecil Spring Rice on August 5, 1896, when the common man's interest in William Jennings Bryan was driving both Lodge and Roosevelt frantic.

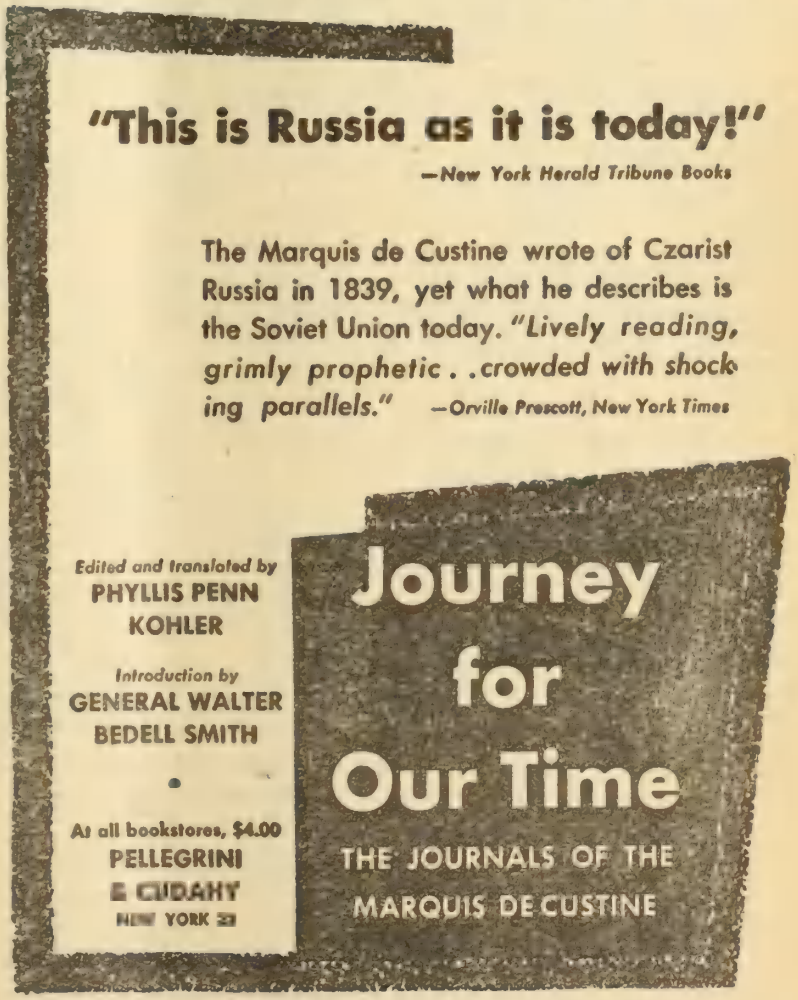
Theodore Roosevelt was probably the most ardent militarist the United States ever had in public office. He loved playing soldier personally and was sincerely convinced that war was necessary to toughen the fiber of a people. He always wanted to gain the initiative in war, even at the risk of provoking war, and was angrily impatient with less militant minds which preferred national risks to national aggressions. He did not at all mind being called a jingo, and his main worry in May, 1898, was that peace might break out before he could get to Cuba. He foresaw the menaces of Germany, Japan, and Russia. He despised the French, whom he could not possibly understand, and dismissed the Italians and Spaniards as passé. The most prophetic letter in these two volumes is one Roosevelt wrote to Spring Rice on August 13, 1897, in which he expressed doubt that the English-speaking peoples could avoid succumbing to the Slavs but was sure they would not "ultimately succumb to the German." Russians and Americans, he added, "have nothing whatever in common." He felt that the Russians despised and feared our political institutions, however much our political corruption might shock them. He also foresaw that the Russians, while they might avoid liberalism, "will sometime experience a red terror which will make the French Revolution pale."

Astute as Roosevelt could be politically and avid as he was intellectually, his literary judgments read hilariously today. Henry James, he wrote Brander Matthews, was "a miserable little snob," whose "pointless, uninteresting stories about the upper social classes of England make one blush to think that he was once an American." He admired Tolstoy but thought "Anna Karenina" somewhat immoral and "War and Peace" defective because it criticized war. He bewailed to Lodge that he had "wasted a dollar and a half on Swinburne's new volume of poems." Some of Chaucer he found "very nearly indefensible."

Roosevelt's towering rages were reserved, however, for *The Nation* and the *Evening Post* under E. L. Godkin and Oswald Garrison Villard. These journals and men, among other uncompromising reformers, questioned Roosevelt's expedient relations with Thomas C. Platt, the corporation lobbyist who controlled New York Republican politics while Roosevelt was Governor from 1899 to 1901. Roosevelt himself had many reservations about Platt, but he hated to be criticized for doing business with him.

In fact, the most irritating feature of Theodore Roosevelt as revealed in this first instalment of the comprehensive edition of his letters is his unthinking and smug assumption that a man who disagreed with him fundamentally was necessarily a knave, a coward, a scoundrel, or a blackguard—and sometimes all four. Despite all of his doubts and waverings Roosevelt was a loyal Republican in the Federalist tradition, and unfortunately his economic education had been sadly neglected. After reading these 1,465 pages of letters I felt that Theodore Roosevelt never really understood the diverse American people despite his variegated contacts with so many of them. Unlike his more distinguished cousin, Franklin D. Roosevelt, he was not a true democrat but rather a firm believer in a special élite corps—not based on wealth but consisting of a large modicum of high Episcopal breeding—in the end, perhaps, resolving itself into himself and Henry Cabot Lodge. The tragedy of Theodore Roosevelt was that because of the expedience and compromise he considered necessary to get so many things done so quickly, his achievements were largely temporary and superficial, compared with the results of Woodrow Wilson's and Franklin D. Roosevelt's practical idealism.

Space is lacking to review more of



WHAT HAVE KOREA and the COLD WAR DONE TO *YOUR* CIVIL LIBERTIES?

Read "Security and Freedom: The Great Challenge," the American Civil Liberties Union's long-awaited annual report on U. S. liberties—which is about to go to press and will then be mailed FREE to all members of the ACLU.

You undoubtedly feel you belong to the ACLU . . . IN SPIRIT . . . NOW IS THE TIME to become a member *IN FACT!*

Totalitarians of right and left are barred from the ACLU's councils—but the ACLU defends the rights of *everybody* to freedom of speech, press, assembly and fair trial. Help the ACLU in its fight:

. . . against the McCarran Act and similar laws which, though brought on by fears of Communist infiltration and aimed at Communists, threaten *everybody's* civil liberties—*yours* included.

. . . against the censoring of movies, magazines, books, etc., which are under attack today, as never before.

. . . to make a realistic, comprehensive civil rights program the law of the land.

HERE'S HOW YOU can help defend *your* civil liberties:

Choose from among these membership categories: Sustaining membership ($25); Supporting ($10); Contributing ($5); Associate ($2). Just fill in the coupon below and mail it with your contribution.

All members receive—in addition to the ACLU's authoritative annual report on U. S. liberties—our monthly *Civil Liberties*. Members of $5 and up are entitled to complete publication service (your choice of 25 thought-provoking pamphlets); $10 members and up may also have the ACLU's weekly news bulletin on request.

FREE: *"Security & Freedom: The Great Challenge"—to all members, on publication. Act TODAY to Maintain and Extend American Freedom!*

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
Room 900, 170 Fifth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

☐ Enroll me as a member of the ACLU. My contribution of $_____ is enclosed. I understand I am to receive "Security & Freedom: The Great Challenge," upon publication, and *Civil Liberties* monthly.

☐ I want to know more about the ACLU; Send me free information.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone____ State_____

the many facets of American life revealed in this great historical project, for which students and general public alike should be grateful.

M. R. WERNER

The Worlds of Stephen Spender

WORLD WITHIN WORLD. The Autobiography of Stephen Spender. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

"WORLD WITHIN WORLD" is easy to misjudge, for it is so badly written that its importance is likely to elude the reader. An unsound distinction between poetry and prose elaborated toward the end of the book accounts, in theory at least, for these sentences which must be unraveled and reassembled, phrase by phrase:

> Prose is language used in such a way that the ideas and events or scene within the language are referred to as objects existing apart from the language, so that there is an understanding between the writer and the reader that these things could be discussed in quite other words than those used, because they exist independently of the words. But directly the language tends to create, as it were, verbal objects inseparable from the words used, then the direction of the language is poetic.

The line of Spender's verse has usually been nervous, the words creating, in his best poetry, "verbal objects." But his prose is slack, as if, indeed, any number of terms other than those he has employed in a given sentence would have served just as well.

This kind of writing is the more to be lamented because, as a testament to the hopes, failures, and difficulties of one of the major English poets of the twentieth century, of a man, also, who has been deeply embroiled in the political and literary life of his time, "World Within World" is, Cyril Connolly's "Enemies of Promise" excepted, the best book I know. And Connolly is no poet, nor has he involved himself in direct political action.

Spender's themes are "love; poetry; politics; the life of literature; childhood; travel; and the development of certain attitudes towards moral problems." Concern with the political present has sharpened a historical sense not usually found among men of letters. He never loses the larger catastrophes in focusing on his own difficulties and enthusiasms—an improvement on the self-pity which marred his "September Journal" of 1940. The sense of history is also clear in his estimate of literature as creation which "releases us from the routine of habit, reminds us of the ever-fresh experience of living, and puts us in a living relation to the past."

He was brought up, he says, "with a myth in [his] mind of the world having resolved itself from past history, correctly, like a sum." The sum was British upper-middle-class culture after World War I. From this culture, described in another place as "Puritan decadence" marked by "moral compulsiveness," he fled as soon as possible. As a writer he blossomed, like Isherwood, in the Germany of the Weimar Republic, since the fact that "everything was bare and there were no pretenses made even ugliness seem beautiful and exhilarating to me." (He is describing a bar in Hamburg, but the judgment will serve as evidence of what, in general, he found fruitful.) Returning to England he established himself among anti-fascist writers, "divided between our literary vocation and an urge to save the world from fascism." By accident, inclination, and association he joined that triumvirate of which Auden and Isherwood were the other members. In the society of Bloomsbury, "the most constructive and creative influence on English taste between the two wars," he was on intimate terms with the Woolfs and their circle. Then came his espousal of communism, expeditions to Spain during the civil war, and, chiefly out of his Spanish experience, his break with the Communists. A section toward the end of his book describes his activities in the London Fire Brigade during World War II.

Within this rich pattern of external activity he talks, without caution or reticence but still somewhat cloudily, about his inner development. In the course of it he has shifted from the search for identification with another person—such identification is likely to be "dangerously destructive"—to the establishment of relationships "based on the recognition in one another of opposite but complementary qualities."

"World Within World" will disappoint anyone looking for gossip about the milieus in which Spender has moved. The issues involved at each stage of the pilgrimage have been too important for mere reminiscences of literary and political society. (Nor does he ever substitute urbanity, that pitfall of the autobiographer, for close analysis of his personal experience.) If one had not read Auden and Isherwood and Virginia Woolf, I doubt that the pictures of them here would mean very much. And although Spender clearly did not intend to re-create them for a curious public, his austerity about what he apparently considers trivia detracts from his book. The man is here, pretty completely; but the omissions and obscurities in the background—the most sophisticated literary society of our time—sometimes throw the portrait and the two worlds, public and private, out of focus. Often the reader is left feeling the need of more information than has been granted him, and feeling, further, that it could have been had for the asking, that it is only accidentally lacking. Oddly, for a poet, Spender rarely transforms anecdote into symbol. There are fine exceptions, such as a description of his mother, made wildly nervous by household tumult, appearing at the nursery door to exclaim, "Like Medea, 'I now know the sorrow of having borne children,'" and an account of Lady Ottoline Morrell, encumbered with several pekinese and a shepherdess's crook, voyaging forth atop a London tram in an unsuccessful attempt to get to know the "workers." The section about Spender's tangled activities in the Spanish civil war, perhaps because that has been the most important political event in his life, is lively and passionate. Here the feeling is only infrequently clouded by the verbiage.

For all its bad prose "World Within World" is a very good book. It is an honest and sometimes painful attempt to evaluate experience which has always been deeply felt and from which the writer is trying to draw wisdom. (And it must be remembered that out of it, also, has come some of the best poetry, especially some of the best love poetry, of our time.) It never spares its central subject. Out of chaos, private and public, Spender has arrived finally at some private order, at a few affirmations, a tentative knowledge, offered up in humility, which must be taken seriously by anyone preoccupied with political or creative activity. The coda of the book is crowded with passages such as this:

> I am a citizen who revolts against the concept of himself as "social man," with a respectable, official outside life, and two secret selves—a fictitious hero and a clinical case-history. It is in the individual who accepts the responsibility of his own complexity that the diversity of society attains a unity of consciousness where opposites are reconciled.

ERNEST JONES

James: A Unified Image

HENRY JAMES. By F. W. Dupee. William Sloane Associates. The American Men of Letters Series. $4.

THE man whose work H. G. Wells in "Boon" could describe as "a nothingness" has continued to bother people. As his country and countrymen have caught up with his "imagination of disaster," as other novelists' experiments have made H. J.'s discussable and his books more widely readable, Henry James himself has come to be a more

To inform the responsible citizen of his role in a defense economy

Defense Without Inflation

By ALBERT G. HART

Professor of Economics, Columbia University

with A PROGRAM FOR ACTION BY THE COMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC STABILIZATION

Here is an opportunity for men and women concerned with national issues to sit down with some of America's ablest experts and learn from them how we may mobilize for defense without a ruinous inflation.

Albert G. Hart tells how the defense program is likely to affect taxes, prices, wages and salaries, interest rates, property values, savings, etc. — gives you the background to understand the pressing questions of public policy and personal welfare now facing America.

A panel of four top-ranking experts counsel with Hart and add a chapter of their own. They assess the measures necessary for stabilization—what they will be and how they will work—their long-range as well as their immediate effect. They offer their considered opinion that it is possible for our country to arm without a serious reduction in the value of the dollar IF we take the necessary steps now. Theirs is a rigorous yet hopeful prescription for bringing America's vast economic power fully into play both for defense and a high living standard.

$2.00 at your bookstore, or from

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND 330 WEST FORTY-SECOND STREET NEW YORK 18

Atomic Power Inflation
GOVERNMENT CONTROLS
Taxes Marshall Plan

FIND THE ANSWERS IN EASY-TO-READ, NON-TECHNICAL

POPULAR Economics



This monthly digest-size magazine features original material written for easy reading by experts with no axes to grind. Clarifies issues of vital importance; interprets current headlines in every-day language; generously illustrated, interesting, stimulating. A "must" for those who like to be fully informed.

SPECIAL TRIAL OFFER

1 YEAR FOR $1

(Ten Issues)

Send check or money order or, if you prefer, we'll bill you.

POPULAR ECONOMICS
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
32 Broadway, New York 4, N. Y.

We can supply any book
in-print and out-of-print
on
HEALTH, DIET, VEGETARIANISM
and kindred subjects. Send for FREE list of progressive health books.
THE HEALTH GUILD, Dept. 300
117 West 48th St. New York 19

and more distinct figure upon our own horizon.

One of the solid results of this generation's concentrated work in Jamesian criticism is F. W. Dupee's "Henry James," a critical biography in 9 chapters and 301 pages, which presents a unified image of a life and a work: a dignity of presence streaked with humor; a personage; an attitude; above all, a body of work demanding to be read and reread.

One may differ on small matters—the discussion of "The Great Good Place," the hedging on the ghosts in "The Turn of the Screw," the wayward turning topsy-turvy of "the Awkward Age," humor and malice to the top, pathos and sadness to the bottom; the not-seeing Hyacinth in "The Princess Casamassima" or Verena in "The Bostonians"—but these are the emphases of taste. What Dupee brings out is definitely there to be brought out. And many times he delights by making hitherto overlooked facets shine with new interest. He is sane and reasonable, and what makes his book a creation is its own emotional force. It moves to a climax and, surmounting it, flows on in a coda of fulfilment.

Dupee shows a development by showing the stages of James's life: the young, unconversational James, a little frightened, a little dubious, choosing Europe; the older James, coming to be at home there, accepting Europe as a necessary form of life, taking his chances with it, no longer a tourist or an exotic, and thereby enriching his work; and the still older James, the formidable friend and burgher of Rye, surviving an ordeal of unpopularity and misunderstanding, and becoming stronger and better, as Dupee puts it, a "great" instead of just a "fine" writer.

Dupee does not surround James with as much density—of geography, of history—as he might. His intention is otherwise, apparently. It is principally the thinking and the doing of the artist he is concerned with; so he deals in states of mind. This method on the whole suits James. He lived a life of the mind, of its motives, its fears, its aspirations, almost entirely, and all the climates surrounding his heroes, whether political, economic, or social, are related to states of the soul.

Dupee presents particularly well these states of soul or mind out of which the books issued during the long years of production—1864 to 1917. He moves interiorly from one of these climates of the mind to another, showing the why and how of the slow cumulation of change.

This is Dupee speaking of Henry James as a young man of the time of John La Farge's portrait: "Swarthy-looking, somehow exotic, he has the same full mouth that La Farge observed; the frank stare in his eyes, however, is that of some well-bred young immigrant disembarked in an unfamiliar and intriguing land; and he gives the impression, for what it is worth, of an abundant vitality." "Joseph in Egypt could not have had a graver sense of his representative character than James assumed in Paris," says Dupee of the James beginning his long exploration of Europe.

He speaks as follows of James growing into and accepting Europe: "He ceased to argue with life . . . he could act upon a deeper responsibility, which was finally to embrace some possible form of life and take his chances on his point of view." And this is a suggestion of the richness of his characterization of the older James, the Lion of Lamb House, as he appropriately calls him: ". . . James looked alien, both to his profession and his race. He was 'only doubtfully Anglo-Saxon,' resembled now 'a successful lawyer or banker

LABOR LIBRARY

Books for and about LABOR THE only LABOR book club

SOMETHING NEW

✣ A book club for those interested in the latest and best material available in the field.

✣ Members receive books at substantial reductions from publishers' prices.

✣ It covers the field—Labor History, Labor novels, Labor and Community, Labor and Government, Labor and Law.

For Further Information

WRITE OR CALL

LABOR LIBRARY, 622 Greenwich Street
New York 14, N. Y. WAtkins 4-4560

of the old school,' now a Daumier, a Roman death mask, a member of the house of Rothschild, the Mad Hatter, an admiral, a merciful Caesar, a benevolent Napoleon. His eyes, it was often observed, were penetrating and sad—'age-old and world-weary, as are those of cultured Jews.'"

The book is an exhibition of a sound and subtle judgment exercising itself upon a subject that has been thought through. Mr. Dupee has gained an easy familiarity with his subject through long study. He has raked together sources and opinions, and he cites earlier critics generously; yet his independence of judgment carves out of this material a whole, both in his picture of James and in his thinking on him.

His method is a chronological narrative of happenings, thoughts, emotions, and the results—that is, books—of these interior activities of his central character. He presents first personal influences—parents, brothers, sister, friends; then environment—Albany, New York, Boston, Newport. As James begins to act—action for him equaling writing—Dupee makes room in his story for discussions of the tales and novels, the reviews, the travel sketches, the plays, etc., as they take life and form out of the background.

There are easy-paced analyses of major achievements. Those of "Daisy Miller," "The Portrait of a Lady," and "The Ambassadors" are particularly good. Mr. Dupee's skill is such that these breaks in his narrative do not clot the movement. He prepares the way for each such piece, giving the moral and aesthetic impetus behind the work; then showing how James was living, what he was thinking and feeling at the time, and what part of his ambition each such work failed or fulfilled.

The most considerable achievement of the book is the presentation of James in his later years. Somehow Dupee has got at what was formidable in James, both as a person and as a writer. The scope of the tempered old man's patience, courage, and persistence; the depth as well as height of his insights; his actorish humor; his way of suddenly shutting down "the trap of his mind" on such gadflies as Wells; his long-lasting friendships and the force of his influence, lines of it shown radiating into our day; his patterned life; and the interruption of that pattern in his fighting death—all appear as elements of an organic whole. And following upon this skilful presentation of the great old man is Mr. Dupee's intelligible claim for the superior greatness of the later novels, evolved as they were out of the greater and more painful concentration of the later years.

ELIZABETH STEVENSON

A Policy for Peace

PEACE CAN BE WON. By Paul G. Hoffman. Doubleday and Company. Paper, $1; cloth, $2.50.

WAGING the peace is Paul Hoffman's phrase for the foreign policy which he believes the United States should follow, and he makes a very persuasive case for it. He is firmly convinced that the present masters of the Kremlin are aiming at world domination, and he is in entire agreement with the position of the United States government that the Soviet Union's aggression can be stopped only by a combination of military strength and aid to foreign countries which will seem more attractive than anything Russia has to offer. He believes that this combination can give us a fair chance of preserving peace.

There is nothing startlingly new in Mr. Hoffman's presentation, but the fact that it comes from a hard-headed business man who was, by his own statement, brought up an isolationist and is still a Republican, may make some impression on the people who have been calling President Truman's Point Four program a world-wide WPA. It would be rather silly to accuse the former ECA administrator of being in favor of boondoggling.

The book is not in any sense an apologia for ECA. While considerable space is devoted to the operations of that agency, it is treated rather as a pilot plant for future action than as something which could be regarded as an end in itself. The author specifically recommends the creation of an Overseas Economic Administration which would take over not only the work of ECA but also the economic and production problems of rearmament of the free nations. He believes that both this proposed new agency and our foreign

BOOKS BY

WILHELM REICH, M.D.,

on LIFE ENERGY

(Cosmic Orgone Energy)

and its distortion by

THE EMOTIONAL PLAGUE

the most virulent disease in the history of man!

THE MASS PSYCHOLOGY OF FASCISM reveals through historical and clinical investigation that fascism—black, red or whatever color—is not the product of any particular race, nation or class, but of emotionally diseased human character structure; that it is an **emotional plague** curable only by protecting the life forces in every newborn baby from distorted social influences. 344 pp. $4.50

LISTEN, LITTLE MAN! The discoverer of LIFE ENERGY tells of his stormy fight against the **emotional plague** that attacks every basic truth and thus kills lives by the million. Reich voices a long-overdue criticism of the "little man" of today: "You are your own slave-driver. Only you can be your liberator." After decades of intensive scientific and psychiatric work and in spite of the misery a warped "human nature" has caused (fascism, atomic wars, etc.), Reich has confidence in the tremendous unmined treasures which lie buried in the depths of man, and which will ultimately overcome the emotional plague **once this disease is understood.** (Illustrated by William Steig) 126 pp. $3.00

Natural-Scientific Books on Orgone Energy

THE DISCOVERY OF THE ORGONE

Vol. 1 — Bio-energetic basis of emotional functioning. 368 pp. $6.00

Vol. 2 — Bio-energy, **biogenesis,** and the nature of **cancer.** 409 pp. $8.50

ETHER, GOD AND DEVIL

Orgonomic, functional thinking as a tool of scientific research. 127 pp. $2.00

ORGONE ENERGY BULLETIN

—A Quarterly on orgone physics, medicine and orgonomic infant research.

Single issue, $1.25

Subscription for one year, $4.00

ORGONE INSTITUTE PRESS

Publishing House of

The WILHELM REICH FOUNDATION

P. O. Box 153 Rangeley, Maine

(Descriptive catalogue on request)

information services should be independent of the State Department. It is too bad that this point is not discussed more fully, since Hoffman's experience obviously qualifies him to have an opinion worth serious consideration. Instead, he merely states with practically no argument that the State Department should be relieved of administrative responsibilities so its attentions can be devoted entirely to diplomacy. He seems to feel that cooperation between ECA and the State Department was entirely satisfactory and apparently does not see any danger of greater conflict and confusion in a separation of the economic, informational, and diplomatic aspects of foreign policy.

An estimate of about three billion dollars a year is given as the cost of an adequate foreign-aid program, not counting military aid. The figure is interesting as coming from a well-informed observer, but, again, it is too bad that the estimate is not supported by a more detailed analysis. One might almost suspect that it is based as much on the author's views as to what he thinks the American economy can support, and what he thinks Congress might appropriate, as on any careful examination of the world's need for the Point Four program. However, it may not be far from the maximum which is practicable, all things considered.

The book ends with a cautiously optimistic prediction that the United States can win if peace is waged aggressively along the lines the author proposes. His hope that there may be a change of policy or political control inside Russia in the relatively near future is scarcely anything to count on, but his program seems to offer the best available chance for peace even without that. And it is heartening to have him say with great earnestness—as one of his arguments against the idea of a preventive war—that "the only way to make democracy work is to work through the ways of democracy."

CHARLES E. NOYES

THE ROAD AHEAD
A PRIMER OF CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM
By Dr. Harry W. Laidler
has been included in the DEBATE HANDBOOKS as one of the reference books to be used in the high school debate this year on the subject of the WELFARE STATE.
If this book were made required reading for every boy and girl in the U. S. it would make the building of the GOOD SOCIETY of the future infinitely easier.
Cloth Bound $1.00 Paper Covered 50¢
THREE ARROWS PRESS
Room 516a 303 Fourth Avenue New York, N. Y.

Our other publications are:
DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM by Roger Payne and George W. Hartmann
Cloth Bound $1.50 Paper Covered $1.00
THE CASE FOR SOCIALISM by Fred Henderson
Cloth Bound 75¢ Paper Covered 35¢
WHY WORK? OR THE COMING "AGE OF LEISURE AND PLENTY" by Roger Payne
Cloth Bound $1.75 Paper Covered $1.00

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR
Just Arrived! LEO TOLSTOY
TALES of SEVASTOPOL
Deluxe Edition — Beautifully Illustrated
In English — 154 pp. — $1.50
Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
1951 Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals
Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

HOW TO GET YOUR BOOK PUBLISHED
Our basic policy is to encourage new authors. If you are looking for a publisher of your book, learn how we can help you. Write today for Free Booklet 101.
VANTAGE PRESS, Inc., 230 W. 41 St., N. Y. 18.
In Calif.: Equitable Bldg., Hollywood 28

YOU CAN EASILY MEET THE HIGH COST OF MEAT AND FOOD with
"314 MEATLESS DISHES, or BETTER FOOD AT LESS COST"
Economical—Nutritious—Healthful Tested recipes for tasty dishes in great variety in which protein values equal to meat are substituted. Nutritionally scientific. Great Saving. $1.15 Postpaid.
THE HEALTH GUILD
117 West 48th St., Dept. 300, New York 19
P.S. Send for FREE list of progressive health books.

Letters to the World

LETTERS OF EMILY DICKINSON. Edited by Mabel Loomis Todd. Introduction by Mark Van Doren. World Publishing. $3.75.

EMILY DICKINSON'S LETTERS TO DR. AND MRS. JOSIAH GILBERT HOLLAND. Edited by their granddaughter, Theodora Van Wagenen Ward. Harvard University Press. $4.

THESE two useful books are heralds of what appears to be a period of burgeoning Dickinson criticism. Mr. Van Doren correctly refers to "Letters of Emily Dickinson" as "the core" of her "correspondence as we know it." This volume is a reprint of the original 1894 edition, and although the letters it contains were made newly available in an enlarged edition in 1931, they have been hard to come by in recent years. The new edition is paper-covered and handsome.

Mrs. Ward's volume contains sixty-four hitherto unpublished letters, as well as six new poems, the latter of trifling importance. The editor has employed what is called the "genuinely historical approach"—that is, she has printed the letters without bowdlerization of any kind, and she has attempted a definitive chronology, worked out on the basis of internal evidence, changes in the style of handwriting, watermarks, types of letter paper, and so on. The volume is a fairly sustained exhibit of Emily Dickinson's epistolary style, or styles, from 1853, when she was twenty-three, to 1886, the year of her death.

Mrs. Ward's collection of letters offers no striking biographical revelations. There is nothing here to encourage speculation about the "love affair" of Emily Dickinson and the Reverend Mr. Charles Wadsworth. The poet was accustomed, indeed, to inclose unaddressed notes to Wadsworth in her letters to the Hollands, to be addressed by Dr. Holland and forwarded to Philadelphia. She expressed her fear of imposing upon the Hollands in this matter by such fanciful language as "I once more come, with my little Load— Is it too heavy?" Though the atmosphere of intrigue lends a touch of romance to the relation of Emily Dickinson with her "Philadelphia friend," Mrs. Ward is certainly correct in deciding that the moral—she finds it hard to say the sanctimonious—Dr. Holland would have participated in none but the most spotless conspiracies.

These letters provide, however, a number of fresh glimpses of the Dickinson family: the austere, imposing, much worshiped father; the passive, faithful mother, with whom her children "were never intimate"; the sharp-tongued, excitable, but executive sister Lavinia, for every one of whose six cats Emily invoked an imaginary assassin; the respectably successful but nevertheless wayward and disappointed brother Austin, with his cultural strivings, his free thought, his idolization of Tommaso Salvini in the part of Othello.

Although Dr. Holland was an influential literary man, the author of much inferior but widely read prose and poetry and the editor of *Scribner's Monthly*, the Holland-Dickinson correspondence does not concern itself very directly with literature. We gain a new sense of Emily Dickinson's extraordinary immersion in Shakespeare and the Bible; we learn anew of her love for George Eliot, the Brontës, and Mrs. Browning; we discover, even, that she

read James's "The Europeans." But it would naturally seem to her difficult to share literary experiences with correspondents who apparently regarded her own poetry as—in Dr. Holland's words—really unsuitable for publication because too "etherial."

In any case, the typical subject matter of Emily Dickinson's letters is not literature but the cult of spiritualism, of death and immortality, which she shared with all her correspondents, which—it is almost true to say—she imposed upon her correspondents. The language of her letters, though it belongs to a genre cultivated by many New England ladies, is idiosyncratic enough to compare, as an original American invention, with the prose-poetry of Whitman or the folk-language-*cum*-traditional-English of Melville and Mark Twain. Mrs. Ward's collection of letters reinforces one's feeling that Emily Dickinson's epistolary manner is an amazing idiosyncrasy but not really a great style—"If my Crescent fail you, try me in the Moon"; "[Love] is the basis of Bonbons"; "Vails of Kamtchatka dim the Rose—in my Puritan Garden, and as a farther stimulus, I had an Eclipse of the Sun a few Mornings ago, but every Crape is charmed." The style is astonishing, but as literature it demonstrates nothing so clearly as the mistake of confusing a private game of words with the act of making metaphors.

As always, Emily Dickinson's salvation as a writer is her sense of death, which she connects in a variety of ways with her image of her father. After Edward Dickinson's death in 1874, she says, "Father's was the first Act distinctly of the Spirit." When her own mind moves with this "first Act" as its metaphor she becomes, in these letters as elsewhere, a great writer. So we sense when she writes: "Mother is asleep in the Library—Vinnie—in the Dining Room—Father—in the Masked Bed—in the Marl House." Or when she calls herself a "Bird that would sing as firm in the center of Dissolution, as in it's Father's nest." Or when, elaborating on one of her favorite Biblical passages—"For whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth"—she writes, "Landscapes reverence the Frost, though it's gripe be past."

RICHARD CHASE

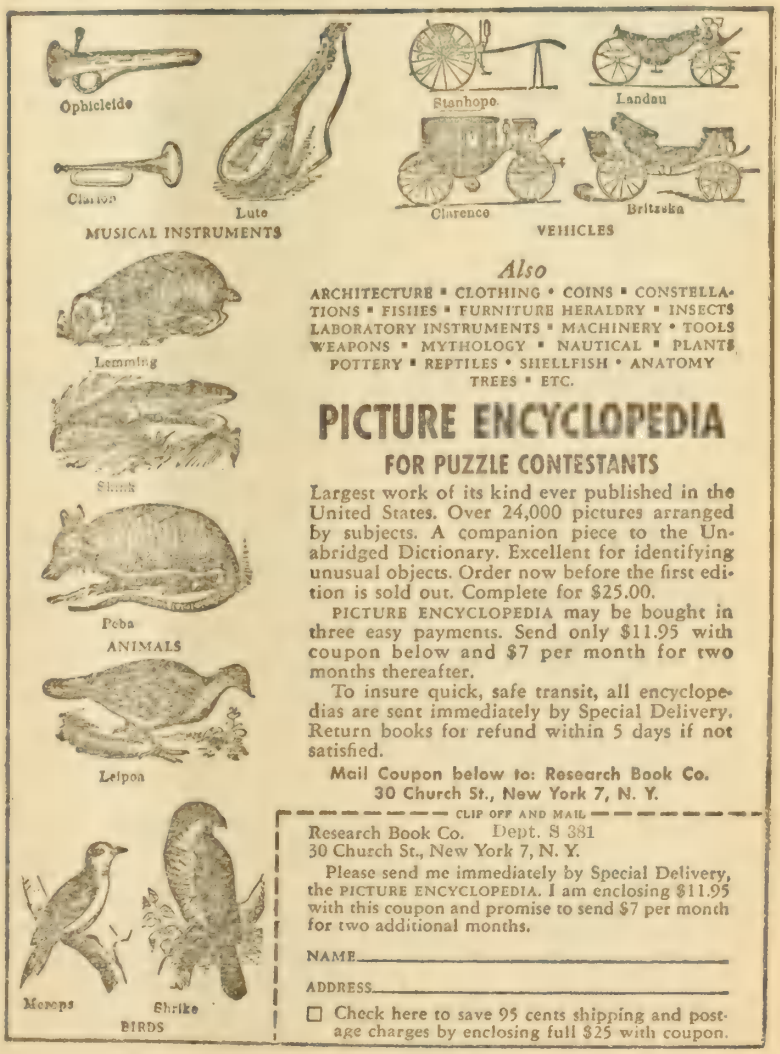
The Relevance of Irrelevance

THREE MORE NOVELS OF RONALD FIRBANK. Introduction by Ernest Jones. New Directions. $5.

WITH the publication of the present book New Directions has made available the bulk of Firbank's work. While none of these three novels is quite as good as "The Eccentricities of Cardinal Pirelli" or "Prancing Nigger," which were included in an earlier collection, "Caprice," at least, is a wholly successful piece of sustained wit; and "Vainglory" and "Inclinations" provide instances of the cagy irrelevance and ironic pathos which characterize Firbank at his best. Ernest Jones has written a pertinent and helpful introduction.

We *need* all the Firbank we can get. We need the example of his splendid inconsequence—seen backward with special effect through the work of Henry Green—to deliver us from the dull consequence of plot. We can be stimulated by the strategies of his dialogue: the constant flow of talk, at once witty and silly, real and artificial, to which no one listens, and into which everything, action and introspection, is dissolved—even the author's comment becoming just another voice among drawing-room voices. The effect is that of extreme fenestration; his works are all window and no wall, every possible element of structure sacrificed for the sake of light.

We need his practice chiefly, however, as a specific against the thick novel of merciless documentation. I remember recently putting down "The Wall," opaque, earnest, and unconvincing, *wrong* as fiction, and picking up "Cardinal Pirelli," slight, mannered, and impudent, with the sense of coming home to the authentic literary experience. Time has delivered Firbank from the misleading connotations of the titillating and the chic, so that we can see him now as a classic instance of the uses of convention. We are all the time somehow forgetting that the truth of fiction is in inverse proportion to its resemblance to any superficial "reality." Even



CHRIST UNCRUCIFIED!

NEW LIGHT ON THE NEW TESTAMENT

WHAT GOAL NOW?

By Prof. George L. Clark

A logical and scholarly interpretation of the New Testament, presenting the pure gold of its teachings without the dross of miracle stories and metaphysical speculation. A book for those who are not afraid to look facts and reality straight in the face.

"It separates the wheat from the chaff."
—FRANK H. HOMER,
Dean of Law School, N. Y. U.

"Does for the New Testament literature, what Darwin's theory did for biology."
—ALBERT J. MURPHY,
Educator, former minister

"Most provocative and stimulating. . . ."
—DR. GOODWIN WATSON,
Prof. of Education, Columbia U.

With 62 pages of notes and cross references
SPECIAL PRICE $2.00

THE SPAP COMPANY
152 West 42nd St. • New York 18, N.Y.

OUT-OF-PRINT and-HARD-TO-FIND BOOKS

supplied. All subjects, all languages. Also Genealogies and Family and Town Histories. Incomplete sets completed. All magazine back numbers supplied. Send us your list of wants. No obligation. We report quickly at lowest prices. *(We also supply all current books at retail store prices—postpaid, as well as all books reviewed, mentioned or listed in this issue of The Nation.*
AMERICAN LIBRARY SERVICE
117 West 48th Street, Dept. N, New York 19, N. Y.
N. B. We also BUY books and magazines. Please list.

FIRST TIME! * from "Bach-Gesellsch." † from "Urtext" ed.
Pocket-sized, Low-Priced Editions
BACH* Well-Temp. Clavier, 2 vols., each..... .98
BEETHOVEN† Violin Sonatas, 2 vols., each..... .98
& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG
Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From
LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138 New York 32, N. Y.

COUNTERATTACK
Against the Insanity of a Price War
40% off List Price—200 L. P. Records
50% off List Price—107 L. P. Records
Send 10¢ and self-addressed, stamped envelope for list.
LES DISCOPHILES, 1079 Lexington Ave., N.Y.C.
Hours 12 noon-10 p.m. daily REgent 7-8334

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN
MARY MARTIN
RAY MIDDLETON
IN
South Pacific
Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with MYRON MCCORMICK
MAJESTIC Thea., 44 St. W. of B'way
Evenings 8:30 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

great masters of the convincing grotesque like Faulkner or Dickens or Dostoevsky become so familiar that we come to think of them as "realistic." At that point we must turn to some master of a new convention, or a revived one, to which we are no longer immune, and learn again that the essential skill of the novelist lies in protecting his fictional standards of truth from any adulteration with the standards of actual life. This is the use of Firbank now.

His revival coincides with the resurrection of F. Scott Fitzgerald, and the two have a good deal in common, even beyond the similarity of their lives: the careers of conspicuous waste, the compulsive drinking, the early deaths. Though Firbank began writing before the First World War, his best work belongs to the period which also produced "The Great Gatsby." And between the two figures of the twenties Carl Van Vechten is a common link. A friend of the Fitzgeralds, who made their first fictional portraits in "Parties," he also was the first American to write an essay about Firbank in 1922; and indeed, he was the inventor of the title of "Prancing Nigger."

Firbank's first subject is, like Fitzgerald's, "The Rich." The work of both presents through the eyes of a middle-class outsider a myth of the very rich as quasi-artists, exponents of "style." Both are interested only in the elegant consumption of goods and quite ignore the problem of their production; both at once love, despise, and pity their legendary protagonists, whom they measure against the standards of a Catholicism eaten away from within by an unsuspected Puritanism and overlaid with a *fin de siècle* trimming. They share, too, a second subject: the frantic adoration of youth as an absolute good; and in each his most splendid pathos is dedicated to this subject—the aged Cardinal's pursuit of the unobtainable boy, and Dick Diver's self-torment on the surfboard.

The differences between their legendary worlds are illuminating. There was in England an actual world of chic, on which Firbank's stylized books are remotely based; it was a dying society, but it was there, as a refuge from bourgeois anti-art morality. For Fitzgerald, however, the dream of a common ground for artist and profligate in America was merely a dream. Perhaps that is why Fitzgerald turned toward tragedy and made his central symbolic figure the desperate and isolated drunkard; while Firbank was able to stay inside of comedy and chose for his essential protagonist the homosexual at home in an ambiguous and infertile world.

Yet whether preferring the comic or tragic, both writers suffer finally from the same flaw—an inability to disengage themselves sufficiently from the values of the milieu they portray. Fitzgerald shares so deeply the sentimentality of his protagonists that he ends with a disguised self-pity rather than the objective pity of true tragedy; and Firbank is himself so much a party to the witty snobbery of his characters that he ends with a second-rate irony, negative and exclusive, rather than the positive, inclusive irony of, say, Moliere's "Misanthrope." There is an ultimate irony of love to which Firbank for all his skill and wit and sincerity cannot attain.

LESLIE A. FIEDLER

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

MY RECOLLECTION of Flagstad's first New York performance in "Tristan und Isolde" in February 1935 is documented by the first recording of the finale that she made at the end of that season. One of the amazing things about the voice at that first performance was its freshness after twenty years' use which had included very little singing of Wagner; and listening to the record at the time it was issued I heard the loss of this freshness after the wear and tear of a few months of Isoldes, Sieglindes, and Brünnhildes, sometimes four in one week. But listening to the record now I cannot recall or imagine anything beyond the flow of vocal splendor in long phrases that it reproduces; and it confirms my recollection that what I heard at that first performance was nothing less than a phenomenon—as unique a phenomenon among soprano voices as Caruso's voice among tenors.

That is still true of what I heard at Flagstad's last "Tristan" performance

at the Metropolitan recently, even with what had been lost after sixteen years. The unique splendor which used to be heard throughout the entire range of the voice was gone from the upper portion; and gone also were the breath-taking high C's of the frenzied opening passage of the second-act duet. But if *this* had been the performance in which Flagstad was singing her first New York Isolde at the age of forty-two, and if she had sung with such lustrous beauty in the lower range of her voice, with such clarity and power in the higher notes up to the B of the first-act narrative; if, moreover, she had produced those long phrases, including the final *höchste Lust,* on one breath; and even if she had managed only the first high C in the second-act duet and substituted A for the second—one would have thought the singing phenomenal. And as the performance of a woman of fifty-eight the phenomenon was even greater.

So with her singing in "Fidelio"—above all her sustained legato singing in *Komm Hoffnung,* her long unbroken phrases, the second rising to high B, on *sie wird's erreichen,* her long phrases also in the fast part of the aria, and at the end the climactic rise to G sharp followed by the rapid scales from a low E to high B. Even with the high notes that lacked the beauty of the lower ones, even with the break for breath before the last rush to high B, it was singing which would have been extraordinary from a woman of forty, and which was even more so from a woman of Flagstad's age. It was in fact singing such as Lotte Lehmann had not done even at forty, by the evidence of her Parlophone recording of the aria. But Lehmann's singing on the record is suffused with the affecting personal warmth and dramatic animation which Flagstad's lacked. That brings me perilously near to the subject of what Flagstad looked and acted like in this opera—from which I retreat as fast as I can.

The singing of the rest of the casts in the two performances of "Fidelio" I heard—one on the radio and a later one in the Metropolitan—was good, except that in the broadcast performance Schoeffler sang his notes with gross disregard of their placing and duration in time. I have no recording to document my high estimate of Bruno Walter's conducting of the work ten years ago; but the two performances this time were slack and nerveless, with ragged and poor-sounding playing by the orchestra. Herbert Graf's staging of the work was good, except for some absurd bits of "business" by members of the chorus in the final scene.

Svanholm's quavering tenor and slight stature made him an inadequate Tristan for Flagstad's lustrous-voiced and huge Isolde; and Brangäne's warning call from the tower needed a more sumptuous contralto than Glaz's. Dino Yannopoulos, listed as stage director, seemed to have done no directing of Flagstad waving her scarf in the second act, of Flagstad and Svanholm arranging themselves for their duet in this act or for Tristan's death in Isolde's arms in the last act, or of the battle between Tristan's and Marke's men in which Kurvenal is mortally wounded—all of which were in varying degrees laughable. As for Reiner, once past the Prelude—which had no continuity as he pulled it this way with one tempo one moment and that way with another tempo the next moment—he settled down to the business of conducting a well-knit performance in which the orchestra played with precision and beautifully balanced sound. And it was a pleasure to hear the second-act duet without the cut that used to be made after Brangäne's call.

Very early in Flagstad's career at the Metropolitan I questioned her being used only in Wagner (except for "Fidelio"), pointing out that the great Italian repertory was being sung badly when the company had the most phenomenal singer of our generation who in Norway had sung in "Aida," "Un Ballo in Maschera," and "Otello." Now

CLEARANCE SALE!

(ALL RECORDS BRAND NEW)

1/3 to 2/3 off

35 TO 75% DISCOUNT

ALL RECORDS IN STOCK

33 1/3 rpm ▪ 45 ▪ 78 rpm (Long Playing and Standard)

DOMESTIC and IMPORTED

All Brands including COLUMBIA, DECCA and VICTOR

plus FREE BONUS RECORDS

One of the most spectacular sales on records anywhere
For two weeks only—until April 20th
Every record in store—LP, 45 rpm or standard—reduced by 35% (1/3) 40% (Actual Cost); 52½% (⅓) or 70% (2/3) Plus FREE BONUS RECORD with every purchase of 9, 22 or 29 records.

$5.95 Long Playing Records as low as $2.98 (2 for $5.95) plus free BONUS Record with purchase of 29.

$3.00 Long Playing Records as low as $1.50 plus free BONUS Record with purchase of 22.

89¢ Long Playing Records as low as 30¢ (4 for $1.19) plus free BONUS Record with purchase of 9.

MAIL ORDERS: We are sorry that the tremendous variety of merchandise, the limited quantities of each of the titles and the variable discounts and BONUS privileges make a catalogue for mail order patrons impossible. However, the Elaine Music Shop has prepared a basic schedule of discounts and bonuses to simplify discounts. While store visitors have the advantage of a wide choice from stock on hand, out-of-town customers will be serviced beyond stock at hand in the 35% (1/3) Discount group plus a FREE record with every 29 purchased. Add 95¢ for postage and handling—regardless of quantity of unbreakable records ordered—add $1.95 for express shipment where standard shellac records are included in order. COD's accepted with 20% deposit. Refunds immediate if records unobtainable. Send for price and discount schedule—but do not wait to place orders. Only such orders postmarked not later than April 30th midnight accepted at these discounts.

ELAINE MUSIC SHOP
9 EAST 44th STREET ▪ MUrray Hill 2-6154 | IN THE HEART OF GRAND CENTRAL

CONTRIBUTORS

ALBERT J. GUERARD is the author of "Night Journey," "Joseph Conrad," and "Thomas Hardy." He will publish a book on André Gide this summer.

M. R. WERNER is a journalist and biographer.

ELIZABETH STEVENSON is the author of "The Crooked Corridor: A Study of Henry James."

CHARLES E. NOYES is the author of "Economic Freedom."

RICHARD CHASE, a member of the English Department of Columbia University, will publish next fall a critical biography of Emily Dickinson.

LESLIE A. FIEDLER is a member of the English Department of the University of Montana.

REAL ESTATE

HADDAM, CONN. 250-acre tract on Route 9. Picturesque stream, suitable summer, winter retreat, camp development or estate. Swimming, fishing, hunting. Whole-part available. Excellent investment. Will exchange or arrange attractive terms. Box 222, c/o The Nation.

FARMS & ACREAGE

WE recommend this highly. 8 rooms, bath, heat, electricity, full cellar, attic; garage, henhouse. 3 acres, large brook, fruit trees. 1½ miles to Village, R. R. Excellent condition. $7800. **Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, New York.**

PUBLISHING SERVICE

WRITERS!—Book mss. wanted for publication, fiction, non-fiction. Free booklet. Write today! **Daniel S. Mead Literary Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. C. 16.**

WE print, publish and distribute your manuscript in pamphlet or book form. *Send for free folder.* WILLIAM-FREDERICK PRESS; Pamphlet Distributing Company, 313 West 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

ART-CRAFTS

FUN AT HOME! Restless child or ill? Amusing art-crafts. Inquire, Maruth 3, 239 Brentwood Road, Bay Shore, New York.

TYPING SERVICE

MANUSCRIPT TYPING, theses, medical articles. Speed, intelligence, economy. AMBASSADOR OFFICE SERVICE, 17 East 48th Street. PLaza 5-1127.

PERSONAL

GRADUATE Student in September desires summer position. Extensive background in social sciences, political science, German history. Tutoring, companion, academic. Any location. Box 223, c/o The Nation.

Classified Advertising Rates

74¢ A LINE [SIX WORDS]

Minimum three lines

Box No. counted as three words

Remittance must accompany all orders

THE NATION

20 Vesey St. • New York City 7 • BA 7-1066

Mr. Bing has announced that she will sing in Gluck's "Alceste" next year—providing a further example of his thinking his own way to new decisions with his remarkable intelligence and judgment for the purpose. But occasionally even he can accept a current idea without thinking about the realities which contradict it; and so we are to have "Alceste" in English.

Art

MANNY FARBER

THE plush décor of Fifty-Seventh Street, show window for Manhattan painters, is a strange environment for a painting to find itself in, when you consider that most art works originate in low-priced Greenwich Village caves. Perhaps this change of backdrop has encouraged some artists to toy with the idea that one's surroundings, being impermanent, are also composed of a pliable substance. It might explain why current exhibits show architecture being pushed into strange, abnormal casts that sometimes seem like a monstrous parody of the average artist's terrain.

In the works of George Constant (Ferargil Gallery), interlocked figures become an almost comic-strip rendering of piled-up proletarians indistinguishable from, and dominated by, big-city masonry—that is, simplified chimneys, bridges, or skyscrapers built out of squat, brick-like humans. The architectural mannerisms—stucco skin tones, big square shapes—make you feel that Constant applies paint with a bricklayer's trowel. This unworried, unintentionally humorous approach results in an exhibition of canvases so resembling each other that they are like unpieced sections of a gigantic jigsaw puzzle.

Despite hues like cherry soda pop, harmonized with yards of orange and black, Mark Rothko (Parsons Gallery) builds noiseless decorations, perfectly unified presentations of a langorous sensuality. In large vacant-looking works he achieves an architectural structure by floating huge, equalizing color bands on top of each other so that one's view is moved up his canvas as though it were a lofty skyscraper. By stopping these chunky stripes just short of the picture's edge, he contains the composition within what amounts to a quietly painted window-frame, which continues around to the two-inch side edges. With his bland, logical resolving of all pictorial problems, and by applying color so vaporously that it emanates from the canvas like an odor, Rothko dispels some of the uninspired effect of his color tones. However, his heavy emphasis on the decorative restfulness of a wall painting seems to have progressively smoothed Rothko's road until his works vary drastically now only in size.

In Rolf Nesch's pictures (Kleeman), the textural haze that blurs and crinkles the architecture is produced by an unorthodox combination of techniques. Nesch starts by etching a variegated jungle of tacky indentations on a copper plate; he oil-paints out most of this texture with a lyric impression of the Central Park skyline, and then stamps one impression on paper from this pigmented plate. After cleaning the plate, he paints another subject, and so produces a second poetic paper, ad infinitum. The blue-tinted, mosaic-like scraps of landscape almost expire behind a densely bas-relief atmosphere, given off by the weird technique, that has a tendency to create only a superficial feeling of color, energy, form. Relying too much on "method" for effects, Nesch's technique is like a mechanical invention that takes the responsibility off the shoulders of the artist.

Several rungs above any of these artists is David Smith (Willard), whose metal sculpture has none of the actual mobility of a Calder but is nevertheless more deeply moving. In the past year Smith has swerved sharply away from organic hollows and metal drippings that sometimes suggested surrealistic clothes-hangers. Now experimenting with gray-patinaed metal alphabetical symbols, bi-symmetrical compositions, his new works often look like elegantly abstracted candelabra with branches formed of a repetition of the letter Y. Although these rather frighteningly militaristic structures are over-intellectualized, they have a curiously rich homeliness.

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • APRIL 28, 1951 NUMBER 17

The Shape of Things

THE RESIGNATION OF ANEURIN BEVAN, MOST popular and picturesque of the British Labor Party's left-wing leaders, followed by that of Harold Wilson, president of the Board of Trade, may prove fatal to the already shaky Attlee administration. "Nye's" action is in accordance with a public pledge he gave prior to the budget to leave the government unless the National Health Service remained completely free. Nevertheless, Hugh Gaitskell, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, decided that patients supplied with dentures and glasses must pay half the costs in order to keep the mounting expenses of the service in bounds. At British prices this does not mean a very heavy burden, but Bevan and his followers believe it sets a dangerous precedent that could be used by a future Tory government intent on whittling down free medical care. Moreover, this issue, of minor importance in itself, brings into the open a split in Labor's ranks between those who believe that Britain's main effort must be rearmament and those who wish to give priority, or at least equal emphasis, to maintenance of the Welfare State. This does not mean that Bevan and those who agree with him have any sympathy with Communism or discount the threat of Soviet aggression. But they do feel that Britain has been pushed by the United States into taking on a heavier defense load than it can bear and that military strength is being overemphasized at the expense of economic strength and social cohesion. Thus the controversy launched by Bevan's resignation may very well become merged with the broader debate over the extent to which Britain should follow American leadership.

*

THE CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY HAVE PUT themselves in a discreditable situation by their diehard opposition to the efforts of the President's Defense Advisory Board to set up a revamped Wage Stabilization Board with power to handle any labor dispute threatening to halt defense production. Business members of the Advisory Board at one time tentatively agreed that labor had offered an acceptable compromise and that fundamentally the unions were right in insisting that the board must have authority to handle disputes involving both wages and "non-economic" issues. But when these business spokesmen reported to their "principals," the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, they were ordered to withdraw from the agreement. Last week public and farm members of the Advisory Board lost patience and voted with the union members to recommend that the President go ahead with the compromise on his own responsibility. The N. A. M.'s lobbyists promptly ran to Capitol Hill to complain and to talk expansively about "free collective bargaining" and the "right to strike." But collective bargaining cannot be free when wages are stabilized by statute and regulation, and the theoretical right to strike is self-limited when the country is in danger. In such circumstances there must be a substitute for bargaining, and that is what labor asked for—a board to which important disputes could be referred for equitable hearing and recommendation. Unless the new wage board is actually boycotted by industry, through its refusal to appoint members, the stage is at last set for the development of a sound program to replace the present rigid 10 per cent ceiling on wage increases. The quarrel over man-power control seems to have been successfully compromised, and the Leiserson report this week on escalator clauses—provisions in the contracts that wages will be keyed to living costs—should help settle that pressing problem.

*

SAM POPE BREWER, THE NEW YORK *TIMES* correspondent in Spain, has had his press credentials canceled, and a story from the Associated Press indicates that this may be the first step "in a campaign by the government of Generalissimo Francisco Franco against the seven United States reporters remaining" in Madrid. Mr. Brewer was informed that the action taken against him was based on "lack of truthfulness observed by you and your newspaper"; so apparently the Foreign Office intends to extend its censorship and its reprisals to the editorial headquarters of the *Times* in New York. But the accuracy of the *Times* and its correspondent is borne out by similar reports in the British, French, and Swiss press during recent months. For example, the Swiss *Basler Nachrichten*, which had previously minimized the possibility of any serious crisis in Spain, went much farther than the New York *Times* in presenting the Barcelona strike as the first important indication that the Franco regime had lost its stability. We have strongly supported the magnificent fight put up by *La Prensa*,

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 385
A Turning of the Tide? 387
The General Sows Confusion 388

ARTICLES

MacArthur Joins the G. O. P. *by Willard Shelton* 389
Schuman Plan Doubts *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 390
Israel After Three Years *by Alvin Rosenfeld* 392
A Right Insecured *by Joseph E. Finley* 395
Everybody's Business: Harvest of Profits *by Keith Hutchison* 397

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Native Sons of Literature *by Richard Hofstadter* 398
Time to Clean House by *Richard D. Heffner* 399
Pride of Maturity *by F. W. Dupee* 400
Exercise in Hatred *by Harvey Swados* 401
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 402
Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 403

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 404

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 410 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 404

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Contributing Editor: Robert Bendiner
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

and now by *La Nación*, against the Perón government. But we hope that admirers of Franco in this country will realize that it would be highly contradictory to protest against the assassination of *La Prensa*, now finally accomplished by the act of expropriation, and remain silent when the Spanish dictator expels American correspondents from Spain. (The Spanish press, of course, was long ago whipped into line.) President Truman had the right instinct in resisting the appointment of an American ambassador to Franco but the pressure of the opposition and the military forced his hand. And so now we have Stanton Griffis in Madrid paying tribute to the virtues of that "very fine gentleman," Francisco Franco, while American interests suffer.

*

WHETHER OR NOT INDIA GETS GRAIN FROM China or Russia, those countries can at least be thanked for the 2,000,000 tons of American grain now almost assured—on a combined loan-gift basis—by the favorable vote of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The news stories reporting the Senate's decision made this plain. "Backers of the relief plan here have argued," said the New York *Herald Tribune*, "that it would have harmful effects on the global fight against communism if Red propagandists could claim that India obtained grain from China after being rebuffed by the United States." Perhaps this country would eventually have voted the aid even without the stimulus of Communist competition, but, if so, the Indian people will never have any evidence to that effect. Instead of giving from a genuine desire to prevent people from starving, we send grain to starving people only in order to keep them from going Communist—or so we proclaim to them and to the world. It is good to know that wheat is going to India on any terms, for any reason. But American bounty will never win Indian support and sympathy until it is sent without thought of recompense. Some day even politicians may learn that decency is the highest strategy.

*

THE MEASURE OF ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG'S stature is the shocking decline of the Senate, and especially of the Senate Republicans, during his protracted absence before his death. For the first seventeen years of his long service Vandenberg was regarded as something of a pompous isolationist, but in 1945 he renounced his isolationism and declared that America must face its new world responsibilities. Insisting that his party could not cling to nineteenth-century anachronisms, he became the Republican architect of a bi-partisan foreign policy. While he was active, he dominated the discussions of foreign policy in the Senate. Even when Connally was chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Vandenberg's was the most influential voice, and he kept the Wherrys, Cains, and Jenners from gaining control. This

magazine often disagreed with the policies advocated by Senator Vandenberg, but it cannot believe that had he been present last year, and in good health, he would have tolerated McCarthy's character assassination, terrorism, and lies—which Robert A. Taft took no step to check. His death is in all truth a loss to the country and to the United Nations which he helped to build.

*

COLORADO HAS BUCKED THE NATIONAL trend by its recent enactment of fair-employment-practices legislation. In the fall of 1950 the state Republican convention refused to indorse even the mildest form of civil-rights legislation. At the polls the Republicans gained control of both legislative chambers, and political troglodyte Eugene Millikin trounced Fair Dealer John Carroll in contest for a Senate seat. None the less, anti-discrimination advocates continued to debate among themselves the kind of FEPC that minorities could expect rather than whether FEPC would or would not pass. The reason for their optimism lay in the peculiar circumstances which brought about the election of the "millionaire cowboy" Governor Dan Thornton. Thornton was the reluctant choice of Republican policy-makers after the death of their original candidate. To offset John Carroll's expected huge majority in urban Denver, Thornton began an intensive campaign centered on FEPC. The Democrats, too confident of Denver and seeking the rural vote, toned down civil rights to a whisper. The result was Thornton's victory in both the rural areas and Denver. In the ensuing legislative tussle the hopes of Colorado's liberals, Mexican Americans, and Negroes were cut down to conform to political realities. Governor Thornton, however sincere, would not brave the wrath of the G. O. P. machine, which while unwilling to embarrass him was only barely tolerant of his "fair dealing." After caucusing, the Republicans passed, with an assist from Democrats, a compromise FEPC bill under which state, city, and county governments are subject to the jurisdiction of the courts when found guilty of discrimination; private employers similarly erring are obliged only to submit to arbitration and conciliation.

*

SOCIAL CHANGE IS ALSO SPEEDING UP IN Arizona. A hybrid of West and South, Arizona has a Southern look owing to its Texas-Oklahoma-Arkansas immigrants, its legal segregation of white and Negro elementary school pupils, and its generally Jim Crow public accommodations. The keystone of legal discrimination fell last month when the legislature repealed mandatory school segregation and made it optional with local trustees. Already trustees are proceeding with the task of ending the practice. In the state's second city, Tucson, the board of the largest district unanimously decided to integrate the one segregated school with the district's white schools as soon as possible, probably next fall. Trustees in smaller, rapidly industrializing Sunnyside District voted unanimously for non-segregation if Negroes move in. Superintendents of the two other districts will ask their trustees to vote for integration of white and black schools. Two mining cities, Miami and Globe, have announced they will end segregation next fall. Prescott has already done so, having ignored the law. Theater, hotel, and restaurant operators who have justified their discriminatory practices by pointing to the state segregation law now face new pressures from chapters of the N. A. A. C. P., the Urban League, and the Arizona Council for Civic Unity, which have proved they can get results. Hayzel B. Daniels and Carl Sims, Sr., first Negroes to be elected to the state legislature, deserve the highest credit for their leadership in this fight against segregation. Their election was made possible when the supervisors, in redistricting war-swollen Maricopa County, yielded to the pressure of Negro civic leaders and created two predominantly Negro districts. This effective use of political means to achieve social gain should not be lost on minority groups elsewhere.

A Turning of the Tide

THE loyalty-oath controversy at the University of California has now entered a new phase which should prove to be decisive. The Third District Court of Appeals, an intermediate appellate court, in a unanimous decision has ruled that the loyalty oath demanded by the Regents is invalid and that eighteen of the non-signers must be reinstated. The case can be appealed to the Supreme Court, but there are indications that most of the participants would like to bring about a general concurrence in the court's decision. Governor Earl Warren certainly lost little time in voicing his approval, and some of the Regents who were in favor of the oath and voted for the ouster of the non-signers on August 25, 1950, would now like to see the controversy terminated.

Fortunately the decision is based on broad and fundamental constitutional principles. The California constitution sets forth a specific form of oath to be taken by those holding any "office of public trust." Calling for the familiar affirmative oath "to support and defend" the Constitution, this section is similar in language and intent to Article VI of the federal Constitution. The court points out that this regular constitutional pledge voices "the highest loyalty that can be demonstrated by any citizen" and that "the exacting of any other test of loyalty would be antithetical to our fundamental concept of freedom."

This, of course, is the position which opponents of test oaths, including *The Nation*, have consistently taken. The concept of American citizenship would be

immediately and gravely imperiled if we were ever to substitute a specific doctrinal disavowal for this general affirmative pledge. "Any other conclusion," the court points out, "would be to approve that which from the beginning of our government has been denounced as the most effective means by which one special brand of political or economic pholosophy can intrench and perpetuate itself to the eventual exclusion of all others; the imposition of any more inclusive test would be the forerunner of tyranny and oppression."

Not only would it be difficult to improve upon the court's statement of the basic principle, but the timing of the decision is providential. Stanley A. Weigel, who represented the non-signers, has pointed out that it "may well mark the turn of the tide against a dangerous and un-American trend to judge men by what they sign instead of what they are." Certainly the decision will strengthen the hand of those administrators who today face much the same problem that confronted Dr. Robert Gordon Sproul in the spring of 1949. At the same time, the decision will bolster up the morale of teachers everywhere. Major credit for the victory must go to the Berkeley non-signers, who have demonstrated, once again, that principles never defend themselves but must always be defended by people.

The General Sows Confusion

IT IS not easy to accept at face value General MacArthur's statement to Congress that he is no "advocate for any partisan cause." His speech was a highly polished performance, every sentence of which appeared to have been carefully weighed. It skilfully ignored the constitutional issue, the question of subordination of the military to the civil arm, and not merely challenged the President's policies but plainly hinted that they had been adopted against the advice of the General Staff. Were these just the words of the old soldier bluntly speaking his mind before he "faded away"?

Whatever the General's intentions, the effect of his address has been to super-heat political passions already near the boiling-point, and as James Reston noted in the New York *Times* of April 20, to divide "Washington more profoundly than it has been divided at any time since the start of the cold war." As a consequence we are launched on another "great debate" which, thanks to the General's own dramatic personality and the orgy of hero-worship whipped up by a large part of the press and radio, will be carried on in an atmosphere highly charged with emotion. Yet the desperate need of this hour is the coolest possible examination of MacArthur's program, the assumptions on which it is based, and its logical consequences.

The General's main thesis is that we are engaged in a war with Red China which must be fought to the limit, since "in war there is no substitute for victory"—a dictum with dubious moral and historical authority. Therefore, he urges, if we are to avoid an indefinite stalemate, we must either send strong reinforcements to Korea or make use of our superiority in sea and air power to defeat the enemy. Adoption of the second alternative would involve the following measures: (1) neutralization of the Chinese Communist "sanctuaries" in Manchuria; (2) close naval blockade of China to support an intensified economic blockade; (3) removal of restrictions on aerial reconnaissance of Chinese territory; (4) removal of restrictions on Chiang Kai-shek's forces in Formosa, "with logistical support to contribute to their effective operations against the Chinese mainland."

The General implied that these measures would prove decisive and lead to a swift end of the Korean war. He declared emphatically that he did not favor the use of American ground troops on the Chinese mainland, and he brushed aside the risk of Soviet intervention. Thus his recommendations are based on several highly debatable assumptions. No doubt we could inflict serious damage on Chinese industry and communications by blockade and aerial bombardment, but China is a fairly self-contained country with relatively few targets, and it is very doubtful whether such measures could force Peking to sue for terms. Possibly they would enable us to conquer the whole of North Korea, but we should need a huge army of occupation to hold that area unless we then moved into Manchuria to safeguard our conquest. Meanwhile the bombardment of Chinese cities would surely intensify Chinese nationalism, the force of which MacArthur himself acknowledged, and solidify support for the Peking regime.

Again, we have to ask what form "logistical support" of Chiang's army would take. Does this mean that the American navy would ferry it from Formosa to the China coast and cover its landing? And supposing that once again the Red Chinese forces proved more than a match for Chiang's men—are we then to leave them to their fate? It seems clear that this policy could easily lead step by step into full-scale war with China.



Curry, *Franc-Tireur*

Les Nations Unies, c'est moi.

We need, too, to know more about the basis of MacArthur's belief that the risk of Russian intervention can be neglected. Is it better founded than his former opinion that Communist China would not intervene in Korea? We should not forget that the Soviet Union has a common frontier with North Korea and very large interests in Manchuria. Perhaps Moscow would be content to go on supplying its Chinese allies while waiting to see how much of our strength would be absorbed by the Eastern conflict. But it might decide that American offensive action against China, undertaken against the wishes of the British Commonwealth and Western Europe, as well as the independent Asian nations, would enable it to justify active counter-measures to its own people and the rest of the world.

The confusion of Americans on these issues is illustrated by the latest Gallup Poll, published inconspicuously in the New York *World-Telegram* of April 18. Of those interviewed, Dr. Gallup says that 62 per cent were opposed to the removal of MacArthur but that an even larger proportion were against "all-out war with China," believing that it would mean war with Russia. And there was a three-to-two vote in favor of greater efforts to find peace terms acceptable to both China and ourselves—what MacArthur calls appeasement. Obviously the public has not yet grasped the implications of MacArthur's program. We can only hope that it will do so when the excitement of his skilfully exploited "return home" begins to subside.

MacArthur Joins the G.O.P.

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, April 19

FRUSTRATED war heroes have conducted political campaigns before now against the Presidents who were their superiors. McClellan was nominated for the Presidency by the Democrats in 1864 after Lincoln had removed him from command of the Army of the Potomac. General Winfield Scott, recalled from the occupation of Mexico, ran on the Whig ticket in 1852 seeking vindication. Thoughtful Republicans, if they are doing any thinking during the emotional raptures of MacArthur's return, must be wondering whether they can really win an election on the foreign-policy issues to which, in supporting MacArthur, they appear inextricably committed.

In view of MacArthur's age, it is believable that he seeks no political office for himself. But his formal declaration that he does not want his statements used for political purposes can hardly be taken seriously. In every act since his ouster he has showed he was hand in glove with the Republicans. The House Republican leader, Joe Martin, served as his messenger boy to take word to the Daughters of the American Revolution and the American Society of Newspaper Editors that he would appear at their conventions. The General told the D. A. R. that the nation is seriously menaced by "internal subversion and corruption." One may wonder how he knew about this "internal subversion and corruption" after being out of the country for fourteen years and why he felt it necessary to complain about "regimentation"; but the refrain was familiar. It was the extremist Republican charge against the New Deal first proclaimed as long ago as 1934 by the Chicago *Tribune*, gradually picked up by others, and brought to full strength last year in the "big lie" technique of Joe McCarthy.

The speech before Congress, though purporting to be a statement on purely military matters by a professional military man, was a political address. It dealt with questions of high policy—the United States defense line in the Pacific, the future of Formosa, whether MacArthur as a field commander should have had the right to make strategic decisions extending the war to Manchuria and the China coast, our relations with the U. N. The applause from the Republican side of the House chamber was thunderous; Senators Knowland and Cain and even the sardonic Millikin grinned with delight as they heard the General echo their own words and demands.

Dramatically the speech was a remarkable achievement, and the millions who heard it over the radio were deeply stirred. The man's magnetism was apparent the instant he entered the House. With enormous personal force controlled by a rigid self-discipline, it is probably impossible for him to act impetuously: the deliberation with which he marched to the rostrum, paused, turned, thrust out his hand first to the Vice-President and then to Speaker Rayburn, paused, and then turned to Congress seemed the expression of conscious will. It was at least a performance of which a veteran actor could have been proud. In a Congress where good oratory is rare, MacArthur's sonorous phrases were striking, and his resonant voice, magnificently controlled and sinking occasionally almost to a whisper, should have taught a few politicians the value of speaking softly as a means of getting attention.

THE speech, in addition, was cunning. MacArthur did not specifically call for air attacks on Manchuria; he simply said he had asked permission to make "air reconnaissance." He did not dub our European allies knaves or cowards but confined himself to showing his resentment of criticism from "other countries." He did not try to explain away the contradiction in which published documents have trapped him—his cable to the *Freeman* disclaiming responsibility for the demobilization of South Koreans and then his recommendation to the Joint Chiefs of Staff that arms now available should be used

to equip the Japanese National Police Reserve rather than the South Koreans. As one of his adoring aides put it, MacArthur is always on the offensive.

He will have more hero's triumphs before he returns to Washington to present his case in detail in both open and secret sessions of Congressional committees. Eventually, however, the issue he has created must be recognized as a political issue, a crucial question of foreign policy, on which the General agrees with the Republicans.

In a formal speech followed by no questions it was easy for MacArthur to say that the Russians would "not necessarily" come in if we followed his counsel and broadened the war. But last October he was certain that the Chinese Communists would not enter the struggle. When he was crying for an attack on the Chinese mainland, he did not even mention the danger that once we were more seriously committed, the Soviets might strike in Western Europe. The papers have played up MacArthur's assertion that "in the past" the Joint Chiefs of Staff agreed with his ideas on the best way to handle the Korean campaign. At some time in the past their views may have coincided with his; two years ago, when they did not want to defend the Republic of Korea, they may have felt that its defense would entail war with China. They may have felt last December, after the Chinese intervention, that military necessity might eventually drive us to attack Manchuria from the air. Military necessity might still force our hand if the Soviets gave the Chinese an increasingly powerful air force based across the Yalu. Secretary Acheson in December certainly flirted with the idea of "limited" war on China, including bombing and a blockade. But the Joint Chiefs did not agree with MacArthur around March 1 of this year, when the General renewed his pleas for permission to bomb Manchuria and was turned down. The Joint Chiefs have repeatedly told Congressional committees that we should not risk all-out war with China and Russia on two fronts. General Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs, in his Chicago speech this week knocked down every major point MacArthur argued for today. The Joint Chiefs announced tonight that they had concurred in MacArthur's ouster.

Mr. Truman's foreign policy has been criticized on many sides, but at least it reveals no Asia-first astigmation, brandishes no general threats, will not lead to isolation from the allies with whom we have been seeking to build peace and collective security. It is not based on the pretense that we can open a "second front" in China by giving Chiang's troops "logistical support," when in fact American troops would be required to carry out the undertaking successfully. Mr. Truman's foreign policy offers no quick and easy solution of our troubles, but it allows us to keep working to prevent total war instead of inviting it. While the debate on which MacArthur has launched us will be prolonged and bitter, it will be an expression of our democracy. If we must fight the next Presidential election on questions of foreign policy, we should see that the facts and the arguments are made clear and then trust the good sense of the people.

Schuman Plan Doubts

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE signing of the Schuman Plan in Paris, dramatized by the presence of Dr. Adenauer, the first German Chancellor since Brüning to visit the French capital, marked the conclusion of one of the most debated agreements of our time. Eloquent homage has been paid to the Schuman Plan as the "first big step toward the unification of Europe," but a dispassionate analysis of its past history, its present status, and its future prospects injects a sober note into the exuberant rhetoric. It reveals that for the Council of Europe at Strasbourg to decide that the Continent, except of course the eastern part, should be unified in its structure and its destiny is one thing, but for the conflicting interests and traditions of centuries to be reconciled at one stroke is another.

The joke goes that President Auriol, when he was preparing for his trip to Washington, looked around for some gifts he could take to the Truman family. For daughter Margaret he picked a selection of typical Paris finery, and for "Papá" he tucked in his bag the Schuman Plan, finished and wrapped up on March 19.

This was the end of a long process. It was on May 9, 1950, just as the signatories of the Atlantic Pact were about to open their conference at London, that the French Foreign Minister made his sensational proposal, which he believed would "form the lowest course of the foundation for the European federation that will insure the preservation of peace." I was then in London, and I described in these pages the storm of opposition the plan encountered in Great Britain. At that time discussion centered on its economic provisions. It was not as clear as it is now that the Schuman Plan has a political as well as an economic side, and that both must be kept in mind in estimating how workable it is likely to prove.

Its political objective is the reconciliation of France and Germany, which is undoubtedly one of the conditions of European stability. In announcing the plan, the French government declared that the pooled coal and steel production of the subscribers would be available to all countries, "with no exceptions, as a contribution to the peaceful progress of the world as a whole." In those terms its political aims could not be opposed by anybody who recalls how much injury has been done to Europe through the generations by the rivalry between France

and Germany. But in reality the Schuman Plan is subject to the same objections as the Marshall Plan, which would have been an excellent idea if the Russians had not walked out on the Paris Conference in 1947. Both plans, unfortunately, become an entirely different political instrument in a world divided into two blocs, fighting a cold war yesterday, a limited war today, and—if Washington, London, Paris, Moscow, and Peking are not capable of finding a basis of agreement—a general war tomorrow. M. Schuman himself recognized that his plan would hamper further attempts to obtain a measure of collaboration among the Big Four. When Bonn complained to him that recent modifications of the occupation statute in force in West Germany were insufficient, he replied that "being anxious to diminish the international tension, he did not wish to break with the fourth partner [Russia] on all fronts."

While the Schuman Plan may eliminate one cause of European conflict by allaying the age-old Franco-German rivalry and merging the two peoples' productive energies, it has introduced a new disturbing factor by offering a kind of quid pro quo—the Schuman Plan for German rearmament. Just before agreement was reached on March 19, the American High Commissioner in Germany, Mr. McCloy, was reliably reported to have exerted pressure on the Bonn government to make it sign and on M. Schuman to induce him not to stress his opposition to German rearmament.

IN THE economic sphere application of the plan runs up against similarly conflicting interests. The Schuman Plan cannot get around the fact that French industry requires, for example, a great quantity of coke, while the German economy will certainly try to keep a larger proportion than the plan contemplates. Chancellor Adenauer as a shrewd politician tried of course to obtain guaranties and advantages for West Germany in the negotiations at Paris. He sought, above all, the removal of all restrictions on German production and on the expansion of the Ruhr industries. After obtaining the practical abolition of the International Authority over the Ruhr and its replacement by the international administration of the pool envisaged in the Schuman Plan, he declared that it was absolutely indispensable for West Germany to be permitted to exceed the 11,100,000 tons of steel to which its annual production is now limited. French industrialists are naturally worried. As time goes on, French consumers of coal and steel will become more and more dependent on the good-will of the Ruhr magnates, the former supporters of Hitler. And when the Ruhr is the chief source of supply for Europe, when the Belgian coal mines and the Italian metallurgical industries are reduced to a subordinate role, Germany will be, automatically, the strongest power in the European federation.

Opinions differ on whether the plan will eventually be put into effect. It must first be debated and voted on in the Parliaments of the six countries concerned. The most difficult hurdle it will encounter will be in the Bundestag. On April 9 the German Social Democratic leader, Kurt Schumacher, bitterly attacked the plan and challenged the "moral and political right" of Chancellor Adenauer to sign it. The Social Democratic Party is against it, the trade unions are against it, and, paradoxical as it may seem, some of the German industrialists are against it, and have said so in their organs, such as the *Handelsblatt*. All these groups have different reasons for their opposition. Dr. Schumacher foresees that "the industrial power of Germany will be strangled by French competition," and that the plan may create an international cartel controlled by the steel and coal magnates. He has promised a fight to the finish against it. The trade unions fear that the regulations and restrictions inherent in the plan will increase unemployment. The industrialists do not like the idea of a directed economy and want to obtain immediately the advantages promised them after several years. With the situation so confused, it is uncertain how the Bundestag will vote. Without its approval the whole plan is imperiled.

The British are much less hostile to the plan than they were when it was first proposed a year ago but are still reserving judgment until they see it in operation. London was not reassured by the way its major partner in the Atlantic coalition, the United States, intervened in the discussions. "Owing to the unfortunate tactics of the Americans during the final negotiations in Bonn and Paris," the London *Economist* said on March 24, "the British government finds itself among those with a grievance about the settlement that has been reached. The American pressure and mediation, which brought about a compromise agreement between the French and German delegations, were necessary and beneficial in themselves, but they were marred by a lack of consideration for the rights of the British in the High Commission in Germany to share in decisions regarding the reorganization of the Ruhr."

The Labor government is counting to some extent on the opposition of the German Social Democratic leader, Schumacher; the recent meeting between him and Lord Henderson was widely commented on in the European press. But knowing from experience that the Germans change sides rather easily, the British are not leaving the matter to the Socialists across the Rhine but are continuing their experiments with making steel by an entirely new method. At the same time they have, in the Gold Coast and other areas, taken measures to secure their continued control in the face of future German efforts to realize William II's dreams of an African empire. As long as imperialism exists, no Schuman plan will be able to compose the rivalries of the great powers.

Israel After Three Years

BY ALVIN ROSENFELD

ISRAEL'S coming anniversary, May 11, will be observed in an unusual way. While there will be the traditional parades and street dances in Israel, Prime Minister Ben-Gurion and his top associates will not be there. They will be in New York's Madison Square Garden, launching a $500,000,000 bond drive for the Jewish state, the biggest campaign of the sort ever attempted by a foreign government in the United States and an integral part of the three-year plan designed to transform Israel. What this signifies is a new approach to Israel's problems and a turning-point in its history.

The Jewish state has had only two birthdays, but each has been strikingly different in mood. In May, 1949, the people who celebrated the first anniversary of independence were magnificently, naively optimistic about the future, despite the oncoming wave of immigration. Labor idealists had succeeded over the years in making a laboring class out of shopkeepers and rabbinical students from Eastern Europe. Their trade-union federation, the Histadruth, founded in 1920 by a handful of men, now encompassed virtually all workers. Histadruth's comprehensive health and welfare system covered half the population. Its network of producer and consumer cooperatives played a key role in the economy. Its industrial empire, founded in the early Zionist days when private capital sensibly declined to take risks in the desert of Palestine, had succeeded so well that now Histadruth was the nation's biggest industrial employer. Labor's collective farms, the moneyless, idealistic *kibbutzim,* were one of the wonders of the world, and though they constituted a relatively small part of the population, helped shape social thinking. Labor's hold, it was true, had been weakened to a certain extent after Hitler's rise to power, when large numbers of refugees entered Palestine bringing with them ingrained middle-class ideas. But in 1948, when the state was created, labor still provided leaders and impetus.

Though the Cabinet was a coalition of Social Democrats (Ben-Gurion's Mapai), the United Religious Front, and liberal progressives, the men who actually ran the government were Mapai stalwarts who in their youth had drained swamps and built settlements. (Almost everyone thought that it was only a matter of time before the political differences separating Mapai and the left-socialist Mapam would be ironed out and Mapam drawn into the coalition.) Labor could with good reason look forward to continued dominance of the nation. Labor's goal was to expand Israel's population tremendously through immigration and also to keep Israel the unique country it was—a friendly place with little social friction, a high degree of social responsibility and discipline, a simple life but a high standard of living, no class differences to speak of, a mixed economy in which labor-controlled industry was of great importance, a labor orientation, a flair for social and economic experimentation.

BY MAY of 1950 optimism was replaced by a disillusionment which assumed dangerous proportions a few months later. True, the accomplishments of the first two years of statehood had been almost unbelievable. Agricultural production had increased by 50 per cent, industrial production by 35 per cent. Hundreds of new villages had sprung up. New roads, new irrigation conduits, a merchant marine, an air line had been built. But the hoped-for flood of foreign capital had turned out to be a mere trickle, while generous contributions from Jews the world over, plus an American loan, had failed to fill the gap. Some 90,000 immigrants idled in tent camps as a living reproach to the nation, and other thousands were underprivileged and but half-assimilated. The living standard of the settled population fell steadily, rationing became more severe, promised food rations frequently failed to appear. Dangerous inflationary pressures appeared, and bank deposits multiplied again and again. Imports outweighed exports eight to one, the black-market price of the Israeli pound was a fraction of its official value, and the shortage of hard currency was acute.

A certain amount of economic dislocation was inevitable. No nation could virtually double its population in two years without trouble. Modern Palestine, like all countries in the throes of growth through unrestricted immigration, had almost always had an adverse trade balance. Israel's production machinery and methods were antiquated. New settlements could not be expected to pay off economically for years. The potash works at the southern end of the Dead Sea, one of the major sources of hard currency, were not operating because the Arabs controlled the only route by which the product could be taken out. But granted all this, need the situation have become so serious?

The business community, represented politically by the small oppositionist party, the General Zionists, thought not. The government, it contended, tried to

---

ALVIN ROSENFELD was for two years the New York Post's *correspondent in Israel.*

govern too much. With fewer restrictions business would expand sufficiently and attract sufficient foreign capital to solve the economic problems. The government replied that an uncontrolled economy would be ruinous in a country with so lopsided a trade balance. The economic issue became a political football.

As industry experienced an unprecedented if inadequate expansion, friction grew between its labor-owned and its private sectors. Business interests charged that labor's industrial empire, which included the biggest contracting firm in the Middle East as well as the only steel foundry and the only cement works in Israel and employed 16 per cent of the nation's industrial workers, received preferential treatment from the Mapai-dominated government. Another charge was that Histadruth enterprises and labor-run producer co-ops were monopolistic. These factors, business claimed, hampered private initiative and discouraged foreign investment.

That labor-owned industry and labor influence in the government did hamper expansion of the private sector of the economy could well be argued, though the charges were of course denied by Mapai. But this would not have been a significant issue had not the unanticipated economic problems created, above all, by mass immigration made it necessary to woo private enterprise. The very size of the Histadruth empire, plus the fact that Histadruth was both employer and employee and that labor industries were clearly supreme in certain fields, was enough to scare off some timid investors. And since investment is always a matter of "climate," the charges were damaging whether they were true or false.

On the other hand, some private enterprisers, reaping easy profits in the classic seller's market created by the ever-growing population, were undoubtedly interested neither in improving their obsolescent plants and thus reducing prices nor in entering the competitive export market. Labor industry did make attempts to do both, and also took risks unacceptable to private capital.

There were other tensions. The cumulative social effects of an immigration of 20,000 to 30,000 a month in a country of 650,000 people were tremendous, particularly since this immigration consisted almost entirely of people who had received no Zionist orientation whatsoever, many of whom were old or had lost their skills and habits of work during years in concentration camps, and included large numbers of North African and Arab Jews with mental, moral, and hygienic standards vastly different from those of the older settlers. Every social institution in the country was strained by the problem of assimilation.

Among the settled population there was confusion and a loss of values. The novelty of statehood wore off and was not replaced by any new inspirational force. The public, rendered sensitive by the difficulties of daily life, was angered by the bureaucratic errors of a young and overburdened administration. Instead of a brave new world, the people saw ahead nothing but crisis. A black market was fostered by the frequent breakdown of the rationing system. Whither are we going? became a major topic of discussion among Israeli intellectuals.

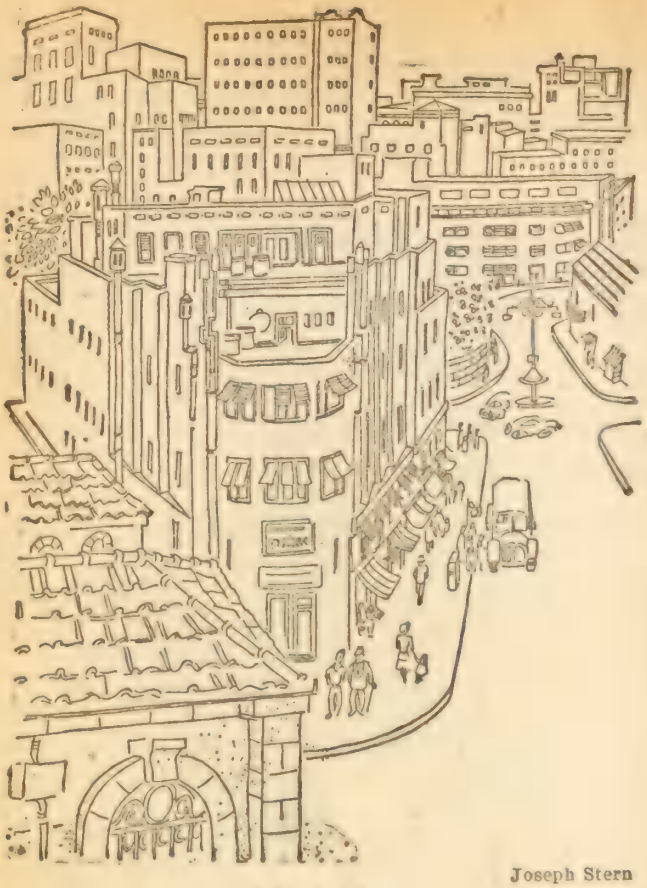
TODAY, as Israel approaches its third anniversary, food rationing is more severe than ever, the calorie intake is below the minimum set by the U. N., there is stern clothes rationing. Yet the mood of the country is one of sober determination and tempered hope. The black market, if not crushed, is under control, national morale is quite high, and the free-market value of Israeli currency is no longer falling.



Prime Minister Ben-Gurion

Some of the reasons are psychological. Ben-Gurion buttressed public confidence in himself by shaking up his administration, eliminating certain unpopular executives and attempting to end impoliteness. A vigorous campaign against the black market taught at least some people the basic immorality of the practice. Others learned the bitter lesson that austerity was here to stay and that they could not forever by-pass it by black-marketeering. The people have blown off steam and expressed themselves politically in a series of municipal elections fought on national issues and will have another such chance in the parliamentary elections scheduled for July 30.

Then, too, the expansion program, which faltered for a time in 1950, has picked up speed. Israel begins once more to feel as if it were going somewhere. Israel's frontier, the Negev, has been opened up. An all-weather road has been built from Beersheba across scores of miles of Negev wilderness to Elath on the Gulf of Akaba; new villages and experimental farms are being established; a scientific search for minerals in the Negev mountains has yielded promising results; a new road is being built to the Dead Sea potash works. In Galilee one of the biggest swamp-draining projects in Zionist history is under way. As a result of a new investment law granting substantial tax and other concessions to foreign enterprises, eighty-eight new industrial plants with a capital investment of nearly nine million Israeli pounds were set up in the latter half of 1950. Efforts



Joseph Stern

Julian's Way

(From "Jerusalem, Living City," published by the Government of Israel)

have been made to encourage business and export trade by the appointment of a non-party business man to head the Ministry of Trade and Commerce. Tax exemptions for cooperatives and *kibbutzim* have been abolished: this, depending on one's viewpoint, was either the surrender of an important social principle in order to cope with burdens voluntarily assumed or the abolition of a ridiculous ruling which gave an unfair advantage to one sector of the economy. The depressing spectacle of huge immigrant tent camps has been partially eliminated by the new device of work villages whose living standards are little better than those in the camps but in which newcomers have at least the dignity of productive labor.

Finally, there is the concrete hope of the three-year, $1,500,000,000 development program, which offers recognition that a state in being, unlike a subject nation struggling for liberation from foreign rule, cannot be sustained by idealism alone. The plan now taking shape is designed not only to finance the immigration and settlement of an estimated 600,000 persons in the next thirty-six months but also to make Israel self-sustaining. To do that, the people of Israel are asked to raise the equivalent in Israeli pounds of a half-billion dollars through taxation and bond issues, and America is being called upon for one billion through a four-point program which includes stimulation of private investment in Israel, intensification of gift-fund drives (particularly the United Jewish Appeal), efforts to obtain government grants-in-aid, and support of a $500,000,000 bond issue guaranteed by the Israeli government.

The program may not be a cure-all, but it aims to solve some of Israel's basic problems. Thus the largest single expenditure—$465,000,000—will be used to provide housing for the expected newcomers and to wipe out the hideous shortage which has doomed tens of thousands to existence in tents or tin huts. Even more important, $750,000,000 will go to modernize the production plant with American equipment and to create competitive export industries.

In its implications the program goes well beyond the goal of enabling Israel, at long last, to divorce itself from charity. It will, for example, permit the government to end the present unhealthy concentration of some two-thirds of the population in the narrow coastal plain by developing middle-sized industrial towns, surrounded by proper agricultural hinterlands, across the face of Israel. It will permit Israel to tackle the problem of immigrant assimilation more or less as America did —by integrating the newcomers economically first of all, in the belief that they will learn a good deal about Israel and modern life through their jobs, after which cultural integration will be, if not easy, at least easier.

A special bank which will not dare to play favorites has been established to allocate the funds raised by the bond issue. Histadruth's near monopoly in certain fields scheduled for expansion, such as cement, steel, and glass, will apparently be broken. The political and financial influence of Israel's manufacturing and middle classes will of course grow to undreamed-of proportions.

WHILE it is foolhardy to predict the results of an election in a country whose electorate has doubled in two years, there are signs that this summer's balloting may be followed by creation of a government reflecting Israel's gradual shift to the center. The General Zionists, who polled a puny 5 per cent of the vote in the 1949 parliamentary election, received 20 per cent in the municipal elections a few months ago and became the nation's second-largest party. They should do as well in the coming parliamentary elections. Many observers believe that Ben-Gurion, whose Mapai will probably hold most of its one-third of the national vote, may try to form a coalition with the General Zionists based on a compromise program designed to satisfy some of the insistent demands of business. (One thing is certain: it is no longer possible for Ben-Gurion to form a coalition with Mapam, whose leaders, once his close colleagues in Histadruth, have drifted off into a never-never land of Marxist dogma and demand that American government loans be turned down; they are themselves now plagued by a three-way intra-party split.) How

such a Cabinet would work, what its economic results would be, who would eventually dominate it and the nation, can only be guessed at. If a Mapai–General Zionist coalition proves able to work out an economic peace in which labor industry and private industry can live side by side, it will have achieved something unique.

The parliamentary elections will take place two years ahead of schedule mainly because the important political forces want an election. Ben-Gurion in particular is sick of his principal coalition partner, the Religious Front, whose labor and middle-class sectors, while bickering among themselves over economic questions, have attempted to maintain a semblance of unity by stressing religious questions within the Cabinet and Parliament. The coalition Cabinet fell in February over religious education in the immigrant work villages, but the long-threatened *Kulturkampf* over religion's role in the state has not taken place. Most people, including many of the pious Oriental immigrants, consider other problems more important just now and are concentrating on economic questions. Mapai, whose members have done much socially useful work in the new villages, should get a sizable part of the Oriental-immigrant vote.

A Mapai–General Zionist coalition would not be a great shock to Ben-Gurion, who is a pragmatist rather than a dogmatist. In almost three years in office he has shown no patience with pet theories or pet institutions. For example, he urged the *kibbutzim* to attract immigrants by offering them wages. (The *kibbutzim* rejected the idea as contrary to their principles; many now find it necessary to hire labor.) Convinced that a state in being could not depend on a militia-type volunteer army, he compelled the free and easy Haganah to become a regular army with salutes, officers' messes, and the like, despite the horrified protests of some laborites. (Today the army's role in educating and assimilating newcomers is a vital one.) He alienated members of his own party by tangling with the powerful cooperatives, some of which have developed a public-be-damned attitude. He has prodded Israel, which wants simply to be left alone to work out its own problems, from neutrality to an informal alignment with the West for the sake of its future military security. And now that Israel's survival is dependent upon American funds and private industrial development he seems willing to come to terms with a conservative party.

The classless, socialist, farmer-labor society of which labor idealists, among them Ben-Gurion, dreamed some forty years ago no longer looks possible. That perhaps is a pity. But history did not give Israel the luxury of time, time for the slow growth and the controlled, trained immigration necessary to build such a society. It is obvious that the rise of a strong middle-class party must have a profound effect. Yet it is also true that Israel still has a powerful labor federation determined to raise the general standard of living. Its collective farms may not have the impact upon the public mind they once had, but a healthy proportion of the population is being steered into agriculture. Israel is and seems destined to remain a vital democracy willing to risk giving the vote to the unlettered and the primitive, a melting pot in which depressed peoples are slowly brought to modernity, and a land with so basic a sense of morality that, despite drab austerity and economic and political crises, it clings to the quixotic policy of unlimited, unselective immigration.

A Right Insecured

BY JOSEPH E. FINLEY

EARLY in 1948, when Mrs. Erma Leaon decided to sell her house and furnishings at 2630 East Twenty-ninth Street in Kansas City, Missouri, she found a willing buyer in Reuben Street, a Negro. She knew her property was covered by a restrictive covenant that kept Negroes from moving into the neighborhood, but on May 3, 1948, the United States Supreme Court, in the case of Shelley *v.* Kraemer, decided that restrictive covenants could not be enforced in the courts. Freed by this decision, Mrs. Leaon sold her property to Mr. and Mrs. Street. Eight of the neighboring property-owners in Santa Fe Place immediately filed a $150,000 damage suit, claiming the value of their property was destroyed by violation of the covenant. Erma Leaon, her former husband, James A. Leaon, and the Streets were named as defendants.

The trial court dismissed the action, holding that the Supreme Court's decision in the Shelley case put an end to court enforcement of restrictive covenants. The white property-owners then appealed to the Supreme Court of Missouri, which handed down a decision that neatly skirted Shelley *v.* Kraemer and endangered the whole principle of equal rights in housing.

The Shelley case was an injunction suit against Negroes to keep them out of property covered by these contracts. Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson, for a unanimous court, ruled that enforcement of these covenants by state courts was state action. The Fourteenth Amendment says,

JOSEPH E. FINLEY is a young Massachusetts attorney specializing in labor and social law.

"nor shall any state . . . deny to any person . . . the equal protection of the laws." A state court's enforcement of these covenants would be a state denial of equal protection of the laws to Negroes.

But an embarrassing decision made twenty-one years before when William Howard Taft was Chief Justice had said restrictive covenants were valid. Because court decisions are relied on as the law, judges are reluctant to overrule past cases if any way can be found to avoid it. Vinson's way of getting around this old case without squarely overruling it was a thinly conceived statement that while covenants were still good, the question of their enforcement in the courts had not been settled before. This India-rubber trick led him into an unfortunate statement. "We conclude, therefore, that the restrictive agreements standing alone cannot be regarded as a violation of any rights guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. So long as the purposes of those agreements are effectuated by voluntary adherence to their terms, it would appear clear that there had been no action by the state and the provisions of the amendment have not been violated."

HERE was the opening the Missouri Supreme Court needed. It framed its words carefully. First it quoted Chief Justice Vinson's remarks. Then it said, "Since Shelley *v.* Kraemer also found the restrictive agreement, itself made by private parties, was valid against the charge of unconstitutionality, it may follow that an action for its breach rather than its enforcement might lie. For the breach of a valid agreement, there is ordinarily a remedy by way of damages."

The trial court was then reversed, and the case was sent back for a new hearing on the question of damages. The action against the Streets was dismissed, since they were not parties to the covenant and the Shelley case clearly covered them.

The Missouri court, however, overlooked one sentence in the Vinson opinion that most legal observers thought covered damage suits. "The Constitution confers upon no individual the right to demand action by the state which results in the denial of equal protection of the laws to other individuals." The other property-owners in Santa Fe Place had demanded court action by the state that would, in its practical effect, deprive people like the Streets of the equal protection of the laws.

Cases go to the Supreme Court in two ways. One is by appeal, for which provision is made by special statutes. The other is the common petition for certiorari, which allows the court a wide discretion in the cases it will hear. Since the Missouri decision was a questionable interpretation of one of the Supreme Court's most important opinions, it was very likely that the court would grant a petition and hear it.

But litigation is expensive. Lawyers' fees, court costs, and necessary bills for the printing of briefs and arguments make taking a case to the Supreme Court a heavy financial burden for the ordinary citizen. The Leaons, already suffering from these same expenses in the state courts, were unable to go farther. The petition for certiorari was not made, and the Supreme Court will never have a chance to rule on the Missouri decision.

A District of Columbia court, however, has taken a different view. In Roberts *v.* Curtis, a damage suit for violation of a restrictive covenant, Judge Alexander Holtzoff, who has been frequently criticized for his decisions in Bill of Rights cases, ruled on October 5, 1950, that damage suits were out, too. He said, "I construe the ruling of the Supreme Court as withholding any assistance by way of judicial action of any kind from the enforcement of such restrictive covenants. Obviously this ruling is binding on this court." Two facts limit the Holtzoff decision in the fight for free housing. First, the only federal-court decisions that bind state courts are those of the United States Supreme Court. Second, if the Roberts case does eventually get to the high court, it applies only to the District of Columbia, not to the states.

Even before the Missouri decision it was difficult enough for Negroes to move into restricted areas. Realtor "ethics," discrimination in mortgage and construction financing, and high purchase prices were holding the color line. Real-estate lawyers were working on other nebulous legal devices, but now the damage suit is their simplest, easiest, and safest weapon.

Since practically all state courts upheld restrictive covenants before the Supreme Court's blow in Shelley *v.* Kraemer, there is little doubt that they will accept the damage suit. The question of the legality of these suits will never be settled until another damage suit finds its way through a trial court, perhaps an intermediate appeals court, a state high court, and then to the Supreme Court. This would normally require at least two to three years and would take thousands of dollars out of the pocket of a white defendant. An organization like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with the strength and talent to fight these cases through the courts, cannot get into them unless a white defendant calls on it to represent him.

The most damaging effect of the Missouri decision will be its use by groups of property-owners. While they cannot keep people from selling to Negroes, they can institute an immediate damage suit. An owner willing to sell to Negroes would still look for a white buyer before he would want to undergo the expense and trouble of fighting a long law suit.

N. A. A. C. P. lawyers are confident, like Judge Holtzoff, that Shelley *v.* Kraemer is broad enough to rule out these damage suits. But until the whole laborious process is fought once again up to the Supreme Court, the restrictive covenant is far from dead.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Harvest of Profits

THE accountants' tallying of the bumper harvest of profits that corporations reaped in 1950 is now almost complete. For some two months the eyes of readers of the financial pages have been caught daily by such headlines as the following:

Du Pont Earnings in 1950 Largest in Firm's History—*Wall Street Journal,* February 20.

$834,044,039 Profit of General Motors Makes U. S. Record—New York *Times,* March 6.

U. S. Rubber Income, Sales Set Record—New York *Times,* February 20.

Alcoa 1950 Net Set New High—*Wall Street Journal,* April 4.

These headlines tell the story for some outstanding corporations, but there is nothing exceptional in their experience. Not only the vast majority of big businesses put on weight in 1950 but most medium and small concerns too. Nor was prosperity confined to a few industries; some did better than others, but all save a handful earned more dollars than in 1949, increased their percentage return on capital and enlarged their margins of profit.

These facts are attested by the National City Bank of New York, which in accordance with its annual practice published in its April *Letter* a table summarizing the 1950 income returns of 3,304 leading corporations. From this admirable compilation the following figures have been extracted.

	1949	*1950*
	(thousands of dollars)	
Total profits (after taxes)	$10,468,449	$ 13,563,279
Per cent change		+30.
Book net assets	$95,355,481	$101,908,347
Percentage return on net assets	11.0	13.3
Percentage margin on sales	6.6	7.7

A second table, provided by the National City Bank, shows how the major branches of business fared.

Number of Companies		*Net Income After Taxes (millions of dollars) 1949*	*1950*	*Per cent change*
1,693	Manufacturing	$7,046	$9,288	+32
98	Mining, Quarrying	219	282	+29
178	Trade	577	679	+18
248	Transportation	503	873	+73
293	Public Utilities	1,066	1,300	+22
99	Amusements, Services	93	102	+10
695	Finance	964	1,040	+ 8

When these broad business categories are broken down into industrial groups we find the following showing the biggest increases in earnings as compared with 1949: metal mining (+103%); leather tanning (+95%); tires, rubber products (+86%); non-ferrous metals (+ 81%); air transport (+81%); Class I railroads (+79%); aircraft manufacturing (+75%). Of the seventy groups distinguished in the summary, we find that only one, shipbuilding, showed an aggregate loss for the year. Eight others experienced a decline in profits. They were: dairy products (—2%); soft drinks (—4%); brewing (—26%); tobacco (—3%); traction and bus (—23%); restaurant and hotel (—1%); fire and casualty insurance (—26%).

Thus it can be seen that the profits picture was marred only by minor blemishes. However, as the National City Bank remarks, "the widely varying experiences of individual companies, even in a period of strong general trends, illustrate the need of using composite figures of earnings with caution." Yet while this method does tend to conceal the poor results of some concerns, it also serves to understate the good fortune of others.

Taken as a whole, the expansion of profits as revealed in this summary is so striking that it is not surprising to find that the National City Bank shows some anxiety lest uninstructed persons may be unduly impressed. Thus it reminds us that the growth of profits "represents in part merely the rise in commodity prices. . . . This condition of inflation has the effect of swelling reported earnings in two principal ways—despite accounting methods designed to minimize it." In the first place, earnings include inventory profits which are not available for distribution as dividends or for plant expansion since receipts from goods bought at lower prices must be reinvested in inventories at higher current prices. Secondly, earnings are really less than they appear to be because expenses are understated by charging depreciation on the basis of original costs, which are much less than replacement costs.

I shall be more impressed by the first explanation when I find the National City Bank or some other authority explaining at a time of declining prices that inventory losses are not real. And as regards depreciation, the practice and experience of different companies vary too widely to make generalization very fruitful. Many now working on defense orders are being permitted to depreciate new plant and equipment for tax purposes at the rate of 20 per cent per annum instead of the usual 5 per cent. Some concerns normally charge more depreciation than that allowed by the internal revenue; so that their actual taxable profits are in fact greater than those reported to stockholders. I remain unconvinced, therefore, by these attempts to gloss over the expansion of profits in 1950, an expansion which, 1951 first-quarter returns indicate, is continuing despite higher taxes.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Native Sons of Literature

THEODORE DREISER. By F. O. Matthiessen. William Sloane Associates. $3.50.

REVIEWING this book, the last and the weakest of a fine critic, is an unhappy task. I cannot but feel that the late F. O. Matthiessen was drawn to Dreiser more because he felt for him a vague political and religious affinity than because his native taste and literary interests were centrally or deeply engaged by Dreiser's writing. Although he saw, no doubt, that it is harder to say why Dreiser was at times a good novelist than it is to show that he was a poor writer, his effort at appreciation turns out, after all, to be a laborious one. The result is a summary view of Dreiser's life and work which reaches some high points of perception, as in the chapter on "Sister Carrie," but which in most of its sequences conveys chiefly a sense of weary desperation. What the book lacks above all is a focal organizing vision of the writer as a whole.

No longer close to the center of interest even of those who appreciate him, Dreiser today is not an enviable subject for any critic. Although his virtues were clear and considerable, he was anything but a complex artist. He was, as Mr. Matthiessen says, an American primitive, a naive fabulist of genuine power, an observant reporter endowed with a revolutionary genius for candor and with a simple, massive, almost maternal tenderness that is rare enough in any literature. But for more than forty years, in and out of his fiction, his mind persistently addressed itself to problems it had not the remotest competence to deal with. A commentator whose task it is to follow the course of Dreiser's thought through an extended work must solve the embarrassing dilemma of having to be too waspish for a good biographer or too indulgent for a good critic. Mr. Matthiessen, having chosen the side of indulgence, seems to have suffered from a compulsion to declass himself intellectually in order to find a meeting ground with Dreiser. The chapters that deal with Dreiser's incredible philosophy and equally incredible politics take on an unhappy—and unsuccessfully—apologetic tone and even then fail to come to grips with the limited possibilities of their subject.

Mr. Matthiessen observes that "the sense of life that we feel in Dreiser's novels is larger and deeper than any of the patterns of thought that they advance." And yet he obviously felt that Dreiser's thinking, however little regard we may have for it, has a certain importance. In this I believe he was right; it was not Mr. Matthiessen who attempted to make a philosopher of Dreiser but Dreiser himself. Dreiser was not content just to feel or express the pathos of existence. All his life he was bedeviled by the need to *understand* what he felt, and to understand it in large and ambitious terms. But his fumbling with metaphysics and social philosophy derives its interest for us not from the value of its content but from its representative and even symptomatic character. Dreiser is the common man thinking. Just as his ornate and archaically allusive prose is the attempt of an Indiana boy to be "literary," so his ponderous love of generalization is the attempt of a citizen to be a philosopher.

If there is not much to say about Dreiser from the standpoint of currently fashionable criticism, there is still something left to say about him as the primary representative of a phase of our literary history or as a folk figure, a sample of American life. He was the crucial actor in the emergence of a distinctly new strain in our literature at the turn of the century, when a relatively bookish culture, given to reflection and possessing a great deal of poise, was being challenged by a crass but enterprising kind of reportorial imagination whose primary condition was not books but experience—very often an overwhelming kind of experience too full of shock to be easily mastered. Dreiser still needs to be placed in historical context with other, less viable writers like Jack London and Frank Norris—almost all of them realists and naturalists, most of them undereducated men driven by a need to express themselves in large elemental terms and obsessed with ill-digested philosophical systems.

The crucial problem in these naturalist writers is their moral ambiguity. Paul Elmer More posed it a long time ago when he pointed to an "oscillation" in Dreiser's views of life "between a theory of evolution which sees no progress save the survival of the rapaciously strong and a humanitarian feeling of solidarity with the masses who are exploited in the process." The historical and psychological roots of this ambivalence still remain an open question for anyone who is interested in this literary type or in the important strain in the popular imagination that it represents. It led, on one hand, to the note of protest in Norris's social novels, the socialism of London, the latter-day communism of Dreiser and Sherwood Anderson. It was manifested, on the other hand, in the dismal racism, or anti-Semitism, the "hard" Nietzscheanism and social-Darwinian individualism that one finds in varying degrees of emphasis in the first three of these men. All four pass back and forth from moods of passivity, in which the savage processes of the American jungle are either quietly accepted or openly glorified, into moods of flaming revolt, in which there appears an equally intense moral protest against the human consequences.

No one has yet unraveled the full meaning for our national life of these native sons of literature, and it would be difficult to do so adequately in any volume in which Dreiser figures alone and out of context. It would be hard to say all that ought to be said about Dreiser without seeming to undervalue those qualities for which his writing must be respected, but one must begin with more than a candid acceptance of his limitations; they must be taken as the major premise and the primary clue of any study that aims to sound his significance.

RICHARD HOFSTADTER

Time to Clean House

CONGRESS: CORRUPTION AND COMPROMISE. By H. H. Wilson. Rinehart and Company. $3.50.

CONTEMPT for rather than of Congress is the theme of this angry and provocative little book. Professor Wilson recognizes clearly that respect for its institutions is fundamental to the survival of representative democratic government. His concern, then, is with our popular American contempt for Congress, for our elected representatives and for politicians in general. A half-century ago the perceptive Mr. Dooley concluded "a pollytician or grafter . . . th' same thing"; today's common caricature of elected politicians as pompous, broad-hatted, string-tied windbags, shoulder-deep in the pork barrel, hardly suggests a healthier respect for high public office or for the men we send to office. Contempt for Congress and for Congressmen, a joking and cynical expectation of corruption in high offices—these attitudes eat away at the very foundation of free government. It is well that as frank a scholar as Professor Wilson has focused his attention on this most important problem of our democracy.

What responsibility must Congress assume for these attitudes? Liberally quoting chapter and verse from Congressional history, the author recounts many instances when individual Congressmen have been guilty of corruption or political immorality. Representative James M. Curley, convicted and imprisoned for using the United States mails to defraud; Representative J. Parnell Thomas, erstwhile investigator of other citizens, convicted and imprisoned for forcing kick-backs of government pay checks from supposed secretarial help; Representative Andrew Jackson May, convicted and imprisoned for bribery and conspiracy committed while war-time chairman of the important House Military Affairs Committee: these are but better-known names on the roll call of Congressional criminals.

Professor Wilson gets directly to the heart of Congress's culpability when he notes its complacent and do-nothing attitude. In the case of Representative Curley, from his first indictment in late 1943 to the end of his second term in January, 1947, "there is no evidence that the subject was ever discussed in the House of Representatives, nor any suggestion of any disciplinary action to protect the integrity of that body's reputation with the public." In most such cases Congress has adopted an irresponsible attitude of hear no evil, see no evil, speak no evil.

Indeed, rather than restore public confidence in Congressional integrity by meaningful action and public denunciation of their erring brethren, non-sinning members either have been conspicuous in their silence or have actively defended guilty fellow-members. Thus Representative (now Majority Leader) John W. McCormack could say of Curley that he had "exemplified and inspired others to follow the noblest traditions for which our country stands." To Andrew Jackson May, Representative McCormack insisted that "history will record that the part you played . . . would justifiably place you as one of the foremost Americans of this generation." In a college fraternity such shenanigans might be tolerated; in

"The most valuable contribution to our knowledge of sex since the early work of Freud," says PHILIP WYLIE of

PATTERNS OF SEXUAL BEHAVIOR

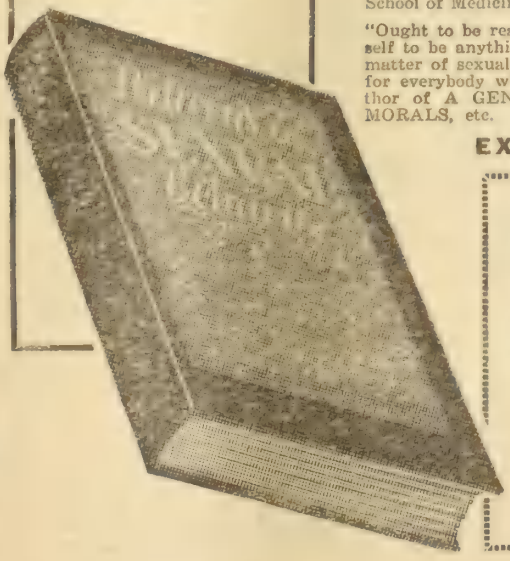
By DR. CLELLAN S. FORD and FRANK A. BEACH.

This is the most complete study ever made of sex behavior. The authors' purpose has been to promote a better understanding of sexual behavior in any society. By comparing the sex patterns of 190 contemporary societies and including that of animals, they place the findings of Dr. Kinsey and other specialists in a broader perspective.

Here you will find—in a readable fascinating book—vital facts about the sexual life of both men and women: "normal" and "abnormal" sex practices, preferences and taboos . . . facts for the first time made available to the general public . . . facts which will help the reader gain a clearer, healthier understanding of himself and others.

CHAPTER BY CHAPTER

- The Task and the Methods
- The Nature of Coitus
- Circumstances of Intercourse
- Stimulation Associated with Coitus
- Attracting a Sex Partner
- Homosexual Behavior
- Sexual Relations Between Different Species
- Self-Stimulation and Spontaneous Orgasm
- Individual Development of Sexual Behavior
- Fertility Cycles
- Maturity and Old Age
- Human Sexual Behavior in Perspective
- Glossary
- Bibliography
- Index
- Authors' Note



ENTHUSIASTIC ENDORSEMENTS:

"A stunning job . . . it infinitely widens the readers' insights." —Marynia F. Farnham, M.D., co-author of MODERN WOMAN: THE LOST SEX and author of THE ADOLESCENT.

"PATTERNS OF SEXUAL BEHAVIOR might easily be the outstanding book of the year for psychologists and an important book for everyone interested in human behavior."—Edwin G. Boring, Professor of Psychology, Harvard University.

"Extraordinarily useful and valuable . . . it has beautiful lucidity and simplicity."—Dr. Lawrence S. Kubie, Clinical Professor of Psychiatry and Mental Hygiene, Yale University School of Medicine.

"Ought to be read by every single person who presumes himself to be anything more than an ignoramus and bigot in the matter of sexuality . . . I would like to be able to buy a copy for everybody who can read—and think!"—Philip Wylie, author of A GENERATION OF VIPERS, AN ESSAY ON MORALS, etc.

EXAMINE IT 10 DAYS FREE

MAIL THE COUPON TODAY

HARPER & BROTHERS
51 East 33rd St., New York 16

Gentlemen: Please send me *Patterns of Sexual Behavior* for 10 days' FREE examination. Within that time I will remit $4.50, plus a few cents mailing charges, or return the book.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZONE ____ STATE_____

SAVE: If you enclose payment, publisher will pay postage. Same return privilege.
5013A

the sovereign legislative body of a great nation they are unpardonable.

Unfortunately Professor Wilson's efforts toward an explanation of the dynamics of Congressional corruption are somewhat confused. With much good-will, much moral indignation, and real enthusiasm for his task, the author strikes out nobly—but in many different and sometimes inconsistent directions. Corrupt business men behind corrupt politicians, America's modern industrial system and its anti-social individualism, the low moral tone of a sick society, the absence of specific programs for national political parties—these are all singled out as causes of corruption. No single factor, however, is examined consistently and completely. Nor does the author successfully fuse these many points into a meaningful analysis of the difficult problem of corruption in Congress.

The solutions offered by Professor Wilson for the problems he has raised are disappointing. In large part this is because he is not prepared to deal with these problems on the level at which he urges the reader to approach them. The author writes that "the problem of political ethics is soluble only at the cultural level, and in terms of a new formulation of dominant social values and incentives." He adds that "change, then, not merely procedural or piecemeal reform . . . but *basic* change, is needed." These fine sentiments begin the book's final chapter, Strategy for Democracy, but they are followed by tactical suggestions that are most commonplace by comparison: specific programs of legislative plans for national parties, financial support for individual Congressmen by the national parties, effective party organization within Congress. These are sound suggestions; but following the author's conclusion that basic changes at the cultural level are imperative, they are disappointingly anti-climactic.

Wilson has made a beginning and it would be well were political scientists in general to apply themselves to the problem of political corruption with the same sense of urgency that characterizes this book.

RICHARD D. HEFFNER

Pride of Maturity

THE MORNING WATCH. By James Agee. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.25.

JAMES AGEE was born in the South and retains the pride and piety and love of language of the Southern writer. Yet he has lived many years in the North and had unashamed traffic with its profane institutions—especially with what the biography of him on the jacket of "The Morning Watch" calls, in an ominously suggestive metaphor, "*Fortune's* blood-brother, *Time.*" And this was probably to his advantage. He fraternized not so much with the North itself as with a certain domain of popular art and feeling that is presumably nation-wide. Spared the patrician pathos of many Southerners, he found at the same time congenial objects for his passion.

Or *nearly* found; for to at least one admirer of his there was something slightly wrong, faintly oppressive, in Agee's way of working off an unlimited capacity for devotion on Franklin Roosevelt, Charlie Chaplin, the share-croppers, and various Class B movies. The objects were worthy; there was only, on the whole, some failure of correspondence between their worthiness and his words. Genius he surely had; the trouble perhaps lay in his trying to read that genius into things not of his own making. In a vague way his instinct resembled that of Proust, whose genius was of a kind that could only portray genius, nothing but genius, whether in painters, duchesses, or elevator boys. Yet where Proust actually recreated his powers, Agee was content to delegate his.

One says this the more freely because "The Morning Watch" represents a change in Agee's work. It is not "journalism," even the wonderful journalism of "Let Us Now Praise Famous Men." It is a story, completely a story; and it is mostly a very good one. "The Morning Watch" belongs to that familiar class of narratives having to do with youthful "initiations" into life; and because Agee knows the tradition well and is intent on transforming it, this is an advantage. Where so many writers show sympathy for the vague lost innocence of their boy-heroes, Agee is more concerned with the state into which his own boy-hero is being inducted, the pride of maturity. In fact "The Morning Watch" is the story of an experience primarily religious.

"Could ye not watch with me an hour?" Christ demanded of his disciples; and with this challenging text working in his mind, Richard, a student in a Catholic boarding-school in the Southern mountains, resolves to succeed where the disciples failed. In the course of a routine vigil kept by the members of the school during the early hours of



Good Friday he will surpass not only the disciples but his own fellow-students. For he is fatherless and his mother will not see him; he feels somewhat estranged from his fellow-students and in his estrangement a little inferior to them. His very devoutness is to him suspect: he fears it to be only a means of relief from "his desolation of loneliness," only a form of false pride. And so, kneeling in the chapel, "the waxed floor brutal against [his] bones," he remains until nearly dawn, praying or reflecting or merely maundering, engaged in trying to make his false pride true. This prolonged purgatorial ordeal fills the middle section of Agee's three-part story and is much the best thing in it. The organization is properly intricate; the language is constantly alert to all that is profound, touching, trivial, or funny in the boy's thoughts; and there is a steady development toward the culminating moment when Richard comes to the desired state of self-oblivion.

There is more to the process than these words suggest; and it is the story's great merit that, whatever the implications for theology, the process remains true and powerful as drama. The scene ends with a magnificent passage of ecstasy and broken speech as Richard stares at the wilted flowers and guttering candles before the altar:

> No more I could do, he reflected, if I stayed all night. No more. No use: and he continued merely to look without thought at the emblazoned ruin. "Goodbye," something whispered from incalculably deep within him. *O goodbye, goodbye,* his heart replied. A strange and happy sorrow filled him. *It is finished,* his soul whispered.

But the *story* is not finished; and unfortunately the scene that follows is not so well conceived. As we watch Richard going swimming at dawn with two unregenerate companions, earning their respect by diving deep and by destroying a snake, measuring the size of his genitals by the size of theirs, and wearing proudly a locust's cast-off shell, we wonder if his triumph in the chapel is not being capitalized on to an extent that is hardly legitimate, if it is not being extended too easily into the whole province of his sexual and social being. His total success seems something that is thrust on Richard. By gaining everything and forfeiting nothing he breaks out of the conditions of the story, of any story, if not of human experience itself. And the action ends by seeming abstract, the symbolism of snake and water merely mechanical. The fault is not that "The Morning Watch" is too "affirmative." No one objects to affirmations but only to affirmations that are made in a void.

"The Morning Watch" doubtless seeks to accomplish too much, but it still accomplishes a great deal—more than any American story by a new writer in the field has accomplished for some years. It may be that as he writes further stories Agee's demands on the form will relax to the point where a full success will be his. Certainly "The Morning Watch" is the *kind* of writing that seems to answer best to his genius for piety and style. F. W. DUPEE

Exercise in Hatred

VIPER IN THE FIST. By Hervé Bazin. Translated from the French by W. J. Strachan. Prentice Hall. $2.75.

HERVE BAZIN is a prominent younger French novelist, and "Viper in the Fist," his first novel, has enjoyed considerable success in Europe. Reading it, one wonders why the French are so titillated by the depravity that they find in Faulkner and in our American school of hard-boiled writers.

For this is the story of a boy's hatred of his mother (the viper), told with a kind of genial viciousness that is enough to make one's hackles rise. The boy and his mother—she is always referred to as Folcoche, a telescoping of "dirty swine"—are part of a decaying aristocratic family in a crumbling old estate tucked away in a sleepy corner of France. There is a vivid gracefulness in the descriptions of the family, the servants, the tutors, and the rotten-ripe surroundings that is reminiscent of Vladimir Nabokov's writings about his own aristocratic childhood in Russia; but Bazin has chosen to subordinate this to his hymn of mother-hate, which gradually swells to include hatred of love, friendship, and people in general.

This extended essay in contempt for humanity is done in the manner of Céline; despite the vast difference in milieu it inevitably echoes Céline's hysteria in "Death on the Instalment Plan." One hesitates to recommend "Viper in the Fist" to American read-

Selected for "Nation" Readers

PATTERN FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE

by WILLIAM F. WHYTE

Professor, N. Y. State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University

A success story of human relations, told through the lives of individual men—management and workers—who fought to a deadlock, and then discovered that their differences could be resolved with a victory for both sides. "... a microscopic examination of union-management relations at its best."—*Frederick H. Harbison,* University of Chicago. $3.50

THE STRUCTURE OF LABOR MARKETS

Wages and Labor Mobility in Theory and Practice

by LLOYD G. REYNOLDS

Professor of Economics, Yale University

A leading economist presents the first full-scale study of a local labor market that effectively analyzes wages and labor mobility *together* and examines the relation between them. A landmark in the development of wage theory. $4.50

HOW GOOD IS YOUR SCHOOL?

A Handbook to Help Parents

by WILBUR A. YAUCH

Author of "Improving Human Relations in School Administration"

Designed for every parent and taxpayer who is concerned about the quality of his children's schooling, this book outlines the best current educational practices, and makes practical suggestions for judging and improving the calibre of education in your community. $2.75

At your bookstore or from

HARPER & BROTHERS

49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N. Y.

PUBLISHER'S OVERSTOCK

Original Editions New—Order Now!

Welcome to the Castle: Alfred Hayes..... .60
Ceremony of Innocence: Elizabeth Webster..... .60
The West At Bay: Barbara Ward..... .60
The Sure Thing: Merle Miller..... .60
Three Short Novels by Vercors..... .60
Trollope, A Commentary: Michael Sadleir..... 1.00
Perplexities & Paradoxes: Miguel Unamuno..... 1.00
Fruits of the Earth: Andre Gide..... 1.50
Tristan & Iseult (Pantheon Edition)..... 1.50
Daphne & Chloe: (Pantheon) Maillol woodcuts..... 1.50
From Boethoven to Shostakovich: Graf, $4.75 list.... 1.50
The Nine Young Men: Wesley McCune..... 1.50
Fragments of a Great Confession: Theodor Reik.... 2.00
Insight and Outlook: Arthur Koestler, $5 list..... 2.50
Genuine and False: Hans Tietze (art forgery)..... 2.00
History Russian Art: C. Bunt (profusely illustrated) 3.00
The James Family: F. O. Mathiessen (Knopf)..... 3.00
The Wagner Operas: Ernest Newman, $7.50 (Knopf).. 3.50

The following 8 titles from Library of Living Philosophers, Northwestern University

Bertrand Russell; Ernest Cassirer; Ben. Croce, each 4.50
Taxte of Angels: Francis H. Taylor, $10 list..... 4.50
Kaethe Kollwitz. Zigrosser, $9 list (Braziller)..... 5.50
Woodcuts of A. Maillol: (Pantheon) $18 list..... 5.50
Menaboni's Birds: A. & S. Menaboni..... 6.50
Index of American Design: Christensen, $15 list.... 9.75

Postpaid U. S. A.

DOWNTOWN BOOK BAZAAR
212 Broadway, corner Fulton, New York 7, N. Y.

JUST RECEIVED — VOL 2, 2nd Ed.
Available Now! Vols. 1 & 2

GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA

Deluxe printing and binding. Profusely illustrated with color plates and maps. In Russian.

This new enlarged edition will consist of 50 volumes. The Collegium of Editors and contributors includes leading personalities in Soviet Arts, Literature and Science.

Regular Price — $9.50 per Volume
OUR SUBSCRIPTION OFFER—$8 per Vol.

Subscribers will be billed for each volume as delivered. We urge immediate subscription as the supply will be limited.

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
Importers from the USSR
55 W. 56 St., N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

Land of Liberty
By Francis L. Bacon

Colorful charts and accompanying text matter, tracing the beginnings of our democracy and developments under it.

D200N. 50c postpaid. Order 2, you'll want more!
Send a dollar bill to
DENOYER GEPPERT COMPANY
5235 Ravenswood Avenue, Chicago 40, Illinois

★

CHOIX

French Book Club

CHOIX *French Book Club* will provide you with handsome bound editions of new French books by famous authors on the day of Paris publication. Members receive ten outstanding books a year, eight fiction and two non-fiction, for a post-paid subscription of only $14. If you mail your check today your subscription will begin with Henri Troyat's great new novel, *La Tête sur les épaules*. Descriptive leaflet and French book catalogue free on request.

★

CHOIX
French Book Club
72, CHARLOTTE STREET
LONDON, W. 1 ENGLAND

ers, with the exception of those who have not managed to settle accounts with their parents, or those who can read with innocent delight of adolescent boys trying to drown Mama in the waters of the ancestral creek. Bazin is a clever and sharp writer, but in this book at least he has defeated himself.

HARVEY SWADOS

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

SEVERAL great works of chamber music by Schubert have been newly recorded:

Quartet Opus 29 (Mercury). The minuet and finale should be more relaxed; otherwise the Fine Arts Quartet's performance is good. Its sound is edged, and there are occasional surface defects. Mendelssohn's Quartet Opus 12 is on the reverse side.

Quartet Opus 161 (Westminster). The Vienna Konzerthaus Quartet's tendency to slow up tempos which are too slow to start with—e.g. the tempo of the finale—makes the work seem slack and diffuse.

Quartet "Death and the Maiden" (Westminster). The tendency I have just mentioned is exhibited in the Konzerthaus's performance of the first movement.

Quintet Opus 163. The same tendency is more pronounced and damaging in the Konzerthaus Quartet performance (Westminster). The Hollywood Quartet's tempos are excellent, but its performance comes off the record (Capitol) with less beautiful sound and with bad crackling.

Also two works of lesser stature:

Quintet Opus 114 ("Trout") (Westminster). The performance by the Viennese group is very good, and its recorded sound, though over-bright and shallow, is better than that of the performance recently issued by London (edged and veiled on top, heavy down below) and that of the Budapest Quartet performance issued by Columbia (edged; but the excessive bass that I reported seems to have been caused by my G. E. cartridge).

Fantasia Opus 159 for violin and piano (Columbia). Szigeti's playing is uneven—his tone wiry occasionally, tremulous a couple of times; the piano sound is wooden. Several small pieces are on the reverse side.

Of Beethoven:

Quartet Opus 132 (London). The Griller Quartet plays with crude inflection and accentuation in the first movement, changes of pace in the slow movement, and affected phrasing in the finale—all of which make the Budapest Quartet version preferable even though its recorded sound is less beautiful. The London record has a noisy resonance and hum.

And these lesser works:

Sonata Opus 47 ("Kreutzer") for violin and piano (Columbia). Casadesus's on-the-surface playing is inadequate and sounds as though he had the *una corda* pedal down. Francescatti's playing is better, but sounds veiled.

Quartets Opus 18 Nos. 2 and 3 (Allegro). The Kroll Quartet's performances are good; but No. 2, the less interesting work of the two, sounds brash and sharp-edged.

Serenade Opus 8 for string trio (Decca). Beautiful playing by Joseph and Lillian Fuchs and Leonard Rose; and the sound from the first side is the finest I have heard—with none of the sharp-edged or veiled violin tone of most present-day recording. The sound from the second side has some high-frequency distortion and loses volume and brightness near the center.

Among later works:

Tchaikovsky's Trio Opus 50 (RCA Victor). Too long, but with many fine pages. Rubinstein, Heifetz, and Piatigorsky play their instruments beautifully and the music with admirable discretion.

Brahms's Quartet Opus 67 (Columbia). A work I don't care for, played by the Busch Quartet with no beauty of sound and the cello too heavy.

Verdi's Quartet (RCA Victor). A charming exercise of the skill in instrumental writing and the subtle harmonic sense that one hears in the later operas, played by the Paganini Quartet with insufficient grace and lightness. Treble needs stepping up.

Franck's Sonata for violin and piano (London). One of his better works, well played by Lola Bobesco and Jacques Genty, though with some distortion of phrase by Genty, and the *Ben moderato alla breve* opening of the

third movement as slow as the later *Molto lento.*

Sibelius's Quartet Opus 56 "Voces Intimae" (London). One of the works with pretensions to a meaning that isn't there, well played by the Griller Quartet. Side 1 has a noisy resonance and hum.

Prokofiev's Overture on Hebrew Themes Opus 34 and Quintet Opus 39 (Decca). The Overture is an engaging early work; the Quintet an example of Prokofiev's dry grotesquerie. The performances by the New York Ensemble of Philharmonic Scholarship Winners are excellent, and marvelously reproduced. Swanson's "Night Music," on the same record, I find uninteresting.

Berg's Lyric Suite (Columbia). Makes no sense to me; and the Juilliard Quartet's performance comes off the record with no beauty of sound.

Among early works:

Telemann's Violin Sonatas in A minor and G minor, Tartini's in B flat, Mattheson's in E minor (Lyrichord). The first three rather charming; well played by Louis Kaufman, with Antoine Geoffroy-Dechaume pounding the harpsichord. Treble needs stepping up a lot for sufficient brightness and liveness.

Corelli's "La Follía," two movements of Loeillet's Sonata in C minor, Telemann's Sonata in D minor, and four traditional English tunes (London). All enjoyable except the Telemann; for the most part adequately played on the recorder by Carl Dolmetsch with Joseph Saxby, harpsichord.

Marcello's Sonata in F for flute (Columbia). A charming work, played by the great William Kincaid with his unique silvery tone and other perfections, which may be marvelled at also in Debussy's "Syrinx," a pleasant Sonatine by Henri Dutilleux, and some less consequential pieces.

CONTRIBUTORS

RICHARD HOFSTADTER is the author of "The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It."

RICHARD D. HEFFNER is lecturer in history at Columbia University and also teaches at the New School for Social Research.

F. W. DUPEE is the author of "Henry James," recently published.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

MAKE A WISH" (Winter Garden) is a pleasant affair which rises only at a few points into the creative abandon that makes such antics memorable. The scene on the line at the Folies Labiche, especially the futile attempts of the orphan and heroine (Nanette Fabray) to do her part as a tap-dancer, is very good. The bargain sale at the Galerie Napoleon—a ballet and pantomime—is the best thing in the show. On the other hand the décor and the dancing at the students' ball are downright ugly. Miss Fabray has too little charm and flair for the leading part. She remains throughout the gawky schoolgirl, wooden of movement, when she should turn into a bewitching and graceful Parisienne. Harold Lang as a Texan about Paris is fine when he's dancing, but his singing and acting carry little conviction. The lover (Stephen Douglass) has a nice voice but is otherwise unimpressive. Melville Cooper's performance as the Parisian wolf is by far the best of the lot, and Helen Gallagher's as the Texan's Poupette is the next best. The plot is rather amusing. The melodies do not linger on.

Shirley Booth as Cissy is responsible for what little gusto and comedy there is in "A Tree Grows in Brooklyn" (Alvin Theater). She has good support from Nathaniel Frey as Harry, and their scenes together, especially by contrast with what is going on around them, are very amusing. For the rest: the first scene is lively and promising; from there on, except when Miss Booth is on stage, the piece is tiresome and slow, not because it reeks of sentimentality about Life and Brooklyn but because the sentimentality is so heavy with artificial thickening. Even Miss Booth is hard put to it at times to keep her head above the treacle. The others offer no resistance. The music is, for the most part, quite commonplace. Miss Booth's best number, "Love Is the Reason," has an ingenious rhythm and a catchy tune. "Look Who's Dancing" and "Mine 'til Monday" are moderately engaging. The sets and costumes are attractive.

SELECTED LIST OF L. P.'s
33 1/3% OFF
Catalog available on request
DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB
DEPT. N-21
Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.
Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges
(50¢ minimum) SAME-DAY SHIPMENT

FIRST TIME! * from "Bach-Gesellsch." † from "Urtext" ed.
Pocket-sized, Low-Priced Editions
BACH* Well-Temp. Clavier, 2 vols., each..... .98
BEETHOVEN† Violin Sonatas, 2 vols., each.... .98
& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG
Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From
LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138 New York 32, N. Y.

JUST ISSUED
GUILLAUME DU FAY
13 Secular Songs
Instrumental and Vocal
Performed by Pro Musica Antiqua
E. M. S. 206 12" L. P. $5.95
ELAINE MUSIC SHOP
9 EAST 44th STREET bet. Fifth & Madison NEW YORK CITY 17 MUrray Hill 2-6154

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN
MARY MARTIN
RAY MIDDLETON
IN
South Pacific
Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with MYRON McCORMICK
MAJESTIC Thea., 44 St. W. of B'way
Evenings 8:30 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

Buy Your Books through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

BOOK

PLOT YOUR UPS AND DOWNS

Principles described in Readers Digest, McCalls, Redbook and Life Magazines.

With the **ANAL-O-GRAPH** you can now determine on a scientific basis your own most effective hours of each day and your best days of each month. A recognized aid in successful business, marriage and personal achievement. **Complete ANAL-O-GRAPH BOOK including full instructions and all charts, just $1.00.**

Money back if not delighted.

ANAL-O-GRAPH
Box 67 Dabel Station, Dayton, Ohio

PUBLISHING SERVICE

WE print, publish and distribute your manuscript in pamphlet or book form. *Send for free folder.* WILLIAM-FREDERICK PRESS: Pamphlet Distributing Company, 313 West 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

WRITERS!—Book mss. wanted for publication, fiction, non-fiction. Free booklet. Write today! **Daniel S. Mead Literary Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. C. 16.**

LANGUAGES

STOP WISHING—START TALKING

At home, in leisure time, quickly, easily, correctly master French, Spanish, German, Russian, any of 29 languages through LINGUAPHONE World's Standard Conversational Method. **7 languages approved for VETERANS training.** Send for FREE book.

LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE
8104 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

ART

SUMMER SCHOOL OF ART, July, August. Write: George Holt, North Bennington, Vermont.

TYPING SERVICE

MANUSCRIPT TYPING, theses, medical articles. Speed, intelligence, economy. AMBASSADOR OFFICE SERVICE, 17 East 48th Street. PLaza 5-1127.

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, $5.00.

PERSONAL

EDITORIAL ASSISTANCE to writers by woman experienced publishing field; mss. typed, proofreading. Proficient stenographer. Folk, AL 5-8649 or Box 225, c/o The Nation.

Butcher . . . Baker . . . Candlestick Maker ?

Where will they spend their vacations this year?

Why not tell them about your resort in the pages of

THE *Nation*

RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

$7.42 per inch, one insertion
Generous discounts for multiple insertions.

Write or phone today for further information.

ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT
***The* NATION**
20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.
BArclay 7-1066

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

New Evidence

Dear Sirs: Since writing to you protesting against Alexander Werth's report on the French attitude to André Gide (in *The Nation* of March 10), I have come upon new evidence that should, in all honesty, be put before your readers. Mr. Werth not only misrepresented the French press of the present but also went out of his way to falsify an easily verifiable report of the past by stating: "Two years ago, when Gide was eighty, dozens of young French writers were asked by *Combat* what they felt and thought about Gide, and the replies expressed almost unanimous hostility. To them Gide was the personification of all that was rotten, anti-social, feebly contemplative, and, in the last analysis, cowardly, in the French character, a poisonous plant of the between-the-wars period."

Intrigued by such strong language, I have now obtained a copy of that issue of *Combat*. Thirteen replies were printed. *Not one of them expresses hostility;* three of them show indifference to Gide; the remaining ten testify to admiration for the man and his work. Two of the group refer to his life or his writing as "exemplary," and two others stress Gide's "honesty" and "courage." Claude Roy states, "Gide has become a sort of national rallying-point"; and Gilbert Sigaux concludes, "I know that without him, whom I know solely through his work, the word *man* would doubtless not have the same meaning for me."

None of the replies could be interpreted in the terms used by Alexander Werth. The "rotten, anti-social, cowardly, and poisonous" Gide existed in the mind of your correspondent rather than in the paper he was reading. This is dishonest reporting; it makes one suspicious of Alexander Werth's reports on more vital issues than the death of André Gide. Furthermore, it raises a question as to the responsibility of a periodical that encourages such journalism.

JUSTIN O'BRIEN

New York, March 28

. . . the Fact Remains

Dear Sirs: Justin O'Brien, judging Paris from a distance of three thousand miles, always knows better. Now he has come out with a new blast, charging me with "dishonest reporting" and urging *The Nation* to fire me. Is not the shindy he is trying to raise over Gide determined by more than mere righteous indignation on Gide's behalf? It looks like it from both Mr. O'Brien's letters. I note, by the way, that he failed to answer my suggestion that he was indulging in a "smear campaign."

But to get down to the "knockout" argument about the Gide referendum in 1949. This was one of the good jokes of the journalistic world at the time. It was intended as a "celebration" of Gide's eightieth birthday, but the results were so disappointing that only a small proportion of the letters—most of them favorable—were actually published. This I have on the authority of two prominent members of the staff of *Combat* whose word I have every reason to believe.

Mr. O'Brien's second attempt to demolish me strikes me as being about as feeble as his first (in the letters column *of The Nation*, March 25). Putting aside Mr. O'Brien's gratuitous vituperation, all that is left of the hullabaloo is that there are people in France who like Gide and people in France who don't like Gide. I still maintain that the great Gide vogue of the twenties and thirties is a thing of the past, and that the young generation of Frenchmen, in the main, has a strong distaste for Gide, which, in my opinion, is a healthy sign. When I say this distaste exists, I am making a statement of fact, based on a sufficiently long experience in France, and Mr. O'Brien has not disproved it in any way. His charge of "dishonest reporting" I dismiss with the contempt it deserves.

ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, April 6

For Needy Congressmen

Dear Sirs: Partly as a result of reading *The Nation,* I have written to my Washington representatives with suggestions from your pages.

Do Congressmen and Senators subscribe to *The Nation?* If not I would like to contribute to a fund to send them subscriptions. I am inclosing a check for $10 for that purpose. Would other readers care to do likewise?

PAUL KERBER

Dearborn, Mich., March 15

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MAY 5, 1951 NUMBER 18

The Shape of Things

IN ADVANCE OF GENERAL MACARTHUR'S scheduled appearance before the Senate Armed Services Committee, previously responsible Republican leaders last week abandoned all restraint in attacking the Administration. Senator Taft, apparently campaigning for the Republican Presidential nomination as a MacArthur torch-bearer, inveighed against Secretary Acheson, General Bradley, and the other constitutionally chosen civil and military chiefs who are courageously seeking to restrict the area of combat in Korea without abandoning United Nations objectives. With Taft uttering accusations as vicious as any invented by the China lobby, it seems doubtful that the Administration can prevent the committee hearings from becoming a political circus, which will finally reveal every detail of our secret strategic plans. As the G. O. P.'s cry to bomb China grows stronger, our allies are formally notified that they must fear not only MacArthur's flamboyance but also the vindictiveness of Republicans who think they have in MacArthur a stick with which to beat Truman to death. The General himself fed their ambitions with his Chicago speech, in which he challenged the whole political basis of Mr. Truman's foreign policy. Now we have Herbert Hoover comparing MacArthur to St. Paul, and General Whitney referring skeptical reporters to a Biblical passage in which Christ gently reprimanded the doubting Thomas. It is a weird spectacle, a kind of voodooism in politics, witch doctors prescribing ritual healing for torn primitive emotions.

*

THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS CAN SCARCELY be interested in strengthening the tactical position of General MacArthur, but nothing could have given better support to his cause than their offensive thrust across the Thirty-eighth Parallel. The drive had been anticipated and partly discounted by General Ridgway. Nevertheless, its timing and its success in terms of ground regained provided the most favorable possible setting for MacArthur's appearance this week; the prospect of unlimited stalemate with continued heavy losses is an extremely appealing argument for the former Commander's policy of bombing Manchuria and helping Chiang Kai-shek attack the Chinese mainland. The offensive also tends to undermine the belief that MacArthur and his policy were the chief obstacles to peace with Communist China. Yet the last word has not been spoken either by Mao's artillery or by the retired General.

*

CONFRONTING THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF before the Senate committees, General MacArthur must defend his view that an attack on China would have ended the Korean war and not expanded it into a generalized struggle against communism in Asia. (He himself raised the question as to which he really wants by his comment in Chicago that "our objective is victory over the nation and men who . . . have warred against us.") Specifically, he must give his reasons for believing that China will not meet attacks on its territory with counter-attacks on Japan and Formosa and that an offensive war against China will not bring Russia into the struggle either in Asia or, more likely, in Europe. And he must justify his views in the light of the insufficiency of American—and Allied—effectives for the Korean front alone. It is a painful and dangerous expedient, as Walter Lippmann says, to pit a former commanding general against the country's highest military authorities, but by invading the field of national policy MacArthur has left the Administration no alternative. Now that the issue has been joined, the full implications of the General's world strategy must be made clear. We hope that the Joint Chiefs, within the limits of security, will express themselves plainly. The stake is nothing less than possible peace or global war.

*

AMERICA'S OLD PROTEGE, LIBERIA, WILL hold a Presidential election on the first Tuesday in May. Except for a brief interval in the 1870's, the government has been in the hands of the same party, the True Whigs, since the republic was established. The True Whigs represent the 12,000 or so American Liberians who run the country for the benefit of important American interests and also for their private gain. The 1,000,000 or more Afro-Liberians have never had anything to say about the government, which until only a few years ago sanctioned slavery. Free and fair elections are unknown in Liberia, and the government, as might be expected, is notoriously inefficient, with a long record of corruption. In November, 1950, a group of Afro-Liberians induced Didwo Twe to become the candidate of the Reformation Political Party. Mr. Twe was born in Li-

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 405
Wetbacks, Cotton, and Korea 408
Bevan Sounds the Alarm 408

ARTICLES

H. S. T. Is Still President *by Willard Shelton* 409
Spain from Inside 411
Storm Signals from the North *by Leslie Roberts* 413
Germany's Bad Conscience *by Carolus* 416
Government by Whitaker and Baxter, III *by Carey McWilliams* 418
Death for Association *by Mary Mostert* 421
Everybody's Business: The Driver Always Pays *by Keith Hutchison* 422

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

We Call Them the Brave *A Poem by Marianne Moore* 423
Arthur Miller Bowdlerizes Ibsen *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 423
The Lady of the Lamp *by Morton Dauwen Zabel* 424
Politics by Other Means *by Martin Greenberg* 426
Two English Novels *by Ernest Jones* 427
The Rich Man's Revival *by Carey McWilliams* 428
Facts on Film *by Mary Anne Guitar* 429
Drama Note *by Margaret Marshall* 429
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 430

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 431

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 411 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 432

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Executive Editor: Harold C. Field

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo

Literary Editor Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Washington Editor: Willard Shelton

Contributing Editor: Robert Bendiner

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

beria but educated in this country; he is supported by both Afro-Liberians and progressive American Liberians. It is now reported that the True Whigs, true to their tradition of one-party rule, have printed ballots on which only the name of President W. V. S. Tubman appears, despite the fact that Twe was legally nominated. Friends of Mr. Twe say that both the United States and the United Nations have refused to intervene or to send observers, although the United States has a large development mission in Liberia now. Sooner or later a serious struggle for power between the Afro-Liberians and the American Liberians is bound to take place. If this struggle is to be settled without violence, elements of the democratic process must be gradually introduced and consistently respected.

*

THE SPECTACLE OF HIGH GOVERNMENT officials, including Secretary of Commerce Sawyer and Deputy Attorney General Peyton Ford, in imminent danger of being adjudged in contempt of court has led various newspapers to denounce what is called the Administration's "lawless defiance of judicial process." Actually these officials are courageously defending the rights of the United States in the Dollar Steamship case. To review the facts, R. Stanley Dollar in 1924 bought some ships from the government, paid himself a large salary and a bonus for operating them, and neglected to pay the government the $7,500,000 he owed it. In 1934 the government began bankruptcy proceedings against him and obtained possession of 92 per cent of the controlling common stock. Reorganized as the American President Lines, the company prospered, and now Dollar wants the stock back, claiming that it was merely pledged as security. The government insists there was an absolute transfer. Dollar's claims have been sustained by a District of Columbia court, but the United States Supreme Court has specifically stated that there has been no adjudication of the rights of the United States. The government has now filed suit in California, headquarters of the shipping line, to determine these rights, and has asked the Supreme Court to stay the District of Columbia contempt proceedings until the principal issue has been settled. This is not "lawless defiance" but fulfilment of a responsibility. Several months ago *The Nation* noted reports that the Administration had been "fixed" in Dollar's favor. The record shows that the Justice Department has fought diligently in the public interest and should be supported in its continuing fight.

*

LAST DECEMBER AN EDUCATION CHAIRMAN of the United Automobile Workers in Buffalo, James Scheutz, was fired by Bell Aircraft because, according to the Army, Navy, and Air Force Personnel Security

Board, he "did not possess the integrity and discretion essential to the security of classified information." Scheutz appealed his case to an Industrial Employment Review Board in Washington on February 28 and has been waiting since then for the board to come to a decision. At the hearing neither Scheutz's loyalty nor his membership in the Socialist Party was mentioned. The complaint was focused on his union activities: in the Bell strike of 1949 he was one of thirty-seven union members convicted of violating an injunction against picketing; he had been seen wearing his navy uniform while demonstrating; he had appeared on another U. A. W. picket line in 1946; he lacked integrity and discretion because he "did everything the union told him to do." While Scheutz supposedly had the right to cross-examine witnesses, the "prosecution" produced none. The board, composed of three military members and a civilian chairman, were apparently guided by the feeling that work stoppages, for whatever reason, were sabotage. Meanwhile, Scheutz is suffering from the loss of his job and a damaged reputation. Granted that security must be maintained in war plants, the review board should have the responsibility of conducting fair hearings and then taking definite action to affirm or reject the charges brought against workers who are suspected of being bad security risks. Since the mobilization program will in the future affect more workers directly, a revision of the whole security procedure seems in order.

*

IMPRESSIVE SPONSORSHIP HAS BEEN obtained for legislation now pending in Congress to provide financial aid to the nation's medical schools. The bill (S. 337) would authorize grants to approved schools of medicine, osteopathy, dentistry, dental hygiene, nursing and public health to help them meet costs of instruction, improve facilities, further the recruitment and training of nurses, and establish scholarships. Included in the lengthy list of sponsoring organizations are the Association of American Medical Colleges, the American Dental Association, the C. I. O., the A. F. of L., the National Grange, the American Legion, the Committee for the Nation's Health, and numerous other academic, labor, and veteran's groups. The support of these variegated associations is indicative of the widespread realization that the tremendous needs of medical education can no longer be met solely with private funds. In order to avoid the uproar usually attendant on the introduction of such measures, the bill provides that the federal government shall be barred from any interference with academic matters. The real significance of the legislation is that the problem of providing medical care is now apparently being broken down into special categories. Ironically, this tactic may well have been borrowed from Whitaker and Baxter (see page 418 of this issue), who have long insisted that it is easy to mobilize opposition to a comprehensive health insurance and medical-care program but not so easy to oppose a series of measures directed to this end.

*

TEACHERS IN BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE schools in Colorado have been hastening to certify their loyalty since the discovery, some weeks ago, of a long-dormant loyalty oath on the statute books. One instructor —he is *not* a Communist—has resigned in protest. Perhaps because he was new to his position, Dr. George H. Ball, chaplain of the University of Denver, took the trouble to inquire into the background of the oath and discovered that it came into being the same year that the Ku Klux Klan entered Colorado politics—in 1921. In those days there was little finesse about "loyalty." Governor Morley, the puppet of the Klan, publicly warned that the budget of the University of Colorado would be drastically curtailed unless the Klan could dictate the curriculum and exercise a veto power over faculty appointments. The threat was ignored, but in this context the oath, although not a test oath in form, was clearly objectionable. And to Dr. Ball it is no less objectionable today. "When democracy is surrendered," he said in his letter of resignation, "it is surrendered step by step, and each step will seem to support the democracy it helps to destroy." The power to impose a mild oath implies the power to impose a severe one; the power to impose the oath, not its wording, is the point at issue. For the oath is a test of ideas, and universities have their own standards for testing ideas. Several colleagues have expressed agreement with Dr. Ball's courageous protest, which has focused attention on some fundamental questions. "I am being eliminated from the university," Dr. Ball told his former students, "not for anything I have done but for ideas that I hold. An American government controlling ideas is an American government which does not know its own tradition and which does not know what distinguishes it from the totalitarian world it is now opposing."



[For answer see page 408]

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT IN A little-noticed recent decision has taken the first step toward ending a pernicious practice that has played a part in raising milk prices. A good many cities throughout the country have contrived to hand local dairy interests a monopoly of the community milk business by means of ordinances ostensibly aimed at protecting the health of local consumers. A case in point is Madison, Wisconsin, which has an ordinance requiring inspection of all farms delivering milk to the city—but allowing the city to refuse to inspect farms more than twenty-five miles distant—and insisting on pasteurization within five miles of Madison's central square. In considering the constitutionality of this ordinance the Supreme Court pointed out that such regulations are not needed to protect the consumer's health, since distant milk sources may be checked by the United States Public Health Service, and are an unwarranted interference with interstate commerce.

Wetbacks, Cotton, and Korea

THE "wetback" problem of the Southwest is like the magician's rabbit—now you see it and now you don't. In the spring of 1950 the farm factories of the region had a surplus of labor. Thousands of workers were unemployed; families were stranded in hundreds of labor camps; eight or ten infant deaths from malnutrition were reported in California; relief officials were up in arms over the burden that had suddenly been saddled on rural counties. As on so many similar occasions, however, the problem was momentarily "solved" by the appointment of commissions of inquiry—one by Governor Earl Warren, one by President Truman.

The commissions had hardly been created before conditions were dramatically reversed by the war in Korea. Limitations on cotton acreage were removed, the San Joaquin Valley went "cotton crazy," and the "relief crisis" suddenly became a "man-power shortage." Failing to obtain labor in Hawaii, and keenly disappointed over the collapse of ambitious schemes to import South Koreans and Japanese, the large employers of farm labor sent their experienced and efficient emissaries to Mexico. Today 30,000 Mexican farm workers have gathered at staging points in Hermosillo, Chihuahua, and Monterrey, hoping to be among the lucky few chosen to work in the sun-scorched fields of the Southwest for a promised hourly wage of 85 cents, less $1.75 a day for board. But these are only the unsophisticated; for every Mexican worker who hopes to enter legally, many hundreds of illegal entrants or "wetbacks" will cross the border this summer.

The number of deportations—the reverse movement—gives a fairly accurate indication of the size of the annual invasion. In 1940 about 900 "wetbacks" were deported from California at the end of the season; in 1945 the number was 16,311; last year it was 224,588. The total for all the border states in 1950 was more than 500,000. Pushing out into all types of jobs, "wetbacks" have undermined wage and working conditions and in some areas have converted once prosperous border communities into ghost towns. The larger the "wetback" invasion, the less willing are resident workers to seek farm employment—a factor which tends to create a vacuum where none should exist.

A small volume of helpful recommendations bearing on the "wetback"—more accurately the cheap-labor problem—might be culled from the reports of the various commissions of inquiry. And recently the New York *Times* has published an excellent survey of the situation by Gladwin Hill. But the problem is not so much one of remedying specific conditions as of controlling certain factors operative in the economies of Mexico and the United States. Politically the problem has always been how to offset the powerful pressures applied by groups which have acquired a vested interest in the exploitation of cheap labor. The political potential of Mexican Americans is great, but it is not organized and national interest has been fitful and superficial. The present crisis, however, is forcing an "awareness" of the "wetback" problem, not as a picturesque phase of life along the border but, as a complex and critical issue of international importance.

Bevan Sounds the Alarm

CRITICS of Aneurin Bevan both here and in Britain have been very ready to ascribe his resignation from the Labor government to opportunism and to charge him with designs on the leadership of the Labor Party. It seems clear, however, that both he and Harold Wilson, who also resigned in protest against the Budget, have chosen to risk their political careers on genuine and grave issues of principle. They have found little support in the inner circles of the Labor Party or the Trades Union Congress, and, immediately, they have probably sacrificed popularity with the rank and file. For although there is much sympathy for some of their views, sentiment is against their tactics in exposing fissions in the government at a time when it is struggling for its life. Moreover, Mr. Bevan aroused antagonism by the personal attack on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Hugh Gaitskell, which marred his otherwise admirable explanation of his resignation.

Yet when this has been said, it must also be admitted that the resignation of these two ministers may prove to be a great service not only to their own country but to the whole Western world. Their departure from office has not been based on "frivolous grounds" or "narrow

---

Answer to Who's Who?—David Ben Gurion, John L. Lewis

issues," and it has served to sound a dramatic warning against the dangers of over-hasty rearmament programs conceived with insufficient thought for their economic consequences.

In their statements to the House of Commons Messrs. Bevan and Wilson complained that the Budget provided for a rearmament program which was in fact beyond Britain's physical means. It was based, they claimed, on assumptions regarding supplies of raw materials which had already been invalidated, and as a result any attempt to realize it in full would mean an intensified inflation. As Mr. Wilson put it, "If the financial program for rearmament runs beyond the physical resources which can be made available, then rearmament itself becomes the first casualty. The basis of our economy is disrupted, and the standard of living, including the social services of our people, is endangered."

Mr. Bevan referred to the recent report of Charles E. Wilson, Director of Defense Mobilization in this country, which envisaged an expansion in American production sufficient to provide all that is required for defense and at the same time maintain civilian consumption at its present high level. No doubt the plant and the manpower for such an expansion can be found, but since there is no parallel plan to enlarge world supplies of raw materials, the achievement of these hopes must be at the expense of production in other countries. For when it comes to competitive buying power in world markets for tin or copper or wool or rubber, no nation has a long enough purse to win against the United States. "The American government and people," said Harold Wilson, "have got to choose between their partners' defense programs on the one hand and their own stockpiles and the level of their own unrestricted civilian consumption on the other. Until the right choice is made, our defense program remains an illusion."

But, it may be argued, is not this a specious plea to the American people to cut down their standard of living so that the people of Britain and France and Belgium can maintain theirs? Actually, if the defense programs of the North Atlantic powers are to be completed according to schedule, there will have to be sacrifices all round. But as has been frequently pointed out in these pages, equality of sacrifice is not to be achieved by equal percentage cuts in consumption. That would be as unjust as imposing a 20 per cent tax on all incomes irrespective of size.

Let us consider, for instance, the question of newsprint, a vital commodity of which this country consumes more than all the rest of the world put together. Yet although many of our newspapers have attained an almost intolerable corpulence, we are reaching out for a still larger share, while good democratic papers in other lands are being put out of business because they cannot get enough to print four meager pages. Nor do the ill results of America's appetite for newsprint stop at that point, for the manufacture of this product requires large amounts of sulphur, which today is one of the most widely used and scarcest of raw materials.

Thus we must choose between maintaining our present colossal consumption of newsprint and other civilian products in which sulphur is a component and seeing the rearmament programs of our allies falter and some of their industries close down. The situation in regard to many other vital raw materials is similar: world supplies are not sufficient to provide for both rearmament and normal civilian consumption.

The solution for this problem is as obvious as it is difficult. Supplies of vital raw materials must be pooled and allocated according to need, while joint efforts are made to spur new production. Discussions along these lines have been going on in Washington and elsewhere but apparently in a desultory manner. Perhaps the resignations of the British Cabinet ministers will impart a new sense of urgency to these talks. If so, we may all live to be grateful to Messrs. Bevan and Wilson.

H. S. T. Is Still President

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, April 26

THE tidal wave of protesting telegrams that inundated Congress after Mr. Truman ousted General MacArthur led sundry observers here to write off the President as a factor in future legislation. "Congress won't give him a thing except the necessary appropriation bills," they said. Today, as the letters and telegrams still coming in show a steady swing toward support for the President, this opinion is subject to revision. The temper of Republican extremists on Capitol Hill is apoplectic, but Mr. Truman, who fortunately has no fear of a political fight, cheerfully continues to send recommendations to Congress and to walk with good conscience in the knowledge that both in firing MacArthur and in providing leadership to the legislators he is exercising his inalienable constitutional powers.

His message asking revision of the Defense Production Act was obviously worded with great care to provoke a minimum of controversy; it asked only for the powers absolutely necessary to complete our mobilization program and stabilize our economy. The farm-price proposal was a compromise: it did not request abolition of the general parity program or ceilings below parity prices, but only that the dollars-and-cents parity price for farm products at the beginning of a marketing season be held constant throughout that season. The President cautiously refrained from suggesting changes in the law now tying wage stabilization to industrial price controls, realizing that almost any change acceptable to

Congress might ruin the progress toward equitable wage control achieved since he intervened to straighten out the mess caused by Charles E. Wilson's disdain for labor advice. He wisely asked for—though he probably will not receive—authority to control speculation on the commodity markets. There will be a fight over rent control; Congress does not yet understand the severity of the economic stringencies inseparable from remobilization.

Mr. Truman's message must be criticized chiefly for its failure frankly to tell Congress and the people that in order to save the Atlantic alliance we may have to make substantial changes in Wilson's program of guns and butter too—for Americans. One does not have to agree with Aneurin Bevan's outburst against the "lurchings" of America's industrial machine or with his skepticism about the seriousness of the Soviet menace—so oddly like Taft's skepticism—to recognize that we have grievously underestimated the potentially disastrous effect of our rearmament plans on the living standards of our European allies. Eventually the fact will have to be faced by the Administration. But one can imagine the furor if Mr. Truman had challenged Congress with an appeal for American civilian sacrifices while we are arming—a little less butter for us so that our allies might have a little more. Senators Jenner and McCarthy would have cursed Dean Acheson and the "Attlee crowd" in Britain with redoubled vigor. Burnet Maybank, chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, might have fled from the whole Administration program instead of modestly disclaiming responsibility for the compromise proposal on farm prices. It is to be hoped that our friends abroad will understand the exigencies of American politics in the unfortunate circumstances now prevailing and be able to wait patiently, with interim adjustments, until the major issues of our times are fought out in next year's Presidential election.

SENATOR McCARRAN, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, is apparently going to be able to checkmate the Nimitz Commission on Internal Security and Individual Rights. Two months ago, when the commission was sworn in and appropriately began its first meeting with prayers, I wrote that it might indeed need help beyond the scope of human instrumentalities. But what it needs just now is a few more votes in the Judiciary Committee. The commission has been delayed in getting to work by lack of legislation waiving the Conflict of Interest statutes. These statutes, which are basically sound, restrict and in some cases prohibit persons working for the government from prosecuting claims against the government for a period of two years after they end their government service. In cases obviously not intended to come under the general rules, the prohibition has in the past been waived by special legislation. It was waived during the Eighty-first Congress for some persons working for Congressional committees, and the Senate Judiciary Committee itself recently approved such action. The Nimitz Commission wants a waiver for its members and general counsel. The bill has been passed in the House but reported "without recommendation" by a Senate subcommittee.

Senator McCarran's internal-security law was, of course, enacted over Mr. Truman's veto last year. McCarran no doubt suspects that in instructing the Nimitz Commission to recommend any changes needed in existing statutes in order to strike "the wisest balance between security and freedom" the President anticipated that revisions of McCarran's precious handiwork might be proposed. The Judiciary Committee can impede his program simply by refusing to approve the bill waiving the Conflict of Interest statutes. Actually, waiving these statutes is more clearly appropriate in the case of the Nimitz Commission's members and staff, who have a special, limited job to do, than in the case of lawyers who, as staff members of Congressional committees, become intimately acquainted with influential Congressmen. Thus far the commission has held only two meetings and has not been able to engage any permanent personnel.

ALTHOUGH Philip Murray is, happily, recovering from a serious intestinal attack, the recurring illnesses of the man whose name is synonymous with the C. I. O. inevitably raise speculations about his successor. The obvious possibilities are Allen S. Haywood, director of organization and of state and local industrial-union councils, and Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers. The next question is whether, as happened when a successor to Samuel Gompers was needed in the A. F. of L, a generation ago, the strongest candidates will kill each other off and a compromise candidate be chosen. John L. Lewis and William L. Hutcheson were the A. F. of L. rivals, but the man elected was William Green, one of Lewis's subordinates in the United Mine Workers. It is generally believed in labor circles here that Haywood's election would improve the chances of an organic union of the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. If Reuther should win, union might be longer delayed.

WHEN members of Congress are sorted according to occupation, a good many are listed as "newspapermen." Most of these are actually publishers, which may or may not be the same thing. Blair Moody, successor to Arthur H. Vandenberg, is a newspaperman who has moved to the Senate directly from the press gallery, having been an accredited, able, and hard-working reporter for the Detroit *News*. Apparently he had political ambitions unsuspected by his colleagues,

for he quickly accepted the condition of Governor Williams that he must run for his job in the Michigan election of 1952.

Governor Williams had known Moody a long time, and the appointment doubtless was partly a personal matter. George Edwards, who was backed by the U. A. W. and Americans for Democratic Action, had been defeated, unfortunately, when he ran for Mayor of Detroit; Williams, furthermore, may have hesitated to appoint a man whose political career has been most directly based on his U. A. W. connections. Perhaps by next year Moody can build a record commanding Democratic Party and labor-liberal approval. Oddly enough, few of his newspaper colleagues know much about his basic political convictions. Since his appointment he has announced that he will support Vandenberg internationalism and the "broad programs" which rescued the country from the depression.

Spain from Inside

[In recent months a number of interesting reports on Spain have appeared in the American press; a series of articles by Basil Davidson in this magazine gave an excellent analysis of economic conditions and the state of Franco's army. But here for the first time is a picture of Spain seen through the eyes of people who live under the Franco dictatorship. The private letters from which the following excerpts were taken were sent out of the country through various channels. To protect the writers, names of persons and places have been omitted.]

March 3

IT WOULD be hard to exaggerate the misery here. It used to be the lower civil servants, the small shopkeepers, and the workers who went to bed hungry six days in the week. Now nine people out of ten that you talk to curse the powers that be. Of course the head of the Civil Guard here doesn't talk, but you ought to hear his wife; she goes on like a red.

March 11

The situation is becoming alarming for that pig [Franco]. Even here [Navarre, where clericalism is dominant] there is a lot of anti-Franco agitation caused by the attitude of the authorities toward regional rights. It started two months ago with the distribution of leaflets written by extreme rightists—Carlists—which said that the regime was bankrupt and that its incompetence and corruption were spreading into every field. Dozens of persons were arrested and some were brutally beaten up. But the police were so afraid of a popular uprising that they turned loose many of the men they arrested. After that there was calm for some weeks. Now trouble is breaking out again. One has the feeling that something will crack.

March 12

Juan de la Cosa [the leading official radio commentator] continues to attack and insult the French and British, and to praise the Americans. Things have changed since the war in Korea began. At first the American soldiers were ridiculed and called cowards. Then came the loan, and now there is only praise for the United States.

March 14

The Barcelona strike was a formidable one, and the most extraordinary thing about it was the way people who you thought were for Franco sang the praises of the students and strikers. They weren't afraid any more to say what they thought. It was hard to restrain our impatience. People who had been in hiding for months, sleeping here, there, or anywhere, came out on the street to hear the news. Now we wonder what those Americans think who believed so strongly in Franco and were willing to give him all the money he wanted to maintain his hated rule. The United States is not very popular here. The other day in Madrid the students greeted the ambassador with whistles and catcalls. (Was that in your papers?) The ambassador paid no attention but bowed and took off his hat, and then the students hissed all the more.

March 17

The priest is telling everybody in the village that in Barcelona 600 priests supported the strike movement. I doubt there are so many good priests, but it is interesting just the same that ours is now so eager to show that he is with the people. He says that the Pope also is the enemy of Franco.

March 20

On the frontier, soldiers and police of all kinds are forbidden to talk with civilians. The government is terrified. Extreme vigilance is exercised to keep out French newspapers containing reports of the Barcelona strikes; in the first few days after the outbreak people fought for the few papers obtainable. One day Radio-Nacional says that all these troubles are the result of the intrigues of the reds and their friends the Masons all over the world. The next day it says that nothing much happened and that the people support Franco. What people? The Falangists perhaps, but a lot of them are disillusioned and demoralized. The black-marketeers, I guess, and the generals who have grown rich by stealing, but they are now dissatisfied because there is little left to steal.

March 22

A neat trick was played the other day in El Ferrol, the Caudillo's favorite city. A monument had been erected there commemorating the "liberation"—a statue of Franco holding a flag in one hand, his drawn sword in the other. One morning a bag of potatoes was found hanging on the sword, with the inscription: "He was the thief." El Ferrol, like other cities, has had to go

without potatoes and see them sold on the black market, at a huge profit, by people connected with the government. The police arrested many republicans who they thought might have done it. Nothing more has been heard of twelve of them, and it is feared they have been killed.

March 25

They say in Barcelona that the new Governor General, Felipe Acedo, an ardent Falangist, is offering peace to the workers. If he is, he can't feel very secure! The alternatives open to the government are to execute dozens of people in order to terrorize the population or to show "Christian generosity." If it chooses the first course, hatred of Franco will mount; if it doesn't, people will lose fear of the government and the strikes will have been successful.

March 28

One of the local Falangist leaders sought out Comrade X the other day to tell him that he, the local leader, like all the Old Guard of the Falange, had always been in favor of the workers and that it was only a few reactionaries in Franco's entourage who had corrupted the movement. The incident was important as evidence that they are ready to hold out a flag of truce to us.

March 30

After all their talk of patriotism and Spanish pride those fellows would sell Spain to the United States or to whoever wanted to buy it. But they cannot sell a nation which they have ruined. Nor can they export much of anything but hunger.

April 3

Now Franco is persecuting the Catholic newspapers. A year ago who would have believed it?

April 5

A second strike of students in Madrid. Some of the strikers obey precise instructions and form part of a widespread movement to sabotage the regime. Others are mere boys who see their mothers struggling with rising prices and are aroused to action by the strikers' posters and slogans. Another thing is worth mentioning. People our age who lived through the war allow themselves to be influenced by the argument that the overthrow of Franco would bring on another war. Young men of eighteen or twenty are not impressed by this. They say, "It is better to die fighting than to die of tuberculosis."

April 9

I have information from a reliable source that something serious is preparing in the North for the end of the month. [On April 23 a sitdown strike against the high cost of living began in Bilbao, center of Spain's heavy industry.]

April 10

One hears that American experts will help to renovate the railroads, but this has not been confirmed. It would take all the builders of the great American railroads to bring order here. A monarchist engineer told me that of our 6,000 miles of railroad—which is very little for a country of this size—only 600 miles are fit for normal use! "If an American army is sent here to fight against the Russians," he said, "it will have to be moved to the front on the backs of donkeys."

April 13

The *Bulletin* [one of the illegal papers] containing Sulzberger's articles in Spanish has been widely circulated in Madrid. The radio has attacked the newspaper which published them originally heaping calumnies upon it and the author. Now radio and press have gone crazy about MacArthur and say that Truman is a Mason of the worst kind. They said that before when Truman refused them the loan, but later they discovered that he was a great man. The Franco people view a world war as their only chance of salvation. It is idiotic of them, for who would fight against the Russians to defend Franco? I have myself heard army officers say this.

April 19

The measures adopted in Madrid to lower food prices throughout Spain have had no result. Fear of being fined has caused the many little people who sell food illegally to stay at home, and in consequence there is even less to buy than before. The big *estraperlistas* are not affected, since they belong to the government crowd for whom the law does not exist.

April 20

People talk about nothing but the strikes; even here in ——, where there are only a few factories and almost everybody works on the land, the Civil Guard is in a constant state of alarm. It is easy to see why the government is worried. It had grown used to thinking that nobody would dare to make a move against it. But now that there has been a strike and the workers have seen that the authorities did not dare to hit back hard, there will be other strikes here or there. What makes it worse for the government is that the workers' new courage is contagious. They are growing stronger and the government is growing weaker.

April 21

I suppose you have heard about the recent events in Barcelona and other provinces. The Barcelona strike was masterfully prepared and was a complete success. The enthusiasm of the people was stupendous. Everybody was out watching. When the noise of a motorcycle was heard, they cried, "Here come the reds!" If a person went around with a long face, others said, "He has an uneasy conscience." Inscriptions chalked up in great letters on the walls of public buildings in Madrid read: "Every crisis has a way out—even into the sea"; "There is no coal, but something is burning." Morale is getting better every day.

April 21

When the strikers are counted by the hundred thousand, the authorities become "conciliatory." Last week fresh police forces made their appearance in the mining region of Asturias. Many people were arrested. The following workers were killed: Jose Tutó Suarez, Vincente Fernandez Huelga, and Manuel Roces Fernandez, who was only eighteen years old.

April 23

The radio has just brought the news about the strike at Bilbao. This time it couldn't blame it on the Communists, for most of the workers are of course Catholics. But the radio says that the workers who walked out were very foolish. It is possible that you heard the news quicker than we did here. But everything that happens in Spain is known sooner or later, not of course through the newspapers but through the grapevine.

April 24

Only a few lines written in great haste to get them over the border. . . . This strike has spread through practically the entire Basque country and is so vigorous and inspiring that there are no words to describe it. The governors in Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa threatened the strikers with the most formidable reprisals, but the workers in Bilbao and San Sebatian did not pay the least attention to them or to the new warnings from Madrid. The workers say, "This is our hour and nobody is going to succeed in frightening us." The authorities tried to give the workers a taste of what they could expect by going to the Murgaza, a factory in Renteria, with police trucks and delivering an ultimatum to 300 strikers there: "Either resume work at once or all of you will be arrested." The entire 300 shouted "no" in chorus. Although they were arrested, the people are not afraid. In Baracaldo the leaflets calling for the strike on Monday morning were distributed publicly in the village square while the traditional Sunday outdoor dancing was taking place. The joke these days is: "How is the franco?" [The words for Franco and franc are spelled the same in Spanish.] The answer: "It couldn't be lower."

France: Spanish Frontier, April 24

Just back from across the border. It is really wonderful. They have doubled the vigilance all through the mountains and on the International Bridge, but even in the faces of the soldiers on guard one can see the joy over the revolt of the workers.

Danger Signals from the North

BY LESLIE ROBERTS

Montreal, April 24

ON APRIL 10, the day before President Truman recalled General MacArthur, Lester B. Pearson, Canada's Minister of External Affairs, told a Toronto audience that Canadian-American relations presented "one of the most difficult and delicate problems of foreign policy that have yet faced Canada." He also warned Canadians that "the days of relatively easy and automatic political relations with our neighbors are over" and advised the United States that difficulties would be easier to adjust if it "realized . . . that we are not willing to be merely the echo of somebody else's voice."

This is a new kind of talk to come from Ottawa. Up to the beginning of 1951 it was official Canadian policy to shrug off the diplomatic malapropisms issuing from Washington. Harried Canadian diplomats would sometimes admit privately that the great puzzle was to guess what the Americans might do next, but they questioned the wisdom of putting this bewilderment into print. Then, suddenly, Canada moved into a new course.

The change first became apparent during the United Nations debate on the resolution branding Communist China an aggressor. Canada considered the resolution untimely and unwise, and said so. Subsequently it voted for the resolution, but this did not mean that it had climbed back on Uncle Sam's bandwagon. The new Canadian policy springs from a determination to bring home to the United States that the North Atlantic alliance is a partnership and not a grouping of lesser powers around one great power. Canada is not trying to force Washington's hand in specific cases—I am not even suggesting that this is what happened in respect to General MacArthur—but to create a new state of mind in Washington. If this purpose is achieved, the free world can be congratulated. If, on the other hand, Canadian protests are either ignored or misunderstood, and the United States continues to act without consulting its allies or repeats the pressure tactics of the U. N. debate, the Western alliance may be in for trouble.

Canada's voice was raised more loudly in April than it had been in January in the U. N. After MacArthur made his veiled threat of an attack on the Chinese mainland, but before his letter to Representative Martin caused the

LESLIE ROBERTS, a Canadian journalist and foreign correspondent, is the author of "Home from the Cold Wars."

final explosion, Mr. Pearson said some sharp things about political generals. "The unity of the free world is endangered," he told a meeting of the Canadian Bar Association, "by United Nations commanders who make controversial statements which go far beyond their military responsibilities and create confusion, disquiet, and even discord." The Canadian Press (Canada's A. P.) described the speech as "a "hefty swing at General MacArthur." The day after the MacArthur-to-Martin double play, the Montreal *Star*, perhaps the most devout supporter of the Canadian-American alliance in the country, commented: "Obviously General MacArthur's usefulness in his present role as U. N. supreme commander is diminishing fast."



Lester B. Pearson

Soon the Canadian Press reported new disquiet in Ottawa. This time the offender was John Foster Dulles, who had outlined the terms of a proposed Japanese peace treaty without taking the trouble to discuss it with his country's Pacific allies. The proposed treaty may be, as *Time* suggests, "a great act of United States statesmanship," but it would be difficult to persuade Ottawa that any semblance of statesmanship marked Mr. Dulles' technique. One of Canada's most important business leaders recently described the process which makes such incidents possible in these words: "What everybody else does is Uncle Sam's business. What *he* does seems to be nobody's business but his own."

A report entitled "Canada and the United Nations, 1950," which was recently presented in Parliament by the Department of External Affairs, clearly warns that Canada's future role in the U. N. will be that of a sovereign power prepared to cooperate in the fullest degree with like-minded peoples but determined to be no country's satellite. Canada may have been thinking the same thing a year ago, but it took considerable pains at that time not to put it on the record.

These protests are important chiefly because it is Canada that voices them, and on the highest official levels. Geographically, economically, socially, and psychologically Canada is the closest and most understanding friend, neighbor, and ally the United States has. To gauge the importance of the alliance, it is only necessary to ask what American defense policy would be if a hostile country lay between the Forty-ninth Parallel and the Soviet Union, where Air Age geography places Canada. If the United States' northern neighbor had ever shown an inclination to be neutral between the two great powers on its borders, Washington might well be pursuing Mr. Hoover's Gibraltar policy today, as a matter of necessity.

Here is no European country looking for a way to escape another round of subjugation, occupation, and liberation but a North American nation which long ago accepted the thesis that its own security and that of the United States are indivisible. Here is no people unable to understand the American mind or to judge fairly the purpose which lies behind the tumult of American politics. Criticism from Canada, therefore, has greater significance than tart words spoken by a European ally baffled by American folkways.

UNTIL Mr. Austin began to press hard for the aggressor resolution, Canada had protested only in private conversation. But when it became clear that the United States did not really want a cease-fire in Korea, Canadian patience was exhausted. It will be recalled that the first Peking reply to cease-fire proposals was dismissed within the hour by Secretary Acheson as "wholly unsatisfactory"—this without consulting even those members of the U. N. who had armed forces in Korea. Canada, however, took a different view of the Chinese answer, and Prime Minister St. Laurent, on January 17, asked Nehru to seek clarification through the Indian embassy in China. The answer was received on January 22 and, according to Mr. Pearson, "seemed more hopeful, since it stated for the first time that a cease-fire could be agreed upon in the first meeting of a conference called to discuss Far Eastern issues. That reply was considerably encouraging to some of us." For this reason Canada urged postponement of the aggressor resolution. Mr. Pearson did not argue that an aggression had not occurred but that to pass the resolution when the door had obviously been opened to negotiation was "premature and unwise." Mr. Austin brushed aside Mr. St. Laurent's search for a solution as if it were not being carried on.

The sole concessions the United States was prepared to make—and these only in exchange for support—were an undertaking not to press for sanctions and a few minor changes in phrasing. Canada cast its vote for the resolution for two reasons—to head off sanctions and to conceal the division in the Western family. A vote in favor of a resolution condemned as "premature and unwise" was clearly cast under moral duress. It was a costly victory for the United States.

Mr. Pearson's subsequent report to the Canadian House of Commons revealed that Canada's dissatisfaction with the conduct of affairs in Korea had been expressed repeatedly. "When we began to receive indications that it was intended to carry the campaign to the Yalu River," it said, "we expressed our misgivings in

Washington as early as November 6." Before then Canada had been given "reason to believe" that General MacArthur's purpose was to establish a defensive line north of the Parallel and to leave a buffer area, two provinces in depth, between his armies and the Manchurian border. When Chou En-lai warned on October 5 that China would not tolerate a crossing of the Parallel, Canada urged privately that military operations in North Korea be conducted with "great circumspection." To all these representations Washington turned a deaf ear. The only conclusion to be drawn from the evidence is that Korea was regarded as a United Nations enterprise in name only.

As to the admission of Communist China to the U. N., Canada held, at least before the "volunteers" crossed the Yalu, that it was not a question of bringing in a new member but simply of seating the men who governed the country instead of those who did not. In September, 1950, Canada refused to vote against the Indian resolution proposing that Peking be given the Chinese seat. Even after the Chinese were across the Yalu, when, in Mr. Pearson's words, Peking could hardly expect recognition from people it was fighting, Canada still held that "Far Eastern problems could be more readily solved if diplomatic relations existed with the government of China."

Canada realizes that the Chinese people's revolt against foreign exploitation on the one hand and corrupt political masters on the other was inevitable. It does not believe that Chiang can be foisted on China again, and it pulls sharply away from any move which might lead to the extension of hostilities in the Far East. It admits that the future of Asia is going to be settled by Asians, not by the West, and the obvious corollary that the West's problem in that continent is to find friends, not to add to its enemies.

CANADA'S Secretary of External Affairs has brought down on his head a good deal of silly criticism from the American press. The gem was the statement in a news weekly that Pearson voted for the resolution to brand China an aggressor because if he did not, "American influence might kill his political career." This not only revealed an abysmal ignorance of Canadian political processes but suggested that Canada was submissive to American pressures. It prompted the Montreal *Star* to comment that such nonsense "may have soothed some happy patriots . . . but it certainly did nothing to serve the cause of truth, or of good relations across our legendary 3,000 miles of undefended border." Canada is charged with "dragging its feet" by writers who clearly have not looked at the evidence. It is described as no longer "dependable," a dependable ally being apparently one who accepts the judgment of the United States on all matters without question.

In a recent issue *Time* complained that not even the Conservatives are willing to "meet the conscription issue head on, though Canada is the only major power of the North Atlantic alliance without a draft law." Prime Minister St. Laurent, said *Time*, "suavely made his case for a painless policy." The man who wrote this either is ignorant of or neglected to mention the fact that conscription was a major political issue in Canada during both world wars, and each time came perilously close to splitting the country in two. What angers Canadians, however, is that Canada's allies should presume to tell it how its armed forces should be raised. And Canadians can hardly be expected to enjoy such cracks as that of the Los Angeles *Times* on the MacArthur ouster: "The most powerful nation in the world has listened to the mewlings of its impotent allies."

Even the Roman Catholics toss grenades at each other across the border. The Catholic weekly review, *America*, chides its Canadian co-religionists for their failure to develop a holy-war attitude, and *L'Action Catholique* of Quebec, the most influential clerical newspaper in the country, snaps back that *America* had better mind its own business.

For the first time in a number of decades Canada's high officials are paying attention to attacks on its *bona fides* as a neighbor and ally—clear proof that they do not sit well. In a recent Chicago speech C. D. Howe, Canada's United States-born Minister of Trade and Commerce and Defense Production, said: "Some of you may think we Canadians are too touchy, too ready to resent the suggestion that we are doing less than our duty in this time of peril. That we are doing less than we should may be so, but I doubt it. On a per capita basis Canada will probably carry more than many of her allies." Pearson has spoken temperately as always: "It would be easier if it were recognized by the United States at this time that we in Canada have had our own experience of tragedy and suffering and loss in war. Nor should we get unduly hot and bothered by all the pronouncements of journalists or generals or politicians that we do not like, though there are some on which we have a right to express our views."

The core of Canadian foreign policy is officially described as "the necessity of preserving unity of purpose and action between the United States and Canada and the Commonwealth nations." This certainly does not suggest that Canada is seeking a way to disengage itself from the many international commitments of which it is a co-signatory with the United States. It probably could not disengage itself if it wanted to, but the point is that it has no desire to do so. Canada's purpose is to strengthen its ties with the United States, not to weaken them. But relations are not improved when the most powerful member of an alliance attempts to dominate it, or when one member acts unilaterally in matters

affecting all. If the partisan domestic politics of one member virtually neutralize the alliance during months of debate, it is difficult afterward for the allies to pick up and go as before.

Americans must decide whether they intend to allow their own violent disputes over domestic issues to undermine the effectiveness of the country's alliances. When Uncle Sam's closest neighbor and best friend, after years of official silence, feels it must speak out, American policy-makers might do well to listen.

Germany's Bad Conscience

BY CAROLUS

Bonn, April 20

IF IT were not for the present conflict between East and West, so pregnant with disaster for the world, the question of the war criminals tried at Nürnberg and imprisoned at Landsberg in the American zone while awaiting execution of their sentences would not exist. Or if it existed, it would call forth an analysis of the ethical principles prevailing among civilized peoples which would be a milestone in the spiritual progress of humanity. In these times, however, when the slaughter in Korea is viewed as mere practice for greater events, when the nations of the world are expending their wealth, their genius, and their cultural heritage on preparations for war, we see justice and mercy, love and hate, faith and morality, nobility and baseness degraded to mere agents and partisans.

Three years ago an international tribunal passed sentence on some of the greatest criminals that have ever lived, men who during the Second World War "waded up to their knees in blood," as the judge declared. If they had been executed at once, they would be forgotten today and would no longer burden the conscience of mankind. But they have obtained reprieves by citing the laws and the procedure of appeal in the United States and demanding action by the American occupation authorities, although only the international statute formulated at Nürnberg applies to their cases. The crimes of which they were convicted were not committed on American soil and were not against Americans but against the citizens of European states. London, Paris, Moscow, Warsaw, Prague, Brussels, Belgrade were at least as competent, in the legal sense, as Washington, and should have had even more to say on whether justice should be tempered with mercy.

Ninety war criminals were sent to Landsberg, ranging from Alfried Krupp to the concentration-camp officials Ohlendorf and Pohl. They were the last persons tried by the international tribunal at Nürnberg before it closed its doors in the spring of 1948. After that, war criminals were tried in the military courts of the Allies or in German civil courts, which handed down disgracefully lenient verdicts. The shocking acquittal of two of the directors of the I. G. Farben subsidiary which supplied the prussic acid used in the gas ovens of the concentration camps was typical (I described this case in *The Nation* of April 16, 1949).

Seventeen of the ninety at Landsberg had been condemned to death by the Nürnberg tribunal; seventeen had received sentences of life imprisonment, the others of from six to twenty-five years. In March, 1950, on the request of High Commissioner McCloy, Washington appointed a committee to consider recommendations for parole, the members being David W. Peck, presiding judge of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, Frederick W. Moran, chairman of the New York State Parole Board, and General Conrad E. Snow, chairman of the State Department's Personnel Security Board. Basing his action on the recommendations of this committee, McCloy announced on January 31, 1951, that he would reduce the punishment of a number of the prisoners. Ten of the death sentences were commuted to life imprisonment. Krupp and his eight industrialist colleagues were set free; Krupp even got back his property. Twenty-five other prisoners were released, and the prison terms of all the rest, except three, were appreciably shortened, to half the time first set or less.

THE international law promulgated at Nürnberg, which declared that the conquered must pay the penalty for their war-time crimes against humanity and their violation of long-standing international conventions, should have served as a lesson to all nations, and especially to the Germans, for years to come. But new motives have become operative. Certainly the recommendations of the New York committee, the instructions sent to McCloy from Washington, and his consequent grants of clemency did not stem from abstract legal principles and were not announced in a vacuum. Nürnberg was the product of the Second World

CAROLUS is the pseudonym of a West German liberal, active in politics, who serves as The Nation's *correspondent in Bonn.*

War. Mercy was shown to the Landsberg prisoners because a third world war hangs over the world like the sword of Damocles. The freeing of Krupp and the others is a preliminary manifestation of that war, just as are the acceptance of Franco and the war in Korea.

What was the effect of McCloy's clemency on the Germans? Did they fall on Washington's neck in gratitude? Have they finally taken Western democracy to their hearts, and will they now joyfully hold out their hands for weapons? Ask McCloy and his wife and children about the abusive and threatening letters they have received because the last seven of the "greatest criminals of all time" have not yet been released! The gallows had been erected for them and the graves dug. Then they sent new appeals to Washington to review their cases. The dirt was shoveled back into the graves, the condemned were taken out of the death cells—and now they wait to see how the latest developments in the cold-warm war will affect their fate.*

For months all Germany has been discussing the Landsberg murderers. Yet with the exception of the weak Social Democratic press—weak for lack of funds—and one or two bourgeois papers no publication has said anything about the crimes of the "poor patient Nürnberg victims." Quite the contrary. All the illustrated weeklies and most of the dailies have filled their pages with the most sentimental pictures and sob stories about the tragic lot of the prisoners and their families. The United States, by its methods of waging war in Korea, is said to have forfeited the right to accuse the Germans of war crimes. A "liberation committee" has been formed, headed by a Princess Ysenburg who calls herself the "mother of the Landsbergers." Enormous sums have been contributed. The country is flooded with pamphlets and handbills proving the innocence of the Landsbergers and the injustice of their convictions. McCloy received a telegram from Herr Eric Blumenfeld of Hamburg, a member of the National Committee of the Chancellor's party, saying that the Germans' will to defend themselves would be destroyed if the death sentences were carried out. Pohl, the murderer of thousands, has turned to religion since his conviction and gone in for penitential practices; so in January eighteen bishops petitioned McCloy to release him, "in view of his unimaginable spiritual and physical agony during the years he has awaited execution." At Easter the apostolic blessing of the Vatican was conveyed to him.

THE impression was created that the Social Democrats, who were represented on the Foreign Affairs Committee of Parliament which took up the matter with McCloy, had joined the chorus of petitioners. Actually nothing lay farther from their thoughts than to seek mercy for the Landsberg criminals: almost 70 per cent of the party's delegation in the Chamber of Deputies spent ten or twelve years in Hitler's prisons and concentration camps or in exile. The Social Democrats have never asked McCloy to remit one day of the sentences meted out at Nürnberg. What they asked was that there should be no more executions in the Federal Republic, which in 1949 passed a law abolishing capital punishment. This was something the party had worked for since long before Hitler. A statement issued by the Social Democratic leaders and printed in the *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden* on January 19, 1951, clearly explains their position.



Seligson

John B. McCloy

> The Social Democrats have never thought of asking for mercy for the war criminals, much less of questioning the objectivity of the judgment passed upon them. Our part in the whole affair has simply been to obtain the statutory abolition of the death penalty and to block the attempt to reintroduce it made in Parliament last year. In principle we do not want to see the gallows erected again in Germany. Only our belief that we are setting an example to humanity has made us willing to renounce the death penalty for the horrible criminals of the concentration camps, not one of whom, as a person, deserves mercy. The execution of the Landsberg murderers cannot bring to life a single one of their victims, and we believe that our principal efforts should be directed to helping the Jews who survive and to obtaining recompense for them for the moral and material wrongs inflicted on them.

When it became apparent that the effort to prevent the execution of the Landsbergers was part of a cleverly staged campaign by former Nazis, business men, and other people who had prospered under the Third Reich to save the Krupps and to whitewash the Nazi regime, the Social Democrats dissociated themselves from it in disgust. They have refused to raise a finger to help the last seven murderers awaiting execution. The only time representatives of the party talked with McCloy on this subject they suggested that he print hundreds of thousands of copies of a brochure setting forth in detail the unspeakable crimes of the Landsbergers and distribute them in all schools and government offices. Such a pamphlet, entitled "Landsberg: A Documentary Report," was in fact prepared later by the Information Services Division.

The Social Democrats in Parliament have prevented

*The United States Supreme Court has just refused to review their cases, and presumably their sentences will be carried out.—EDITORS THE NATION.

the other parties from sending a second delegation to McCloy. They have deeply regretted that they had any part in the first representations of the Foreign Affairs Committee, in which they concurred for reasons very different from those of the bourgeois members. Meanwhile the party has been working for a law that will assure compensation to the martyrs of the Third Reich. In the parliamentary debate on this measure Professor Carlo Schmid, deputy chairman of the party and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, denounced not only the Nazis for their crimes against the Jews but all Germans for tolerating those crimes. In closing he declared that the state of Israel, which had the moral and legal right to speak for all Jews, had the right to demand compensation.

Since the Korean war broke out and since the West has been eager to rearm Germany, the nationalists and neo-fascists have been growing more militant. For them Landsberg is a means to an end. General Kreipe, the next to the last chief of the general staff of the *Luftwaffe*, now in the Ministry of Commerce of Adenauer's Cabinet, has been assigned the task of organizing "civil aviation"; that shows how the clock has moved on in Germany. As early as 1923 Kreipe was one of Hitler's disciples; he was made a member of the *Blutorden*, a mark of favor which the Führer bestowed on no more than a hundred of his trusted henchmen. But it would be a mistake to think that all West Germans are nationalists or neo-Nazis. Passionate protests against clemency for the Landsberg criminals have been voiced by various church organizations, professors, clergymen, students, trade unionists, and other groups. Perhaps these people are actually a majority, but such a repressed majority in this super-capitalist West German state that they cannot make their will felt. Krupp and his eight industrialist friends, who founded Hitler's Reich and battened on it, are once again the country's financial overlords: theirs are the profits of the Korean war; they own the press and the government.

In Allied circles here it is said that the sentences pronounced at Nürnberg were revised because "new evidence" had been discovered. The British High Commissioner, Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, put it more bluntly. He said, "There is no man in prison in Germany for war crimes whose sentence I will not be willing to consider in view of changed circumstances." Since Korea, many circumstances have changed, and that constitutes the only new evidence for the Landsberg murderers.

Government by Whitaker and Baxter, III

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, April 18

IN THE last fifteen years Whitaker and Baxter have learned more about politics and political techniques than they care to discuss, but what they have revealed is intensely interesting. Nowadays, they declare, it is difficult to get the average citizen's attention for any purpose and doubly difficult if the purpose is political. People are more interested in politics than ever before, but their interest is an "after-hours" interest, something to indulge when they are tired, when they want to relax and be entertained. To attract their attention, you must put on a fight or a show or both. For Whitaker, showmen like "Sunny Jim" Rolph of San Francisco and fighters like Hiram Johnson have been the great American politicians. The rare combination of fighter and showman—a Roosevelt or a LaGuardia—is the unbeatable political type, the type that Whitaker and Baxter will never take a campaign against. To Whitaker and Baxter the cardinal political mistake—the one they never make—is to forget the presence of the audience "out front"; to them politics is the greatest show on earth.

It says in their book that close elections are decided by the independent vote, and that this vote seldom makes up its mind until the Friday before the first Tuesday in November. So they save their most potent programs and stirring appeals until the last—"to sell 'em when they can't be unsold." Their timing is superb; they have an unrivaled sense of pace; and they build toward the climactic appeal. As hucksters they naturally take a pretty dim view of precinct organization unless the client is, say, a teachers' organization with thousands of members. Each member of such an organization has hundreds of friends to whom a personal appeal can be made, but professional doorbell ringing is likely to do more harm than good. Although Whitaker and Baxter beam special propaganda to each of the various "publics" into which voters are divided, their general strategy is to prime the grass-roots vote. To them every American city is simply a chain of small communities, each just as much "small town" as any Main Street. Not much reliance is placed on polls except to determine points of weakness and to

CAREY McWILLIAMS, a staff contributor, is the author of "Witch Hunt: The Revival of Heresy" and other books. This is the concluding article of his series on government by public-relations experts.

test different campaign appeals. Baxter (wife of the senior member of the firm) insists that the best poll is an honest and thoughtful reading of your own reactions.

Strange as it may seem, these political hucksters have a robust faith in public sentiment. They believe that the intelligent conduct of political public relations has undermined blind party regularity and encouraged independent voting. Playing California-style politics, in which you cannot rely upon party loyalty or discipline, they have on many occasions had to bring people across party lines. "The key to crossing," as Baxter puts it, "is locating the appeal which is stronger than politics." Both members of the firm are confident of their ability, given a good issue and reasonably adequate funds, to defeat the strongest boss-directed machine.

In their experience, the American voter resents classification and insists on being treated as an individual. At the same time they are well aware that the political personality of the average voter is sharply segmented. A Democrat is not only a Democrat but a consumer and taxpayer; he may also be a farmer, a Protestant, a truck-driver, a veteran, a college graduate, a Mason. While they are careful never to assume that a voter will take a certain position simply because he is this or that, they often address several special appeals to the same group of citizens. In fact, they insist that a voter should be "hit" seven times during a campaign, with each "pitch" aimed at a different facet of his political personality.

In a 1948 campaign to repeal the "full crew" law, which they promptly dubbed the "full caboose" law, they scored the entire campaign to win over consumers, including the wives of trade-union members. Their posters showed a railroad worker in bed aboard a freight car with the rubric: "I've Been Loafing on the Railroad—STOP Featherbedding—You Pay for It!" Few people thought they had a chance against the powerful railroad brotherhoods, with 1,500 trade unions as allies. But the law was repealed, the narrow margin of victory being gained in such labor strongholds as the Mission district in San Francisco.

WHITAKER and Baxter were enchanted to discover, twenty years ago, that they had hit upon a business in which there was absolutely no competition. Professional campaign management was unknown, and "publicity" was usually handled by broken-down politicians and alcoholic camp-followers. Campaigns were seldom planned and never budgeted. Whitaker and Baxter insist that politics is a merchandising of men and measures, but they explain that, unlike sales campaigns, political campaigns are carried on under combat conditions; there is a definite opposition, a limited time, and the outcome is decisive.

The firm manages a campaign for a negotiated fee, plus expenses, and handles all disbursements. The campaign is carefully budgeted, and the auditing is exact; a deficit would be unthinkable. Printing goes to the firm that offers the lowest price and the best service. Thorough research is devoted to media, issues, and "markets." Although each campaign poses separate problems, some fifty standard procedures simplify the planning. When they get a new job, Whitaker and Baxter usually leave the office and "hibernate" for a week, evolving a theme and a plan. Once the theme has been selected and the plan worked out, they prepare, with equal care, an opposition plan. Having fought it out, so to speak, on the basis of these plans, they then prepare a new plan. Every speech, every poster, every pamphlet must emphasize and develop the theme.

The Lapham recall campaign illustrates their ingenuity with themes. With no "enemy" to attack—the issue was simply should the Mayor be recalled—it was difficult to get Lapham off the defensive. So they improvised an enemy, a composite of the anonymous, sinister characters behind the recall, and to this extravagantly vicious invention they gave the name "the Faceless One." Before the campaign was over, San Franciscans had been pumped so full of sound and fury that they would have lynched this faceless brute if they could have laid hands on him.

Whitaker and Baxter insist that the best copywriter has the best chance to win an election. But as Baxter puts it, "words that lean on the mind are no good; they must dent it." Hence their insistence on "fighting prose" with broad Hearstian rhythms. Baxter has been known to hold up a campaign for a week or more until just the right "twist" could be given a form letter or pamphlet. Political copy, they say, must be brief enough to be read, dramatic enough to create sentiment, and sound enough to produce action. In their rare public appearances, and still rarer moments of self-revelation, they always talk about the importance of colorful, dramatic, picture-building words. One of their coined words is "squandermania." Their Rule No. 10 reads: "More Americans Like Corn Than Caviar."

That a business like Whitaker and Baxter's should have first emerged in California is understandable. Notoriously lacking in political stability, with a constant influx of new voters, with no machines or bosses, California was the ideal place for "professionalism" to develop. The political moguls had to have some new system of political control to offset the dangerous chain-reactions which could be set in motion under such conditions. But the basic explanation for "professionalism" in California politics is to be found in the state's penchant for direct legislation. The initiative, referendum, and recall have been used since 1911 and are still the people's favorite political toys. It takes about 204,672 signatures to put an issue on the ballot, and the going professional fee to obtain them is about $120,000. But

a mass organization—a pension group, a combination of unions, a fraternal organization, an association of teachers—can gather the requisite number of signatures quickly and cheaply. As a result, the people keep putting measures on the ballot and the "interests" keep defeating them—or most of them. This situation has naturally made politics a major industry in the state.

In the past big money had to be spent to defeat popular initiative measures, and the "interests" growled about the follies of direct legislation and "mobocracy." But under the careful tutelage of Whitaker and Baxter they have come to see that with professional campaign management they can seize the weapons of direct legislation and use them against the people. Public-relations campaigns can create such a volume of "sentiment" for or against a measure that most legislators will be compelled "to go along." This avoids the involvement with lobbyists, and the necessity of dabbling in campaigns for or against 120 California legislators.

THERE is more to Whitaker and Baxter as a political phenomenon than the fact that the firm has invented some new techniques. Actually changes in American politics have produced Whitaker and Baxter. Modern media of mass communication have undercut the boss, the machine, and the lobbyist and at the same time greatly increased the cost of political campaigning. It costs as much to publicize a ballot issue in California today as it did not so many years ago to elect a governor. These mounting costs have created a demand for strict budgeting and professional management. But the more the mass media are used, the sharper become the average citizen's perceptions. Amusingly enough, therefore, the more that is spent on public relations, the more sophisticated the people grow and the more it costs to fool them.

As a result of this expensive flattery the size of the voting public has greatly increased, which again has increased costs. Here, for example, is Whitaker's specification of what it took to reach 4,500,000 registered voters in California in 1948: 10,000,000 pamphlets and leaflets; postcards mailed directly to 4,500,000 voters; 50,000 letters to key individuals and officers of organizations; 70,000 inches of newspaper display advertising; 3,000 radio spot announcements to 109 stations; 12 fifteen-minute radio programs; theater slides and trailers in 160 theaters playing to nearly 2,000,000 people every week; 1,000 twenty-four-sheet billboards; 18,000 smaller posters; thousands of speeches; sound trucks; cartoons; television programs; intensive newspaper publicity; some sky-writing; and, if the stations would only permit it, singing political commercials!

This is not the whole story. Until about 1896 political control was in the hands of a ruling class, with the people holding a veto power which, under sufficient provocation, they would exercise from time to time. Since then the initiative has gradually passed to the people and the veto power to the special-interest groups. The current emphasis on public relations, in industry, labor, and politics, merely reflects a growing awareness of the public's power. Nowadays public opinion can be managed but cannot be safely flouted. Power is increasingly exercised by veto groups—veterans, farmers, labor, the professions, various ethnic or religious or racial groups, trade associations, and so forth.

Since this development has been telescoped in California, it can be seen there very clearly. In the old days people lobbied the Southern Pacific's machine in Sacramento, for the Southern Pacific bossed the state. In 1910 the Southern Pacific machine was apparently ousted; actually the company withdrew from political commitments which had become arduous and unnecessary, since it already had about everything it needed in the way of political favors. Then a so-called "new lobby" emerged, representing various "veto" groups. This development reached its peak in the 1930's, when a single lobbyist, Artie Samish, became the supreme boss of all lobbies. Too much competition among veto groups can, of course, jeopardize the system of lobby-control; hence Mr. Samish. As the level of political awareness has risen, the veto groups have been compelled to shift from the defensive to the offensive and to deal directly with the people and not with their representatives. Hence Whitaker and Baxter.

Whitaker has a boundless admiration for Lincoln's genius in political public relations, particularly his gift for epigrammatic statement, his ability to say things in a way that commanded maximum attention in an age lacking mass media of communication. Whitaker often quotes these words of Lincoln's: "Public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment nothing can fail; without it, nothing can succeed. He who molds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes or decisions possible or impossible to execute."

In labor and liberal circles in California people hiss when Whitaker and Baxter are mentioned, but it must be acknowledged that they know how to reach the people. True, they have had lots of money to spend; but their opponents have not always been broke, either. Labor spent almost the same amount, dollar for dollar, to enact Proposition 13 in 1948 that Whitaker and Baxter spent to defeat it, and labor had much the best of the issue on its merits. In their scorn of polls, in their conviction that they can change votes, and in their eagerness to take an issue directly to the people, Whitaker and Baxter have shown how to lift the level of political understanding even if their campaigns have not always contributed to this end.

Expert political management has its dangers, but in

the long run they are probably not so great as those of the old dispensation. Ultimately the people learn from their mistakes, and already they have begun to take over the management of political affairs from hirelings they never appointed. Whitaker and Baxter may discover sometime that as Lincoln also said, "you can fool all the people some of the time; you can even fool some of the people all the time; but you can't fool all of the people all the time."

Death for Association

BY MARY MOSTERT

ON MAY 8 Willie McGee will die in the electric chair for the alleged rape of a white woman in Laurel, Mississippi. He has had three trials, but a great many people, white and Negro, still feel that Willie McGee was accused of one thing and found guilty of something entirely different. The facts in the case have long since been buried in a political-racial mud-slinging contest. After the Civil Rights Congress, a so-called Communist-front organization, took up the fight, people seemed no longer to care about any evidence presented by either prosecution or defense.

What actually are the facts? On November 2, 1945, according to the prosecution, Willie McGee entered the woman's house in the dead of night and raped her. McGee's fingerprints in the room and the woman's statement were apparently the main support of the prosecution's case. It was established that the woman's husband and children were asleep in the adjoining room; the woman did not call out because she did not want to wake the children. The defense maintains that there was an entirely voluntary relationship between Willie and the woman for more than three years. The woman was supposed to have sent McGee a note asking him for a date when she was buying gasoline at the filling station where he worked. McGee states he complied with her wishes but finally decided to break off the affair and be faithful to his wife and four children. According to the defense, the woman never underwent a medical examination in order to establish rape.

Many questions are left unanswered by both sides, but certainly there seems pitifully little evidence to warrant taking a man's life. Probably no one except those directly involved will ever know the true story. Most people seem to think that McGee is not guilty of rape but at worst of seduction, perhaps with the woman doing the seducing. Of course in the minds of professional Southerners there is no such thing as a voluntary sex relation between a Negro man and a white woman—any relation at all, to them, is rape.

In spite of the strong feeling about the case, individuals and organizations that are usually vitally interested in such matters have had little to say. A Negro leader has explained why: "This case would warrant the support of the general public, but because the Communists are connected with it, the people are afraid to say anything." A white newspaperman has written: "Communist support has just about sent McGee to the chair. Governor Wright is a very stubborn man, and now he is determined to see McGee burn." The fact that many non-Communists also believe McGee innocent has been conveniently ignored.

The frightening thing about the Willie McGee case is not that a man has been sentenced to die for a crime which he may not have committed. It is not that McGee, by flouting a color taboo, brought down on himself the unequal justice of an unfair, undemocratic system. It is not that no white man has ever been executed in Mississippi for the crime for which McGee will die; or that if the man had been white and the woman black, the case would probably never have got into the courts. The new and most dangerous element is the conviction by association. As one Mississippian put it, "I don't think McGee is guilty of rape, but since he is hooked up with the Communists I don't think he ought to be given another trial." Willie McGee was convicted because he was black and supported by Communists, not on any conclusive evidence.

Editorials in the white press say that anyone who "assists the Communists in trying to save Willie McGee helps the Communist cause." They do not speak of the guilt or innocence of the man. According to a prominant Negro editor, many Negroes, feeling frustrated, unsettled, and confused by such treatment, fall "easy prey to Communist propaganda."

The life or death of Willie McGee, for all practical purposes, is no longer an issue, but the trial has left bitterness and restlessness in the Negro community which will long remain as issues. Negro leaders who for many years have worked for better understanding between the races believe that the Negroes are more unhappy over their position than ever before. The case of Willie McGee has left an ugly scar.

What are we doing to ourselves? In a hysterical attempt to stamp out communism are we creating the very conditions on which communism thrives? Are we completely ignoring our own basic principles and allowing our courts to pass judgment on the basis of race, color, lawyers employed, religious or political affiliation? Now is the time that we should show the world, our minority groups, and especially ourselves that we have some faith in our democracy. By refusing men like Willie McGee fair trial because of their race or their political association, we do not stop communism, we promote it.

MARY MOSTERT is a Southern social worker.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The Driver Always Pays

THE seasonal upswing in highway traffic finds more motor vehicles on the roads than ever before. At the end of 1950, according to the Automobile Manufacturers' Association, total registrations were approaching 48,500,000, an increase of nearly 4,000,000 since the end of 1949, and the continued high output of the industry in the past four months probably means a net increase of at least another million.

Those of us who travel the highways this summer had better be prepared, therefore, for plenty of traffic jams, particularly in the neighborhood of large cities. We are also likely to experience many stretches of bumpy surface, but delays and detours due to road construction will not be as frequent as they should be, for progress in modernizing the highway system is lagging far behind the growth of traffic.

About two years ago an inquiry made by the Congressional Committee on the Economic Report showed that an expenditure of some $55 billion would be required by 1960 to bring the nation's roads to acceptable standards. Adding the cost of maintenance, amounting to at least $1 billion a year, this would mean an annual expenditure of $6 billion without allowing for recent increases in costs. However, in 1950, according to the Department of Commerce, total expenditure on highway construction was only $2.2 billion. As there seems little likelihood that the federal government, the states, or the local authorities, which share responsibility for the highway system, will be able to appropriate larger sums for this purpose in the near future, the gap between traffic needs and facilities seems bound to grow wider.

Moreover, the authors of a new monograph* point out, "the magnitude of the highway financing problem is not adequately reflected by comparing total needs with total revenues. What makes the problem more difficult is that highway needs are concentrated on particular segments of the highway system, whereas restrictions governing the expenditure of highway funds ordinarily make it impossible to concentrate highway construction activities where the needs are greatest. Restrictions . . . take the form of legal formulas governing the allocation of funds, which in turn are the result of political pressures for state-wide distribution of available revenues."

In plainer language, voters in rural areas, who are over-represented in most state legislatures, have been able to obtain for upkeep and construction of local roads an unduly large share of state highway funds. On these roads, where traffic density is very low, expenditure per vehicle mile is much higher than on the main roads, where a large part of the highway revenue is generated. Thus the little-used local roads are relatively in a better position than the congested through highways.

The authors of the monograph illustrate this point by reference to the interstate system of trunk roads, which account for only about 1 per cent of the total road and street mileage of the country but accommodate 15 per cent of the traffic. To bring this system up to currently accepted standards would cost over $11 billion, but under present allocation arrangements only $75 million a year in federal funds, matched by an equal amount of state funds, is being assigned to the system.

Faced with this situation, an increasing number of states are considering toll roads as a means of solving their worst traffic problems. Already there are 424 miles of main routes in five states on which tolls are collected, 350 more miles are under construction, and 1,200 miles have been authorized or planned. The longest of these toll roads is the Pennsylvania Turnpike, which when its western extension is finished will stretch right across the state, a total distance of 327 miles. Since the first section of this highway was opened in 1940, traffic and revenues have steadily expanded, except during three war years; and it is now earning enough to cover interest and amortization charges with an ample margin. So too is the forty-four-mile Maine Turnpike, which provides an alternative to congested U. S. Route 1 between the New Hampshire border and Portland. Many private car-owners obviously find it worth while to pay tolls averaging 1 to 1½ cents a mile—equivalent to an extra gasoline tax of 15 to 22 cents a gallon—for the sake of greater speed, safety, and fuel economy.

Yet while I agree with Messrs. Owen and Dearing that under present circumstances toll roads may help to relieve some traffic bottlenecks, they are, I feel, a *pis aller* and no real solution for our highway problems. Only on a limited number of routes is there likely to be enough traffic to make them self-supporting and then only as long as alternative free roads are left unimproved. Thus in the case of toll roads financed by borrowing on the general credit of the state, there will be a temptation to neglect parallel facilities. And when, as in the case of the Pennsylvania Turnpike, bonds are sold solely on the security of the toll revenues—a more expensive method—representatives of the bondholders may bring pressure to bear to prevent modernization of alternative routes. The fact is that to insure its financial success a toll road needs some degree of monopoly, and long ago this country decided that highway monopolies were contrary to the public interest. I think that principle still holds.

*"Toll Roads and the Problem of Highway Modernization." By Wilfred Owen and Charles L. Dearing. The Brookings Institution. $2.50.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

WE CALL THEM THE BRAVE

who likely were reluctant to be brave.
Sitting by a slow fire on a waste
of snow, I would last about an hour.
Better not euphemize the grave.

In this fashionable town, endearments are the mode
though generals are appraised—not praised—
and one is not forced to walk about
where a muddy slough serves as a road.

"What are these shadows barely
visible, which radar fails to scan?"
ships "keeping distance on the gentle swell."
And "what is a free world ready

to do, for what it values most?"
bestow little discs the bereaved may touch?
Can I ever forget it even when dead—
that congressionally honored ghost

mourned by a friend whose shoulder sags—
weeping on the shoulder of another
for another; with another sitting near,
filling out casualty-tags.

What of it? We call them the brave
perhaps? Yes; what if the time should come
when no one will fight for anything
and there's nothing of worth to save.

MARIANNE MOORE

ARTHUR MILLER BOWDLERIZES IBSEN

BY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

SELF-STYLED "realists" of both the right and the left sometimes maintain that all "tolerance" is a fraud. No one, they say, really believes in "free speech" except on topics concerning which he is indifferent: if most people believe in the freedom of religion, that merely means that most people don't take religion very seriously. There are always "limits to free speech," and legitimate freedom is always assumed to end where actual concern begins. For Catholics, therefore, it ends this side of "blasphemy"; for the patriot, this side the "attack on our liberties"; for the Jew, this side of "anti-Semitism"; and so on.

With these "realists" we at least know where we stand. Though they may some day abolish our liberties, it is not because of them that these same liberties are in some danger of imperceptibly withering away in an atmosphere of sweet reasonableness. But God save us from our friends, among whom are both the supersensitive political democrats and, no less dangerous, those who illiberally protect us from the dangers of illiberality by suppressing one "illiberal" story in a translation of the "Canterbury Tales" or banning a movie in which the villain is a Jew. "The Miracle" is at least as "blasphemous" as "Oliver Twist" is "anti-Semitic."

The most curiously naive and self-satirizing recent example of timorous liberal-illiberality is furnished by Arthur Miller's version of "An Enemy of the People"* and especially by the adapter's preface, in which he seems to be innocently unaware of the comedy of his own procedure. The censored scene is the climactic one in which Dr. Stockmann, beside himself with rage, scatters heresies all over the place and denounces all "the damned compact majorities"—especially those which call themselves "liberal." Truths, he says, in what is probably the most famous single passage in the play, grow old, and they are not usually accepted by the majority until they are already decrepit. The weak always outnumber the strong, the stupid always outnumber the wise. Therefore majority rule means rule by the inferior, and that is obvious nonsense.

All this, complains Mr. Miller, has been wrongly interpreted to prove that Ibsen was some kind of fascist. He did not really mean what Dr. Stockmann is made to say, and in order to protect him from misinterpretation Mr. Miller cuts the very heart out of the scene, substituting for most of Stockmann's dangerous outburst a few correct, liberal platitudes. The present version, Mr. Miller suggests, represents more accurately what Ibsen really thought. But that, it will seem to some, involves a rather large liberty on Mr. Miller's part.

After all, this is a play about free speech as a right and as a duty. Yet it is precisely of that right that Dr. Stockmann is deprived and on the mealy-mouthed pretext that he didn't really mean what he said or, at least, that he would not have meant it if he had had the advantage of Mr. Miller's experience with developments in totalitarian countries. But the question is not one of the impetuous Doctor's knowledge, or wisdom, or virtue. The question is purely one of his right to say what, at the moment, he wanted to say.

In one of the first paragraphs of Mr. Miller's preface we are told that Ibsen exhibits a quality which "lies at the very center of his force. . . . It is his insistence, his utter conviction, that he is going to say what he has to say, and that the audience, by God, is going to listen." But Mr. Miller, having delivered himself of this ringing statement, proceeds to see to it that, by God, this

*Viking Press. $2.50.

is exactly what Ibsen will not be permitted to do. Instead, Dr. Stockmann is admonished somewhat after this fashion: "Now, now, my dear sir, you are really going too far! When you have had a little more experience of the world you will realize how wrong and, especially, how ill-advised such statements are. You seem to be determined to make yourself an Enemy of the People, and so—entirely in your own interests you understand—I am going to save you from saying something which you would regret." And that, of course, is what the Damned Compact Majority said to Ibsen himself.

Yours, Mr. Miller, is a very pretty play. Perhaps it is also wiser and more truly liberal than the play on which it is based. But you mustn't call it Ibsen. And I rather doubt your assumption that Ibsen would thank you, or anybody else who took out of the mouth of one of his characters an opinion which he had put into it, even though that sentiment is offensive to the most enlightened liberal thought. Next to offending conservatives, there was nothing Ibsen enjoyed more than offending liberals, and I strongly suspect that if he were alive today what you would get from him would not be the blessing you expect but the baste you do not.

He was a peppery old fellow, and a legend which ought to be true reports that his dying speech consisted of only one word: "Nevertheless—". Of that word his plays are full, for his was a neverthelessing mind, and he did not want the neverthelesses taken out. Indeed, the principal point of "The Wild Duck" seems to be that a Gregers Werle is what you get when you remove from an Ibsenite that indispensable adversative; and the new version of "An Enemy of the People" seems to have been written by a Gregers Werle rather than by an Ibsen.

Of course I do not believe for a moment that Ibsen was a fascist or even that Dr. Stockmann believed simply and literally what, exasperated to fury, he is made to say. The play is, or was, a comedy, not simply a sermon, and its hero is a comic hero, not simply a mouthpiece. Perhaps Mr. Miller himself never says more than he means, but as a dramatist he ought to realize that other people sometimes do. What Dr. Stockmann proclaims is dramatically proper, not philosophically sound; what, granted the circumstances, he would have said, not what he ought to have said or, perhaps, what even he would have said a week later. But it is also, very decidedly, what Ibsen wanted him to say at this point, and if Ibsen was willing to take the risk of being misinterpreted by those without imagination or humor he ought to be allowed the privilege of running that risk today.

Bowdlerization is bowdlerization whether its alleged intention is to protect the sensibilities of the ultra-pure or the equally tender sensibilities of the right thinkers, and Ibsen has as much right to his kind of improper joke as Shakespeare has to another. In this day that right is rather more important, for the public which is no longer shocked by improprieties of one sort is assumed to be incapable of surviving exposure to those of another. Ibsen may not be Shakespeare, and his text may not be sacred, but at a time when we boast the importance of free speaking, even the semi-classics ought not to be tampered with in the supposed interest of the proprieties. The least that a consistent liberal can do is cultivate a certain tough-mindedness in the face of the heresies of which he does not approve, since without such tough-mindedness he is certain to find the "limits of free speech" very close to the point where personal disagreement begins. And a play about free speech seems to afford a singularly inappropriate occasion for the exercise of censorship by a liberal. In practice the degree of actual freedom we enjoy depends a great deal on the existing atmosphere. Such enterprises as Mr. Miller's do not serve to improve that atmosphere.



The extraordinary story of the man who was the crusading liberal governor of Minnesota in the thirties.
A candid picture of grass roots politics in a near-revolutionary era.

THE POLITICAL CAREER OF
Floyd B. Olson
By GEORGE H. MAYER
At all bookstores, $5.00
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA PRESS

The Lady of the Lamp

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE: 1820-1910. By Cecil Woodham-Smith, McGraw-Hill Book Company. $4.50.

ONE of the perpetually astonishing features of the Victorian Age is its luck in having been able to produce a giant to perform each of the enormous tasks that needed to be done to transform the world of 1830 into the world of 1900. The doubts, agonies, and soul-sickness of the nineteenth century had their complement in this immense genius for energy and enterprise. Engineering, sanitation, common-school and university reform, colonial administration, industrial management, scientific invention and technology—each of these practical orders of ingenuity, not to mention the biology, physics, chemistry, and medical research that gave them their basis in theory and method, produced its Titan, some of them a whole company of Titans. Even nursing found its special genius to rescue it from the hands of the drunkards, prostitutes, and thieves who kept it in disrepute in the days of Sairey Gamp and Betsey Prig, and when she arrived to tackle the labor she rightly called "Herculean," she proved to be one of the greatest giants of them all. More than a giant, she was a woman of radical and magnificent character whom any earlier age would have called a saint and who did not miss that appellation even among her material-minded contemporaries.

Florence Nightingale has already been served by a huge literature of biography, controversy, and hagiography, dating from the first hour of

her fame in the Crimean War. Sir Edward Cook's admirable biography of 1913 has stood for almost forty years as the standard authority on its subject, and in 1918 Lytton Strachey published the celebrated essay in "Eminent Victorians" by which most modern readers have come to know the Nightingale legend. Cook erected the noble monument, Strachey the modern image; but both these works have needed correction. Cook's book was written under certain family restraints and without access to fundamental documents, notably the important Verney papers; and Strachey's attractive essay found its clue to its heroine's character in a theory of daemonic possession—not a bad theory to explain a woman of Miss Nightingale's incredible energy and will power, but unfortunately at odds with the facts of her supremely practical ability, her far from daemonic or self-deluded religious nature, and her tenacious sanity. Now Mrs. Woodham-Smith has supplied this correction in a book which ranks as one of the finest pieces of biographical and Victorian research to appear in recent years, and altogether an enthralling book.

The combination of circumstances and capacities that produced Florence Nightingale and bred her genius is so typically Victorian that it will always be difficult to detach her from her period, though it is certainly one of the effects of Mrs. Woodham-Smith's balanced and objective portrait to show her as a woman who dominated and escaped from her age rather than remained a creature of it. It needed a particular set of conditions to give her career its historic force: the wealthy but entail-shackled family; the charming, disappointed father determined to educate his two daughters himself and so save them from the frivolity of Victorian girlhood; the trivially ambitious mother and jealous sister who created a typically Victorian family neurosis; the dilettante suitors—Monckton Milnes and others—who could offer Florence little but a repetition of futile conformity; and then, to rescue her genius from these, the urgency of her long-suppressed vocation, the scandalous condition of contemporary medicine and sanitation thrown into sudden prominence by the war in the Crimea, the hell of the hospital at Scutari into which she descended to perform her tremendous labors, the inefficient War Office and hostile political factions that fought her reforms, her persistence and triumph in the face of these, the gradual extension of her influence to the Royal Commission, the India Office, hospital organization, the Institute for Nurses, the international Red Cross; and at last the world-wide fame and authority that crowned her efforts.

Miss Nightingale's sixty years of activity bridged an era in civilization and social progress. She had to fight reaction and vested interests every step of the way. She was perfectly aware of her symbolic function as an agent of decency and justice, and she recorded that awareness not only in her voluminous reports and professional scriptures but in the equally voluminous letters, chits, and almost hourly memoranda in which she bared her mind and soul to posterity. And her religious passion, whose mystic and visionary tendencies were firmly tethered by self-criticism and an ironic sense of proportion, added the inspiration of unselfishness to an always necessary and sometimes brutal kind of self-assertion. The mires of intrigue, jealousy, and obstruction through which she had to wade were no less formidable than the miasmas of emotionalism, religiosity, and obsession she had to master in herself and her associates; and her final triumph becomes an epitome of the public and psychic drama that defines the particular quality of Victorian heroism.

The tact, patience, and scrupulous use of evidence with which Mrs. Woodham-Smith has recounted Miss Nightingale's life make her book a distinguished social document, not only beautifully readable but a revelation of much more than its specific subject. It is a work that shares the distinction of Halévy's histories, the personal records of Mill, Butler, and Mrs. Webb, Gosse's "Father and Son," and Shaw's prefaces, memoirs, and "Intelligent Woman's Guide" in what it does to illuminate the moral drama of the nineteenth century and to explain the personal genius that saved it from its confusions and errors. It is one of the best biographies of the past decade and an important addition to the documents that serve the history of the past hundred years.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

The State's authority and private rights in the civil service

THE

Labor Problem

IN THE

Public Service

By

MORTON ROBERT GODINE

A COGENT ANALYSIS of the conflicting requirements of public service unionism and government authority. "I am very favorably impressed with the thoroughness of the research, the breadth of coverage, and the fine and readable style in which it is written. The field of employee relations in government is steadily growing in importance and more published work of a high caliber is badly needed."—*James M. Mitchell, Commissioner, U. S. Civil Service Commission. A Harvard Political Study.* *$5.00*

A case study in non-Marxist socialism

THE

Philosophical Foundations of English Socialism

By ADAM B. ULAM

MR. ULAM'S exploration of the sources, the aims and the methods of British Socialism and of the Welfare State shows the relationship of non-Marxist socialism both to Marxism and to the Liberal tradition. The author analyzes British idealism, Pluralism and Guild Socialism, and Fabian Socialism as well as the theories of A. D. Lindsay, Harold Laski, Keynes, Beveridge and others. He also provides an analysis of some of the important measures of the Labor government. *A Harvard Political Study.* *$3.75*

At your bookseller, or



Harvard
UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Politics by Other Means

THE POLITICS OF MURDER. By Joseph Bornstein. William Sloane Associates. $4.

THE politicalization of every sphere of existence is a basic feature of totalitarianism. When Lenin seized on Clausewitz's maxim that war is only politics carried on by other means and made it into a Bolshevik shibboleth, he was transforming what is a fairly accurate description of most, but not all, modern wars into a principle of totalitarian *Realpolitik*, the latest application of which we can see today in Korea. Hitler was born with this principle in his bones. It is the point of Mr. Bornstein's book that for totalitarianism murder too is only politics carried on by other means.

Like diplomats' illnesses in a bygone age, death in totalitarian countries has not that natural simplicity which the communiqués make it out to have. Rommel, it was announced, succumbed to an ailment which had long afflicted him. It is true that he had been a sick man for years; but the world learned later that it was not bacilli but a bullet that killed him. Frunze, Trotsky's successor as Commissar of War, "died under an operation which his own physican had declared to be senseless and, in view of Frunze's heart condition, dangerous. It subsequently transpired that a decision of the Politburo forced Frunze to submit to the knife." According to Mr. Bornstein, there are grounds for suspecting—though it cannot be proved—that Lenin himself was poisoned by Stalin. At any rate it is not "unthinkable" that this could actually have happened. Apart from the direct evidence for this suspicion, there is the fact that Public Prosecutor Vishinsky, at the trial of the former pharmacist and chief of the GPU, Yagoda, "thought" to accuse him of having poisoned—with the assistance of four physicians, one of whom had had Lenin for a patient from 1920 to 1923—Maxim Gorky, Gorky's son, Yagoda's predecessor Menzhinsky, and Kuibyshev, a member of the Politburo. All these people had been supposed to have died a natural death. Yagoda and the three surviving physicians confessed that the charges were true and were duly convicted.

These confessions, like all the others obtained before and after, were undoubtedly false; but they show the atmosphere of intrigue in which the minds of high Soviet politicians are accustomed to move. And then there is Stalin's well-known propensity to impute to others his own motives and crimes. Trotsky's assassin had a statement in his pocket—composed by a higher GPU hand, it would seem, for he was ill-acquainted with its contents—giving as his reason for the deed Trotsky's having proposed to him to organize the assassination of—Stalin!

Mr. Bornstein's book offers additional evidence that Stalinist control of Russian society is far more "total" than was Nazi and Fascist control of Germany and Italy, the latter regimes having made up the difference by the exercise of naked force. As the author remarks, Stalin inside Russia can encompass the destruction of whomsoever he pleases by legal means—either by administrative ukase or by judicial murder; whereas Hitler and Mussolini had to rely more on outright gangsterism. The assassination of Matteoti was a slipshod affair that brought Mussolini more immediate embarrassment than profit; the Reichstag-fire trial, a piece of bungling in comparison with the Moscow trials; and the purge of Röhm and his followers, a gang killing pure and simple, legalized by the Reichstag after the fact. Hitler purged his generals in the late stages of the war, only after they had made an attempt on his life; Stalin, more prudent, had seen to this matter well in advance of events.

Most of the cases Mr. Bornstein discusses fall into the long-established genres of assassination: individual terror (King Alexander and Barthou); Roman proscription (Röhm, Schleicher, and the other victims of June 30, 1934); attempted coup d'état (Dollfuss). It is only in the slaying of Trotsky and the renegade GPU agent Ignace Reiss that one encounters a new and distinctive type of the *crime de politique*. In these two cases the immense resources of a powerful government were concentrated upon the destruction of a single individual outside of its official reach. Large numbers of people and many organizations cooperated to bring the assassin to his victim. It of course proved impossible to lay hands upon the real culprits or even the local directing agent; once the deed was done the entire "apparatus" for accomplishing the crime was swallowed up with scarcely a trace in the regular international Communist organizations and Soviet agencies.

Politics in the end proved to be the means by which the GPU reached to both Reiss and Trotsky. Reiss, after breaking with the GPU in 1937, attempted to win over others whom he suspected of wavering in their loyalty; he arranged a meeting in Switzerland with one such person, an old friend and colleague in the GPU who had tearfully commiserated with him in 1936 over the news of the first Moscow trial, and this person treacherously led the assassins to him. Jacson, the murderer of Trotsky, gained a limited sort of entrée to the latter's establishment in Mexico as the lover of the sister of one of Trotsky's secretaries. But it was not until Trotsky,

Land of Liberty
By Francis L. Bacon
Colorful charts and accompanying text matter, tracing the beginnings of our democracy and developments under it.
D200N. 50c postpaid. Order 2, you'll want more!
Send a dollar bill to
DENOYER GEPPERT COMPANY
Ravenswood Avenue, Chicago 40, Illinois

JUST RECEIVED — VOL 2, 2nd Ed.
Available Now! Vols. 1 & 2
GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA
Deluxe printing and binding. Profusely illustrated with color plates and maps. In Russian.
This new enlarged edition will consist of 50 volumes. The Collegium of Editors and contributors includes leading personalities in Soviet Arts, Literature and Science.
Regular Price — $9.50 per Volume
DUE SUBSCRIPTION OFFER—$8 per Vol.
Subscribers will be billed for each volume as delivered. We urge immediate subscription as the supply will be limited.
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
Importers from the USSR
55 W. 56 St., N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

THE YUGOSLAV WHITE BOOK
HERE IS THE OFFICIAL* RECORD IN FULL
. . . the documented account of the campaign of military, economic & political aggression waged against Yugoslavia by the governments of the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania & Albania . . . from before the Cominform Resolution of June, 1948, to the present day.
*Issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federated People's Republic of Yugoslavia.
481 pages—Price $3.00
Send check, cash or money order to:
The Yugoslav Information Center
816 Fifth Avenue New York 21, N. Y.

reluctantly but dutifully, sat down with Jacson to go over an article this nullity —literally as well as figuratively, for his identity has never been established— had written in defense of Trotsky's position in a factional struggle then going on in the Trotskyist organization, that the assassin found his opportunity to strike. There is a dreadful irony in the circumstances of Trotsky's end, one that shows how shrewdly his antagonist could judge him.

Mr. Bornstein's work helps to show how integral a part murder is of totalitarian politics—politics carried on by other means, as I have said—although he nowhere attempts to go very deeply into the matter, contenting himself with indicating rather sketchily the political aspects of the cases he considers and concentrating on their technical details, which to be sure are interesting enough. One would like to see what a more philosophical pen would make of this important subject.

MARTIN GREENBERG

Two English Novels

A GAME OF HIDE AND SEEK. By Elizabeth Taylor. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

DARKNESS AND DAY. By Ivy Compton-Burnett. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

THOUGH its theme and the predicament it explores are reminiscent of the early fiction of E. M. Forster and Rosamond Lehmann, Elizabeth Taylor's fifth novel is wonderfully fresh. Like every Forster heroine except Margaret Schlegel, Harriet Claridge suffers from an undeveloped heart and an unawakened sensibility. Here the immediate resemblance ends. Harriet has no need to rebel against middle-class convention. Her situation is more complex. The milieu which stifles her is enlightened: Fabian, suffragette, vegetarian, mildly intellectual, it admires the "sensible" and deplores the irrational in human conduct. The *mores* of the sensible, of course, can be quite as stultifying as the *mores* of Sawston. Nor does she have the good luck of most of Forster's young women. There is no Pan-like young man lurking in the undergrowth to shock her into life. Her Vesey is a Peter Pan, helpless in the face of his own charm and his diffused talents. He doesn't want her in all the inarticulate wonder and wild desire of her late adolescence, but after she has been married for sixteen years he gets around to a tentative affair which fizzles out in hopelessness. It is too late; they are too worn by life.

From the confused adoration of adolescence to the awakening of middle age the portrait of Harriet is a triumph of veracity. Girl and woman, she is passive, emotionally gawky, even rather dull, and, for all this, intensely interesting. The opening section of "A Game of Hide and Seek" is a fine realization of one variety of first love. So original is the sensibility which re-creates it that one forgets that since "Dusty Answer" it has been a staple of English fiction.

Miss Taylor is faithful to her vision of the emotional impotence which is likely to issue from such love. Marriage, a child, and life in the suburbs confirm Harriet in her passivity. Only when the beloved reappears, considerably battered, does this unpromising heroine grow out of inarticulate dulled suffering into awareness. But she is no Nora Helmer; she slams no doors; she returns to the husband she has left. She has left him only for an afternoon. Although her awakening will not alter her outward existence, she has come entirely, if fruitlessly, to life.

This book is *written;* the prose falls trippingly on the ear, saying exactly what it means without any pretense. Sometimes too little is left to the reader's imagination: "What they thought was heaven would seem like hell to them in later life," Miss Taylor tells us of Harriet and Vesey when they are eighteen, a sentence which should have gone unwritten, for it sums up their experience. But usually the writing is first-rate. Notice, especially, an episode in a deserted farmhouse when the lovers contrive to evade the embrace which might have saved them; and, for Miss Taylor is also adept at re-creating the fleeting delights of life, a shopping expedition, all joyous emotional confusion for Harriet, on which Vesey corrupts his younger and vegetarian cousins with chops.

Reading through the garland of praises on the jacket of "Darkness and Day" and looking back to my reviews of two earlier novels, it becomes clear to me that, so far, no one has penetrated the heart of Ivy Compton-Burnett's particular matter. One needs, I suspect, to examine her work in its entirety—this is her thirteenth novel—to find out if she is engaged in the most subtle variations on a few themes or if, for all her brilliance and however entertainingly, she is repeating herself. This latest book is a slighter version of "Bullivant and the Lambs" and "Two Worlds and Their Ways," though perhaps none the worse for it. The plot, threatening complexity, turns out to be simple. It begins with a false dénouement; there follows a slow unfolding of "what really happened." The setting, like that of the earlier books, is an isolated country house, or rather two country houses; the period is late Victorian. As usual, the talk is unflaggingly brilliant, for in this world it is really possible for human beings to communicate with one another. Just underneath the urbane and glittering surfaces—I have spoken of this contrast before—are depths of passion and despair.

What I now find most engrossing about Miss Compton-Burnett's writing is the moral quality of her imagination

An Ambassador's Report on

TITO'S COMMUNISM

by Joseph Korbel

Dr. Korbel was minister to Yugoslavia from Czechoslovakia immediately following the second World War and remained until the Communists gained control of his government. TITO'S COMMUNISM reveals the striking story that lies behind the real character of the man in power—the bewilderment and fear that mark the lives of a proud and independent people caught in the ideological trap of

TITO'S COMMUNISM

by Josef Korbel

$4.00 • *At your bookseller's*

• THE UNIVERSITY OF DENVER Press

University Park, Denver 10, Colorado

and her never-relaxed concern with the moral problems she deliberately contrives out of her preposterous plots. "We have done a wrong to ourselves and each other," says Edmund Lovat, who believes, mistakenly, that he has married his illegitimate daughter, "done it in innocence. We have done no harm to anyone else, I trust none to ourselves." This careful discrimination between "wrong" and "harm" is typical of an intellectual gambit radical to these novels. Miss Compton-Burnett's subject matter—oddly, it is customary to speak of the limited scope of her fiction—is good and evil in human conduct. She is devoted to the moral cliché, taking it up and looking at it closely, toying with it, mocking it, and, in her wisdom, never forgetting that it is usually a relation, however poor, of the eternal verities. Consider the wisdom of the cook in "Darkness and Day":

"Well, Mrs. Spruce, what do you really think of the things that lurk about us?" said Fanshawe.

"Miss Fanshawe, I think that hardness and harsh judgment are more detrimental to us than the sins to which the flesh is heir. I should be inclined to condemn the first and condone the second. I make it no secret."

The central interest of this fiction does not lie in its remarkable play of wit, so admired by the blurb-writers, but in its serious examination of such verities—usually they are more complex—and in its power to dramatize them.

ERNEST JONES

The Rich Man's Revival

THE OXFORD GROUP: ITS HISTORY AND SIGNIFICANCE. By Walter Houston Clark. Bookman Associates, $3.50.

THIS scholarly and admirably balanced study is by all odds the best account of the Oxford Group which has yet appeared. The early history of the movement is carefully reconstructed; the origin of the Group's ideas is traced out in a most satisfactory manner; and the extraordinary personality of Frank Buchman is vividly delineated. The book also contains some extremely interesting "case histories" which reflect the impact of the movement on a representative sample of early "groupists."

This entirely sympathetic study confirms what critics of the movement have consistently maintained—namely, that the Oxford Group is an upper-class or rich man's revival. Over a decade ago Reinhold Niebuhr took the accurate measure of the Oxford Group: "The idea is that if a man of power is converted, God will be able to control a larger area of human life through his power than if a little man were converted." The Oxford Group, as Dr. Niebuhr then pointed out, was merely "an additional evidence of the decay in which we stand."

Dr. Clark concedes that the movement's primary appeal is to the rich and highly placed, but he offers a satisfactory explanation of this appeal: the churches of the upper classes have long since lost their vitality. Thus at the upper level the "cults" draw recruits from the orthodox church groups just as at the lower level the "sects" are able to draw recruits from the same groups and for much the same reason. The upper classes are really not much more "secure" in our society than the lower classes; they too have their problems, anxieties, and neuroses. The Oxford Group skilfully caters to the religious and emotional needs of the upper classes and also, of course, to their prejudices. For example, the movement has always been blind to social evils, and even this friendly historian concedes its right-wing bias. Nevertheless, the movement has a great deal to tell us—and most of it is well told here—about the weaknesses and ailments of contemporary society and its churches.

Although Dr. Clark's analysis of the reasons why the Oxford Group appeals to certain elements of the upper classes is quite convincing, he somehow fails to see that revivalism—even upper-class revivalism—has succeeded most spectacularly when there was strong reason for stressing individual "sin" rather than social action; or, to put it more sharply, when there were compelling reasons to divert the individual's attention from social evils by making him morbidly conscious of his personal sins. Dr. Clark, for example, feels that the Oxford movement is "definitely weak" on the intellectual side and that its indifference to social evil is a form of moral obtuseness. But it can be more plausibly argued that indifference to social evil is a prime characteristic of all revival movements and that the failure of revivals to stress intellectual concerns is a deliberate tactic and not a "weakness."

All the same, here is a fascinating study of one of the most interesting modern cults—a study worth reading for its inherent interest as well as for the light it sheds on important theoretical issues.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

The NATION — **Money-Saving Magazine Combinations**

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine . . . . . $9.50 — You Save $2.50

☐ *with* Consumer Reports . . . . . $10.75 — You Save $1.25

These club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION BY ITSELF:

☐ One Year $7 ☐ Two Years $12 ☐ Three Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years. ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

5/5/51

FACTS ON FILM

BY MARY ANNE GUITAR

A LARGE part of the powerful effect of good documentaries comes from their forceful presentation of an idea; there is little room for ambiguity. Perhaps this is why the United Nations films seem so impressive. When they do fall short of the mark, the reason is not lack of professional skill or the absence of good material but an uncertainty about just what they can say on film.

The teams which produced these films must have been in the position of a producer with so many bosses that he was bound to alienate someone. The safest course would be to document problems about which there would be little dissension. That is substantially what was done.

"Defense of the Peace" (twelve minutes) analyzes the structure of the U. N. "There Shall Be Peace" (ten minutes) tells the story of the United Nations' birth. "Tomorrow Begins Today" (ten minutes) shows member nations in action working on common problems. "The People's Charter" (seventeen minutes) does the same kind of job in more detail. "Searchlight on the Nations" (seventeen minutes) discusses the vast communications machinery of the U. N. "Clearing the Way" (twenty minutes) humanizes the construction job that has resulted in Manhattan's U. N. building.

If the U. N. films were devoted exclusively to self-promotion, they might be rather pompous and of only academic interest. But this is not the case. Most of the productions are distinguished by really superior visual material shot on location in all parts of the world. The topics may be "safe" ones, but the treatment distinguishes the films from run-of-the-mill documentaries.

"Crossroads" (thirty-three minutes), an exploration into the minds of disturbed children, ranks with the best that has been done on this subject. It is even better than "The Quiet One" in suspense, characterization, and camera work. The opening scene is a highly effective chase of the "delinquent" by two police officers. The boy's history—his bad relationship with his stepfather, his illegitimacy, his lack of direction—is told in snatches as he goes through the unsympathetic cross-examination by a court. After rehabilitation in an institution he is reunited with his family, which has presumably been reeducated enough to accept him as a person. Other case histories are woven into the film, and this is where it gains power. There are some rare photographs of children caught off guard emotionally. The "message" seems to be that through international cooperation all nations can devise better ways of helping disturbed children. An older film, "First Steps" (eleven minutes), which won the Academy award for the best short documentary, is also worth seeing. Made as a pictorial record of therapy for crippled children, it has an emotional appeal that transcends its message.

Even when the subject is a vast and complex one, the producers make it moving by focusing on a single family or individual. "That All May Learn" (nineteen minutes) shows UNESCO's work in eradicating illiteracy by picturing a Mexican farmer and his family. "U. N. at Work" (seventeen minutes) shows how the International Children's Emergency Fund functions in special cases. "Green Gold" (twenty-two minutes), a study of timber problems, is reminiscent of a fine pictorial documentary like "The River," and is a beautiful job. "Home of the Homeless" (ten minutes), the first formal representation of the work of the International Refugee Organization of the U. N., tells the story of a day in the life of a D. P. This was filmed at a camp near Munich. It was written by Samuel Spewack and narrated by Henry Fonda.

Timely reports on the U. N.'s current activities are given in the so-called "screen magazines." One of the best, "Screen Magazine 3," was devoted to an earthquake in Ecuador which challenged the United Nations relief and rehabilitation agencies. Others giving "the U. N. story behind the headlines" have been entitled "Need for Accord on Atomic Energy," "Unique Method of Interpretation Assists at U. N. Meetings," "U. N. Children's Emergency Fund Helps Feed Six Million Children."

The names of regional dealers who distribute the films may be obtained from the U. N. The New York distributor is Association Films, 35 West Forty-fifth Street. Films running ten minutes cost $2.50 a day; twenty minutes, $4; thirty minutes or more, $6.

Drama Note

MARGARET WEBSTER'S productions of Shakespeare, though one may quarrel with some of her interpretations, are always knowing and intelligent and always done *con amore*. It is obvious that Miss Webster loves the Old Boy and considers his plays good theater as well as high art. Her production of "The Taming of the Shrew"—which I'm told a Washington theater advertised as the original version of "Kiss Me Kate"—is the first offering of the spring season at the New York City Center. I thought it could have been a bit less rowdy and raucous; yet I suspect that the play might have been performed pretty much this way at the Globe Theater, and the sense of authenticity made up for some of the excesses.

I did feel, however, that the direction was unfair to Claire Luce, who plays the part of Katherina. She is allowed only one facial expression—a mean look and a fierce one—to denote her shrewishness, and apart from the fact that shrewishness may have a

YOUR SKIN AND ITS CARE

By H. T. Behrman, M.D., and O. L. Levin, M.D.

Two dermatologists give you the up-to-date scientific facts. They tell you in detail exactly what to do to beautify and improve your skin, how to avoid or correct skin disorders, and how to deal with many skin problems as: Daily care of the face—allergies—cosmetics—pimples—blackheads—acne—whiteheads—cysts—boils—oily skin—dry skin—chapping—poison ivy—cold sores—hives—superfluous hair—ringworm—moles—birthmarks—scars—warts—tumors—skin cancer—excessive sweating—etc.

"The type of book to which the physician can refer his patients."—Journal of the American Medical Association.

"Accurate, unvarnished story of practical skin care."
—Connecticut State Medical Journal.

Price $2.50, incl. postage 5-day, Money-back Guarantee

EMERSON BOOKS, Inc., Dept. 868-F
251 West 19th Street, New York 11

Buy Your Books through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

variety of faces, some of them quite attractive, Miss Luce's one expression gets monotonous and less and less effective. She is allowed more scope in the last scene, but more subtlety throughout would improve her characterization. Ralph Clanton makes an appropriately handsome and swashbuckling Petruchio; Susan Douglas, a pretty and winsome Bianca. Among the other performers, I liked Larry Gates as Sly, Dion Allen as Grumio, and Don Somers as the Pedant. MARGARET MARSHALL

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

ROBERT E. GARIS writes from London about a Sadler's Wells performance of "Cosi Fan Tutte" which showed the two sides of the question of opera in English with complete clarity. "The recitatives were excellent; one heard every word, and knew what was going on"—though one also acquired, incidentally, "a lucid insight into the failings of diction, intonation, and acting of the average opera star." But in the musical portions the results were bad. The translation was bad, to begin with; and "what good does it do to give the audience the bare sense, sometimes wrong, of what is being said, when all the time its feelings are being corrupted by the Ella Wheeler Wilcox sensibility displayed in the words themselves? None; and a lot of harm. Even its most ill-educated member must feel some disparity between the supposed elegance of the situations and the vulgarity of the language in which they are carried on; and since we are naturally more immediately responsive to words than to music, the one impression must in the end crowd out the other, so that the audience is hearing, essentially, not a great work of art but a third-rate farce. . . . Then the words, half the time, and especially in an opera with much florid vocal writing, can't be heard anyway, so there's that additional tax on the attention, to strain to hear something not worth hearing. And in the concerted numbers everything is a jumble." To which I would say: what is the good of even a distinguished translation if, even in a small theater like Sadler's Wells (to say nothing of a huge one like the Metropolitan), the words can't be heard half the time in the arias and are a jumble in the concerted numbers, and thus are only an additional tax on the attention distracting it from the music?

It seems to Mr. Garis that if the opera had been sung in Italian the singers "would have risen to the occasion, put on a little more dignity and grace and elegance . . . and given a more refined performance." Instead there was "coarse burlesque . . . and no respect for those moments in which, through the silliness of the women, the fatuousness of the men, comes the real tenderness of people in love: for instance, during that wonderful farewell quintet in the first act peasant types in the background horsed about with parody embraces. In short, such constant distractions of the average audience's tiny powers of attention to music as to show that the aim was to send the audience away amused, if nothing else."

If Mr. Garis had attended the recent performance of "Don Giovanni" (in Italian) by the New York City Opera Company that I attended he would have found the principals—Pease, Petrak, Jongeyans, Faull, Likova, Haskins, Renan—indeed rising to the occasion with singing and, for the most part, acting of great distinction. But he also would have found the audience's attention pulled away from them with the "constant distractions" devised by the stage director: the explicit acting out of Don Giovanni entering Donna Anna's bedroom during Leporello's singing of *Notte e giorna faticar*, the introduction of active and involved bystanders for Donna Elvira's *Ah! qui mi dice mai*, with the additional by-play of the innkeeper and his shrewish wife during Leporello's Catalogue Aria, and so on. And by the time he got to the final scene, in which there were some newly introduced prancing demons but only a somewhat smeared up Commandant who was not a terrifying stone statue, Mr. Garis would have discovered that stage direction in the New York City Opera Company is a matter of thinking up distracting monkey-business, not of taking care of essentials like make-up.

He would have discovered this all over again at the last performance of "Die Meistersinger"—in the make-up and wigs of some of the mastersingers. Beckmesser's orange-colored wig of last fall was gone this time; but the stage director had had no time to notice that for the face of Pogner framed in gray wig and beard Scott's nose was too small; while Pease's face was still insufficiently lined and his wig and beard insufficiently gray and his appearance therefore still too youthful for Sachs. But even with this handicap, and with the further handicap of a beautiful light baritone instead of the deeper, weightier, and darker voice the part calls for, Pease's Sachs is one of the most completely achieved, effective, and moving performances in my experience. Scott's rich bass made him an excellent Pogner; Spence, Bible, Petrak, Sprinzena, and Herbert sang well, but except for Herbert were not convincing to the eye; the orchestra's playing under Rosenstock was more precise and finished this time.

At this point I received a letter from someone who had heard the Little Orchestra Society performances (in Eng-

JUST ISSUED
GUILLAUME DUFAY
13 Secular Songs
Instrumental and Vocal
Performed by Pro Musica Antiqua
E. M. S. 205 12" L. P. $5.95
ELAINE MUSIC SHOP
8 EAST 44th STREET NEW YORK CITY 17
bet. Fifth & Madison MUrray Hill 2-6154

FIRST TIME! * from "Bach-Gesellsch." † from "Urtext" ed.
Pocket-sized, Low-Priced Editions
BACH* Well-Temp. Clavier, 2 vols., each..... .98
BEETHOVEN† Violin Sonatas, 2 vols., each..... .98
& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG
Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From
LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138 New York 32, N. Y.

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN
MARY MARTIN
RAY MIDDLETON
IN
South Pacific
Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with MYRON McCORMICK
MAJESTIC Thea., 44 St. W. of B'way
Evenings 8:30 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

lish) of "The Abduction from the Seraglio" and "Così Fan Tutte," and who reported that even in an auditorium as intimate as Town Hall he had "great difficulty in making out sentences or meaningful patterns of words, even when these were mouthed by an all-American cast," and that "it was absolutely impossible to understand anything at all in the ensembles, which are the focal points of Mozart operas." More important, he thought, was the fact that what the audience did hear of the words caused it to laugh at wrong places—that "moments of exquisite loveliness in the score were drowned by laughter brought on by slangy or contemporary expressions. The urge to put in laughs is too great for the librettist to resist, especially when he has little or no feeling for the music"—which he had found true of all the Mozart translations he had heard. In his opinion "the process of transforming the language of the librettos into contemporary or stilted English translations is like reorchestrating the score so that flutes are replaced by tubas and clarinets by tonettes." And where, at the Metropolitan, the casts have to include foreign singers, there will again be laughter at wrong places over things like Erna Berger's opening phrase of *Ach, ich liebte* in last year's "The Abduction," which my reader says came out as "Vas Oi hoppy, vid moi lufver."

CONTRIBUTORS

MARIANNE MOORE is the author of several books of poetry, including "Nevertheless" and "What Are Years."

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH, drama critic of *The Nation* now on leave, is Brander Matthews professor of dramatic literature at Columbia University.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL is professor of English at the University of Chicago. A new edition of his "Literary Opinion in America" will soon be published.

MARTIN GREENBERG contributes to *Commentary, Partisan Review,* and other magazines.

ERNEST JONES is a member of the English Department of Queens College.

CAREY McWILLIAMS, staff contributor to *The Nation,* is the author of "Witch Hunt: The Revival of Heresy."

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Stepmother Tongue

Dear Sirs: Albert Guérard in *The Nation* of March 31 quotes I. A. Richards on an international language: "It must be clear from any threat to the economic, cultural, social, or political status or independence of any person or any people. It must carry no implication of intellectual, technological, or other domination."

There is just one language which fulfils these requirements. It is a rich, supple language with a great history and literature, and for centuries it *was* an international language. That is Latin.

If through UNESCO or some other agency every school in the United Nations taught Latin from the very beginning in addition to the native tongue, within a generation we should have an international language far superior to any manufactured substitute. Anybody who can learn Esperanto can learn Latin. It lends itself easily to modern technical terms. It is the common mother or stepmother tongue of half the civilized world. Even in this letter I count thirty-one words of Latin origin!

MIRIAM ALLEN DEFORD

San Francisco, Cal., April 8

Why Not Spanish?

Dear Sirs: It is good to note the persistent and continuous attacks on the international-language problem. There seems to be common international, though informal, agreement that a world language is necessary to supplement national languages if the people of the world are really to understand one another.

"Interlingua-English," referred to by Albert Guérard in his interesting essay, like Esperanto, Volapük, and other international languages, is an effort in the right direction. But why something new? Invention always carries with it the necessity of development and improvement. That in itself may take almost as much time as it takes a natural language itself to get under way. Why not do the same with an already existing language? No, I am not parading the usual international-language candidates, English or French, which Mr. Guérard points out are too saturated with inconsistencies. I suggest rather a cleaned-up Spanish with the more lucid pronunciation of Colombia or Mexico rather than of Spain.

Spanish as a supplementary world language has much in its favor. First, it is by and large a logical language. Its comparatively few exceptions to the rule, particularly in the conjugations, could easily be replaced by logical formations. Thus *yo se* (I know) could easily give way to *yo sabo* to become consistent with the regular conjugations. Furthermore, Spanish has a much more easily recognizable Latin base than English or French, or even Italian; and it is perhaps the most phonetic language there is. With a little correction, it could be made completely so.

As for other qualities, Spanish already has a rich literature, folklore, and idiom. It avoids the hard mechanics and soulless quality that mark an artificial language. The impetus that "Interspan"—if I may be permitted to coin a word—would get from the fact that a large number of nations already use Spanish would go a long way toward establishing it as a functional world language.

J. BENTLEY LIGHTMAN

Paris, April 20

Lincoln in Interlingua

Seniores: Permitte me de submitter a vostre lectores un problema apparentemente pedantic sed realmente de considerabile interesse historic. Tentante un traduction in interlingua del famose passage in le discurso de Gettysburg per Abraham Lincoln, *"of the people, by the people, for the people,"* io nota con surprisa que le distinction logic del tres aspectos indicate per le prepositiones *"of"*, *"by"*, e *"for"*, es quasi impossibile. Que significa le constatation que le governamento es "del populo," "per le populo," e "pro le populo"?

Post alicun cogitation io crede que le mysterio pote esser resolvite per un accentuation differente que reduce le triplice a un duplice constatation. Le idea non es que le governamento debe esser un governamento del populo, per le populo, e pro le populo sed plus tosto que le governamento del populo debe esser un governamento per le populo e pro le populo. —Iste interpretation es sin dubito multo plus plausibile, sed es illo correcte? Ha alicuno inter vos lectores

RESORTS

BREEZEMONT PARK
ARMONK, N.Y.

We Proudly Celebrate

our 15th birthday — Breezemont Park and Camp Alyssum. In 1936 we organized a unique combination of gracious hotel accommodations for parents together with an outstanding camp for children 4–11 in age. Today we are a renowned institution popular with the intelligent parent interested in his child's growth and happiness and who wants to partake in this adventure. Camp is a progressive summer's experience. We invite every interested reader to inspect our facilities. We are only 35 miles from the city.

Opening for Decoration Day Week-End
Phone Armonk Village 3-3162, 3-8155

Stonegate LODGE

Informal Adult Estate in the Adirondacks
Limited to — 14-mile Lake — Pollen-Free
Tennis • Fishing • Golf • Motor Boating
Folk-Square Dancing • Concert Trio • Dance Band
Bachelor Club Rate
New York Office: 250 West 57th Street. Circle 6-6386
Reduced Rates to July 10th — Louis A. Roth, Director

SUMMER RENTAL

SOUTH NORWALK WATERFRONT, modern furnished home, just being finished, fine beach, easy commuting. Three bedrooms; large living room over water, spectacular view Sound; all-electric kitchen, refrigerator, deep freeze, washing machine, dishwasher; 2 baths, breezeway, garage, terrace. Indoor, outdoor fireplaces. Through Labor Day. UNiversity 4-2510.

PROFESSORS, WRITERS, ARTISTS. special summer rates: $99-180 per month, completely equipped 1- or 2-bedroom apartments, all utilities, janitor service, garage included. THE FOUR SEASONS APARTMENTS, on its own Gulf beach, Lido Beach, Sarasota, Florida.

HOUSE FOR SALE—NEW JERSEY

OAKLAND, 5 rooms, newly built, refrigerator, gas stove, aluminum storm windows; large plot, automatic oil heat; easy commute; lake privileges; sacrifice $11,000; principles only. B. Sklar, 130 East 16th St., New York City.

FOR SALE OR RENT

3½-ROOM, all-year rustic bungalow, modern conveniences, acreage, brook; 60 miles N. Y. C. Sale—rent. Phone: MO 2-1697.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

WRITERS!—Book mss. wanted for publication, fiction, non-fiction. Free booklet. Write today! **Daniel S. Mead Literary Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. C. 16.**

WE print, publish and distribute your manuscript in pamphlet or book form. *Send for free folder.* WILLIAM-FREDERICK PRESS; Pamphlet Distributing Company, 313 West 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

PERIODICAL

COMPLEX; Spring issue, "Comparative Sexual Behavior." Is orgasm for the female normal? Also "Politics vs. Psychoanalysis." Send 60¢. 232 (N) West 29 St., N.Y.C. 1.

ART

SUMMER SCHOOL OF ART, July, August. Write: George Holt, North Bennington, Vermont.

informationes o observationes historic a contribuer que pote clarificar pro me iste fascinante question?

ALEXANDER GODE,
Director of Research, Institute of Interlinguistics, Columbia University

New York, April 12

Save the Public School!

Dear Sirs: The people of America are soon going to be faced with very crucial decisions regarding their public schools. I have in mind the problem presented by the attitude of the Roman Catholic church. Here in New England it is becoming increasingly evident that the hostility of the church for our public schools is quite similar to its hostility for public schools in Europe.

If anyone doubts that this is a very real threat, let him examine the state of the public schools in many cities and towns in New England. In some hardly a new public school has been built in half a century. Only the bare minimum required by law is spent. In short, our system of education is under attack.

We cannot afford to let one of the most powerful American contributions to man's struggle for freedom, the public school, disappear from the scene.

WALTER C. BATES

Torrington, Conn., April 24

Presidential Tenure

Dear Sirs: Your editorial The Two-Term Limit (March 10) pointed out that some persons whose motives are beyond question have favored the new amendment limiting Presidential tenure because of "the Jeffersonian fear that the power of a President can become self-perpetuating" and answered them by saying that "what Jefferson feared was that the country might succumb to monarchy," but that "between the people of the United States and autocratic rule in this country are not the mechanics of election but the degree of vitality left in the Bill of Rights."

It is appropriate, however, to point out, as the editorial does not, that Jefferson's strong distaste for "perpetual reeligibility of the President," as he expressed it in a letter to Washington, was an early reaction to the as yet unratified document. "As time went on," Claude G. Bowers says in "The Young Jefferson," "Jefferson's fear of a monarchy resulting from the reeligibility of the President subsided and died out entirely; and when, years later, he could have had a third term, he based his declination not on principle but on his health and declining powers."

The new amendment is a violation of the Jeffersonian doctrine that each generation should make its own laws: an amendment added to the Constitution by one generation may be difficult for another to subtract.

PAUL J. SCHEIPS

Shalimar, Fla., April 5

Conscientious Objectors

Dear Sirs: A large number of sincere conscientious objectors are being either pulled into the army or forced into civil disobedience because of lack of knowledge of the legal provisions made for them. A large number also are being left out of the legal provisions because of the law's narrow insistence on belief in a "supreme being" as the only basis for a valid claim.

Those who do fit into the framework set up by Congress are faced with another dilemma. The process by which a conscientious objector makes his claim and appeals his case if his claim is not granted by his draft board is a complicated one. Anyone not certain how to make such a claim should get in touch with the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors at 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania, or with one of the regional offices of the Fellowship of Reconciliation at 21 Audubon Avenue, New York 32; 740 North Rush Street, Chicago, Illinois; 4033 University Way, Seattle, Washington; or 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, California. JAMES B. OSGOOD

Chicago, Ill., April 23

Harold Laski Scholarship

Dear Sirs: The National Executive Committee of the Labor Party has decided to launch an appeal for funds to raise a capital sum the income from which will be sufficient, it is hoped, to maintain an annual traveling scholarship to commemorate the work of Harold Laski.

Donations from readers of *The Nation* will be greatly appreciated. They should be sent to Morgan Phillips, Secretary of the Labor Party, Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1. G. WILLIAMS,
Secretary's Department

London, April 9

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MAY 12, 1951 NUMBER 19

The Shape of Things

IN ISSUING THE EXECUTIVE ORDER CREATING the Loyalty Review Board on March 21, 1947, President Truman made it clear that a major purpose was to improve the morale of the federal service by protecting government workers against baseless and malicious charges. Much was said then and later about the existence of standards and procedures which would keep the program from degenerating into a witch hunt. One requirement was that the board must find, on the evidence, that "reasonable grounds exist for belief that the person involved is disloyal." The President has now removed this safeguard by authorizing the discharge of federal employees when the board entertains a "reasonable doubt" of their loyalty. The effect of this amendment, if not its intention, is to vest the board with a virtually unlimited discretion. To say that the standard of "reasonableness" still remains is nonsense; with the burden of proof shifted to the employee, the standard vanishes into thin air.

*

IT IS SAID THAT THE PRESIDENT FELT HE had to take this action because of the difficulties which the board experienced with the Remington case. But over a year ago Cabell Phillips reported in the New York *Times* that Senator McCarthy's charges had "revived some discussion" about the necessity of putting the loyalty program on "a permanent and perhaps broader basis"—meaning one with fewer safeguards for the accused. Senator McCarthy's discovery of the vulnerability of the Administration dates from the completion of the first federal loyalty audit in December, 1949. To call this audit in question, McCarthy merely had to raise a doubt as to its validity—"the great doubt" exploited so effectively in the Tydings campaign. Few American politicians have won bigger stakes on weaker hands. The Senator has been piling up the chips by exploiting the reluctance of the Administration to take, and hold, a principled position. It will be noted that the State Department has now decided to "reopen" the case of John S. Service.

*

THE REPORT OF THE KEFAUVER COMMITTEE filed on May 2 called forth a batch of sermons and editorials on the theme that, all things considered, crime seems to pay pretty well. Approval of the report was nearly unanimous; and the popular verdict was that the committee should continue its work. Unfortunately the devastating appraisal of William O'Dwyer, the former mayor's weak rebuttal, and President Truman's still weaker defense of his ambassador to Mexico have served to divert public attention from significant aspects of the report. Underworlds imply the existence of overworlds. The relationship between these worlds should have been the prime concern of the investigators. To be sure, the committee found evidence that organized criminals had infiltrated into business; but it might well have found, on the same evidence, not only that these criminals had copied the organization and methods of business but that most of the crime syndicates owe their existence and their vast profits to some service they sell to or buy from "respectable" business men. The key problem, in all such investigations, is to trace to their ultimate sources, the funds which are used to corrupt officials. The report barely touches upon this crucial issue, in relation to which William O'Dwyer—his manners and his morals—did not play too important a role during his term in office.

*

WILL THE NEW CONTROLS ON CATTLE AND beef prices really cut costs to consumers by 8 to 10 cents a pound by October 1, or will they lead to a beef famine and flourishing black markets? Ranchers and cattle-feeders who are furious at the action of the Office of Price Stabilization predict the second of these outcomes, and, as was to be expected, they have the support of the Senate Agriculture Committee, which has adopted a resolution calling for repeal of the order "without delay." Yet no one can say that cattle-raising is a depressed branch of farming. As of April 15 prices of beef cattle stood at 152 per cent of the parity level which is supposed to represent a fair price in relation to farm costs. A rollback in three stages of 18 per cent in current prices paid by slaughterers and packers will still bring cattle-raisers 120 to 125 per cent of parity and a rather better dollars-and-cents return than before the outbreak of the Korean war. There can be little sympathy with cattlemen who call the OPS order "confisca-

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 433
The Right to Be Neutral 435
The General's Sanctuary *by Freda Kirchwey* 435

ARTICLES

Bevan's Rebellion *by Howard K. Smith* 437
MacArthur Revealed *by Willard Shelton* 439
The Path to Deadlock *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 440
The Railroads and the 14th Amendment *by Dorothy Dunbar Bromley* 441
Why Our Allies Complain *by Fritz Sternberg* 443
Everybody's Business. Free Trade: Fading Dream *by Keith Hutchison* 445

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

The Mixed Economy *by Charles E. Noyes* 446
Of Boors and Heroes *by Harvey Swados* 446
Pamphleteer of Freedom *by Donald A. Roberts* 448
Verse Chronicle *by Rolfe Humphries* 448
Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 450
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 450

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 451

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 412 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 452

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo — *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch — *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

tory." What concerns the housewife is whether a producers' strike, which is threatened, will in fact reduce the legitimate supply of beef. In this connection we note that the total number of cattle on the farms is at a high point—six million head more than three years ago. If the producers refuse to sell at the ceiling prices, they will have a problem in feeding and financing these large herds. Of course they can, without penalty, sell at higher prices if they can find buyers prepared to flout the law. But the OPS has registered all slaughterers, and those who pay more than legal prices or fail to keep full records can be put out of business. Thus, provided the OPS can recruit enough staff to do an effective policing job, the black market will depend on backyard operators wholly outside the law, and we doubt very much if it will attain any importance.

*

IN ITALY THE POLITICAL TEMPERATURE rises as the municipal elections approach. Without having the significance of the general elections in France, they will reflect the mood of the Italian people and indicate how far the shrewd De Gasperi has succeeded in repairing the damage caused by the withdrawal from his Cabinet of Saragat's Socialists, a move which reduced the coalition to its own divided Christian-Democrats and to the small Republican Party, with its two stars, Sforza and Pacciardi. The Saragat ministers had to leave in order to meet the demand of Romita, leader of the center Socialist group, who made this the condition of the merger of the two factions. The merged party—called the Italian Section of the Socialist International (P. S.—S. I. S.)—has been characterized by most Roman commentators as a "marriage of convenience." It was motivated by a common desire to strengthen the anti-Communist front in the coming municipal elections by preventing a dispersion of votes. The new party has entered into a series of local deals with other anti-Communist parties, even the Christian-Democrats, in most of the provincial capitals where elections will be held. All this has disturbed the leftists of the former Romita party, especially its two most significant spokesmen, Ignazio Silone and Matteo Matteotti. Silone, who placed too much hope in the split in the Communist Party led by Magnani and Cucchi, again finds himself in the role of a dissenter who constantly appeals for a unity he cannot bring about. Promptly taking advantage of the new situation, Togliatti, Communist leader, has seized the platform of "neutralism" abandoned by Romita and has promised to support any government, even one headed by de Gasperi, that will regain its "independence from America." Some close observers believe that this new Communist strategy—perhaps even mapped out during Togliatti's recent trip to Moscow—may indicate a major shift in the party line throughout Europe.

The Right to Be Neutral

L'AFFAIRE GILSON has been hotly debated in France. It is of interest to Americans not only because of the issues involved but because it was first made public in this country. M. Etienne Gilson, member of the French Academy and one of the greatest living medieval historians, has been connected with the Collège de France for forty-three years. During the German occupation he refused several offers to teach abroad and remained in France. As an eminent Catholic, he created acute discomfort two years ago among the advocates of a "tough" policy toward Russia by writing a series of articles for the conservative Paris *Monde* which suggested that Europe remain neutral in the struggle between Russia and the United States.

Since the current American practice of classifying anyone in favor of a negotiated settlement as a fellow-traveler or a hireling of Moscow had not yet spread to France, M. Gilson's first articles were received there with approval or disapproval, according to the bias of the commentator, but with thoughtful respect. The "neutralist" movement that subsequently developed in France, Italy, and other Western countries attained proportions its originator had not anticipated, and aroused such controversy that M. Gilson was finally impelled to publish a statement, also in the *Monde*. The atmosphere, he said, had become so impassioned that any objective discussion of relations with Russia was impossible. He himself, being a thinker rather than a fighter, was retiring from the debate. For personal reasons, he had decided to establish himself for a time in Toronto.

But his ideas persisted even after he no longer urged them, and were frequently cited by the more active French neutralists. To counter them, fanatical opponents of any agreement with Russia launched a campaign to discredit him. It was opened by a letter published in the American Catholic weekly *Commonweal*, signed by Professor Waldemar Gurian, which accused M. Gilson of having "preached the sad gospel of defeatism" at the University of Notre Dame in Indiana and quoted him as having said that he had left France because he did not want to endure another occupation.

Charges that he was a "traitor" and a "fugitive" were immediately hurled at M. Gilson by the weekly *Carrefour*, representing the Catholic Gaullists, and by various publications whose sole idea is to attack Russia. Smarting under the injustice, the distinguished historian also dipped his pen in vitriol and wrote a reply to Professor Gurian which was published in *Le Monde* of March 8. One paragraph ran as follows:

> You have lied three times; and I may add that you are the last man who should have spoken of these things. . . . You have yourself twice sought refuge, the first time in Germany, the second time in America. . . . Today you are sporting on the grassy plains of Indiana . . . When you have finished the work you have still to do between Riga and Vladivostok, you will have the right to speak.

Since then it has been learned that M. Gilson has kept his house in Burgundy and has no intention of quitting France for good. In any case, as various French neutralists have pointed out, he has not followed the example of some of those ardent French patriots who when the Korean crisis became acute took the precaution of sending their wealth to North Africa and keeping their yachts, ready for a get-away.

L'Affaire Gilson has various illuminating facets. It shows how widespread is the tendency to libel wildly anyone who maintains an independent attitude on the war issue, even a person whom only an idiot could call pro-Russian. At the same time the readiness with which many diverse groups rushed to the defense of M. Gilson is encouraging. It shows that people who want to preserve liberty of thought and expression will still hit back at those who are trying to use the Great Debate on war and peace as a means of settling old political scores.

The General's Sanctuary

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

PERHAPS the most important aspect of General MacArthur's testimony last week was something which became evident only by degrees, as the first effects of his vigor, clarity, and absolute assurance began to wear off. It was this: the General himself, like the Chinese in Manchuria, occupies a "privileged sanctuary" from which he emerges to do battle when conditions warrant and in which he takes instant shelter when it looks as if he might be walking into a trap. That sanctuary is his former post as theater commander. Its value during the Senate inquiry was twofold. First, it insured complete respect for his analysis of the Korean fighting and the somber results that would flow from a long continued stalemate. Second, with this as background, it enabled him to advocate a declared war against China itself, without accepting any responsibility whatsoever for the world-wide military and political consequences of such a move, while at the same time freely expressing or cautiously refusing to express his opinion as to the probability of one consequence or another.

He insisted that a "limited" war, such as he had been forced to conduct in Korea, was one which meant unlimited casualties; that the way to end the war promptly was to bomb China's supply lines and utilize Chiang Kai-shek's forces for landings on the Chinese coast: that an attack on China would not in his opinion result in retaliation by the Chinese Communists or intervention by Russia. He confidently expounded his reasons for believ-

ing the war would be ended rather than extended by this strategy—China's weakness in all but man-power, Russia's unpreparedness in the Far East—but retired to his sanctuary when questioners tried to find out what was actually known about Soviet or Chinese intentions, Soviet strength in Europe, Russia's atomic-bomb stock, or what would happen in case the Chinese fought back or retaliated in another quarter, or Moscow decided, after all, to come to the assistance of its ally, perhaps with a "limited" action of its own. These were matters for the Administration, for the Joint Chiefs, not for a mere theater commander, and so, he said, had been the responsibility of knowing, last November, that the Chinese were preparing to cross the Yalu.

Since the entire validity of MacArthur's case depends on probabilities which lie outside the purview of a theater commander, one may wonder how any man can have the temerity to argue it with such assurance. But temerity is a quality the General has to a degree no Senator was able to match; with the result that his testimony was never effectively challenged even on the limited but humanly crucial issue of American casualties. The question—what evidence have we that American lives would be saved if the attack were carried to China?—led directly into the General's privileged sanctuary. And from that base not even the earnest probings of Senator McMahon could dislodge him.

YET MacArthur emerged from his three-day ordeal, not only calm and fresh as a daisy, but clearly the champion of a positive policy, an end-the-war policy, as against the negative, resist-aggression policy of Truman and Acheson. And as the current week began, it was apparent that if the Administration's position was to be retrieved it would be by other generals—Marshall, Bradley, perhaps Eisenhower—who have the ungrateful task of justifying a bloody holding operation whose end, from a military point of view, cannot even be discerned. This in itself is a damaging confession of weakness on the part of the Administration, this dependence on military leaders to defend what, in its largest aspect, is a political more than a military policy.

Those who support the government's position will continue to explain that limited war in Korea and the patience to endure it may be the price of peace, the only way to win time for the consolidation of our alliances and the preparation of our defenses against still greater perils. They will doubtless reject MacArthur's optimistic guesses as to the chance of a general war growing out of his proposed war on China and will emphasize the threat this strategy offers to Europe and our interests there. Britain's growing distress over the steps now being taken in the direction advocated by the General will serve to illustrate the point. But the Administration's case is still a negative one, desperately hard to sell to a public sick of tension and horrified by the monthly toll, so often and eloquently cited by MacArthur, of "thousands and thousands and thousands" of American dead. What the American people need today, need and demand, is leadership, clarity, something positive and active and hopeful. They demand peace, with victory. All this MacArthur symbolizes and promises. Can the Administration successfully counter this lavish offering with its doctrine of limited war—which is the other name for stalemate?

Our policy in Asia has in truth been unsure, vacillating, and lacking in courage. Republican pressure forced a reversal of our proclaimed stand on Formosa; it prevented early recognition of the Peking government; it set us at odds with the independent nations in the U. N. Today it is responsible, one must assume, for the latest shift in our policy toward Formosa: the new American military mission will build up and ready Chiang's army for battle—though where and how it is to fight no one can say, if it is not to be sent to the mainland. And as this issue goes to press, the United States is sponsoring a formal resolution in the Sanctions Committee of the General Assembly calling for a war-materials embargo against China and the creation of a "watchdog" committee. Besides this, the State Department is getting ready to advocate a blockade of the China coast and the right to bomb Manchuria if things get worse in Korea. In other words, even while Mr. Acheson and the generals defend their policy of restraint as opposed to MacArthur's policy of aggression, they are preparing to follow his lead unless the Chinese obligingly cooperate in maintaining a relatively quiet front.

The logic of war is on the side of MacArthur. The logic of peace demands a far more positive and courageous course of action than the Administration has ever shown the will to adopt. Perhaps peace is now out of reach, but we shall not know as long as the President accepts MacArthur's premises in regard to Formosa and Chiang, the Peking government, Syngman Rhee, the Thirty-eighth Parallel, and tomorrow adopts his views on the bombing and blockading of China. The only effective answer to the General's plan would be a new, honest effort to make peace. Instead of clamoring for sanctions the American delegation in the United Nations should be directed to sponsor new approaches to a settlement. The success of the U. N. forces in blocking China's latest drive across the Parallel gives us another psychological moment for such an attempt. And with MacArthur at home, if not exactly out of circulation, a peace move presumably would not again be anticipated, and destroyed, by the initiative of a theater commander.

Peace by negotiation would be something to offer the American public, something better than indefinite stalemate in Korea—and better, too, than "peace" by expanded war.

Bevan's Rebellion

BY HOWARD K. SMITH

London, May 2

PEOPLE here are absorbed in a great debate as to whether Aneurin Bevan's resignation from the Labor Cabinet was an ear-splitting bang as a man earmarked for power by history thundered his answer to history's call or just a whimper in the night as a peevish politician went off to sulk in the wilderness.

First reactions to his declaration of war on the moderate leaders of Labor favored the conclusion that his gesture was of little moment. His violent and rather arrogant tirade in the House of Commons against the Cabinet he had just quit made a bad impression and was listened to in hostile silence by a House that usually cheers the eloquent Welshman to the rafters. When he left the chamber after his statement, only one of some three hundred Labor members rose to shake his hand—this was a well-known pacifist who carries no weight in the party.

The next day, at a secret conclave of all Labor parliamentarians to discuss the split, he seemed more isolated than ever, though in the meantime two other ministers had followed in his footsteps and left the government. The two other resigning ministers—Harold Wilson from the Board of Trade and John Freeman from the Ministry of Supply—seemed to emphasize Bevan's loneliness rather than provide him support, for their speeches explaining their resignations were conciliatory to the Cabinet in marked contrast to Bevan's fiery defiance.

In the circumstances an unnamable minister whose opinion I asked seemed justified in comparing Nye Bevan with that other stormy, imaginative, and boastful Welshman, Owen Glendower, in Part I of Shakespeare's "Henry IV." Glendower in the play tops off a series of wild boasts with the claim, "I can call spirits from the vasty deep," to which the irritated Hotspur answers, "Why, so can I, or so can any man, but will they come when you do call them?" It seemed that Nye Bevan's long-implied claim to control spirits of rebellion in the Labor movement was no less empty than Glendower's.

The following morning, however, people began to wonder. A meeting of the Labor Party's national executive to discuss the crisis ended with a vote of twenty to four against Bevan. A meeting of the executive of the Trades Unions Congress—the main constituent body of the party—later in the day produced a vote of thirteen to six against him. The minority supporting him was growing. If rank-and-file members represented at the latter meeting are counted, Bevan received the support of two million organized laborers against the Cabinet's eight million.

On the following day the moderate leadership got its worst jolt so far. At a Glasgow conference of delegates from all Scottish trade unions the executive introduced a resolution supporting the Cabinet against Bevan. In a stormy scene the delegates rejected the resolution and put up one of their own supporting Bevan's criticisms—and it was passed by an overwhelming majority.

And on the day after that a Gallup poll was published which indicated a surprising state of sentiment. Sixty per cent of the people sampled upheld Bevan in his contention that no charge should be placed on the free health service. A plurality also said he had done right in resigning. On other issues of the conflict Bevan received minority support, according to the poll, but his minorities ranged from 30 to 40 per cent of the people—big enough minorities to inform the Attlee-Morrison leadership that it had a fight on its hands.

Meanwhile, support for the rebel has grown in the parliamentary party. Where Bevan had but one visible adherent on the day of his speech, at the present moment, a week later, eleven Labor parliamentarians have publicly supported his stand and a score more have done so privately.

The evidence of ten days, however, is still too little to answer the opening question. As Bevan's opponents say, his rebellion took the party by surprise; when the party hierarchy has had time to get its powerful party and union organization wound up, it will grind Bevan—who possesses no organization—under its treads. Equally convincingly, his adherents argue that this much support has come to him spontaneously before he has gone to the country and applied his tremendous personal magnetism to win people to his views. (For three years, in the voting of local Labor parties for the National Executive, Bevan has topped the list, far ahead of his nearest competitor and main antagonist, Herbert Morrison.)

SPECULATION about future developments turns on two questions. The first concerns the fascinating personality of Aneurin Bevan: whether he has the stature to carry out his grand design of capturing organized labor and altering the course of the Western alliance—for it is essentially on this that he has made his challenge. The second concerns the nature of the times in which we live: are they ripe for a revival of the left-wing socialism

---

HOWARD K. SMITH, a staff contributor, is head of the European division of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Bevan has claimed will save us all from economic collapse at home and war abroad?

A valid estimate of Nye Bevan's stature is hard to arrive at, for his political career to date offers evidence sufficient for any sort of judgment. Even his bitter Tory enemies admit his positive qualities: it required extraordinary talent and character for a Welsh lad who had spent eight years in the coal mines to rise to the status of a brilliant intellectual and an orator who today knows only Winston Churchill as peer. In the first five years of Labor's term he amazed his critics by demonstrating executive ability of a high and responsible kind. As Minister for Labor more recently he won universal acclaim by preventing a big railway strike.

But even his friends admit that his ringing speeches show flashes of a childlike volatility. While building up an overpowering structure of argument, he will frequently seem to sweep himself off his feet and throw out some adolescent boast. Or, rattled by a heckler, he has been known suddenly to swear at his audience, ruining by one remark all the sympathy he had built up by his logic. The class hatreds of his boyhood are still deep and powerful in him; many suspect that since he has become an intellectual those hatreds have turned into a general scorn for all who disagree with him.

His critics argue that egotism, not idealism, was the cause of his revolt against the party leaders. When Sir Stafford Cripps left the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, Nye Bevan was passed over and a young unknown, Hugh Gaitskell, was given the job. When Ernest Bevin left the Foreign Office, Nye was again neglected and his arch-foe, Herbert Morrison, was chosen. The mainspring of his revolt was thus, the argument goes, pure disappointed ambition.

Many of his enemies place his motives on a still lower level. He saw, they say, that Labor was losing ground with the voters and was bound to be defeated in a future election; so he deserted a sinking ship in order to escape blame for the disaster and to be able to place it on the heads of Attlee and Morrison. Nye Bevan would then emerge as the prophet and the leader of the party.

There may be something to this, but the non-partisan observer must admit equal plausibility in the argument of his friends. Nye, they say, has never exhibited the opportunism these motives would imply. He has in every public utterance and act always been an outspoken adherent of left-wing socialism. By this conduct he has frequently embarrassed Attlee, which is evidence of his constancy. Nye saw, the argument goes on, that the party was at an indecisive dead-end of policy; the British left was collapsing in a philosophic doubt as to what it really stood for. The Budget showed that in confusion it was moving rightward, the way of the liberal reform party which dies for lack of convictions.

In the larger picture he saw that the West was at a dead-end, trying to combat an idea with military instruments, and that the program to create the instruments would so derange economies and exacerbate social friction that the West would defeat its own purpose. (This was the burden of his resignation argument in the Commons.) So what was an honest politician to do? Quite clearly the answer is do what Nye did: cry out against it all and try to change Britain's and the West's course before it is too late. In other words, his supporters insist, he acted not from base personal motives but as a broad-visioned statesman in a moment of crisis.

THAT brings up the second question: Is the world as Aneurin Bevan envisions it; are the times receptive to the leadership and left-wing socialism he has offered? Within the spatial limits of Britain, his opponents believe, Bevan is hopelessly wrong. The British working classes whom he seeks to woo are the world's soberest, not susceptible to demagoguery or fancy orations. They have gained much from six years of Labor government and are in no mood to destroy the leaders who got it all for them. His supporters retort that Britain's, and Europe's, economies are barely convalescent. There is no margin of wealth with which to undertake extravagant arms programs. In a time of rising prices caused by "wrong-headed" budgeting for arms, Labor is a tinderbox. Bevan, as a firm anti-Communist, will inflame it as no Communist suspected of obeying a foreign power could ever do.

In the larger frame of general Western policy for winning the cold war, the moderate leaders adhere steadfastly to the American conception that the Russians respect only force. To negotiate peace with them we must therefore build military strength from which to bargain. Thus rearmament is the first prerequisite for attaining the great goal of world peace. The bulk of British—and Western—humanity agrees with this conception and this policy. So after the first novelty of Bevan's different policy wears off, he will be lost in a lonely wilderness.

Bevan's friends read current history differently. As Bevan said in his Commons speech, "It has always been clear that the weapons of totalitarian states are first social and economic, and only next military; and if, in attempting to meet the military effect of those machines, the economies of the Western world are disrupted and the standard of living lowered, Soviet communism establishes a whole series of Trojan horses in every nation."

The dispute is an old one, as old as humanity—whether a civilization falls because of outside force or inside weakness. The Bevanites say the latter. They believe, moreover, that a mighty undercurrent of common-man opinion in the world holds that the contest of our time will be won on social rather than economic terms, and that Nye Bevan is the man to bring that undercurrent to the surface and propel it into a flood.

MacArthur Revealed

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, May 3

THE furor over Far Eastern policy reached fever-pitch today as General MacArthur began his testimony before the Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations committees, and there were unmistakable signs that the Democrats have rallied for a counter-attack against the Republican effort to exploit the General politically.

Charges of "whitewashing" the Administration have been hurled against Senator Richard B. Russell, chairman of the joint meeting of the two committees, and the other Democrats who decided by a strict party-line vote to hold the hearings in executive session. "Whitewash," said Senator Jenner of Indiana, "is one of the cheapest commodities this Administration has got," and he was supported by one of the more "respectable" Republicans, Senator Ferguson of Michigan. Surprisingly, Senator Cain of Washington begged his colleagues not to make such accusations. Cain said he had disagreed with the decision against open hearings but was "convinced that no single member voted for executive sessions because of any desire to whitewash the investigation"; and he urged his colleagues "not to credit bad faith" to any member of the committees.

All this is reminiscent of the investigation of the State Department last year, when Jenner and McCarthy shouted "whitewash" so violently that Senator Millard Tydings was ultimately blown out of office. But there are differences—one being that a substantial group of Republicans have serious doubts about crawling out on a limb with General MacArthur, and another that the Democrats are more tenaciously defending the President and his policy.

The release of practically verbatim transcripts of testimony after slight "security" censorship has permitted an appalling disclosure of military, strategic, and diplomatic information. MacArthur has stimulated anti-European isolationism by dismissing the contributions of our allies in the Korean conflict as mere "token" aid, without even mentioning the military commitments of Britain and France elsewhere in Asia. He has told the Kremlin, as well as Congress and the American people, what he thinks he knows about the Russian land, sea, and air power based in the Soviet maritime provinces and his own strategic calculations about Russia's intentions and capabilities.

Release of the Wake Island report last night disclosed more than we had ever known before about MacArthur's views on keeping an American garrison in Japan after conclusion of a peace treaty. Release of the Wedemeyer report on Korea, followed by Republican clamor against the President, was dangerous abuse of a military-diplomatic document for domestic political purposes. If such things are to be dragged out, one might expect to see published for partisan controversy every confidential report to the State and Defense departments from our embassies all over the world.

Open sessions—with some questions and answers reserved as usual for executive meetings—could do no more harm than the procedure adopted. The leaks already have begun. Moreover, ninety-six verbose Senators, each of whom thinks he has the right to decide what is censorable and what he may release anonymously, can actually distort the public picture by revealing partial facts and half-truths that seem to give one party a political advantage. By the time MacArthur, Secretary Acheson, General Marshall, and the Joint Chiefs finish their testimony, the Soviets, and all the world, will have an enormous mass of valuable information.

Certain points have emerged in MacArthur's testimony which may cause some doubts among those who have so fervently adopted him. He has revealed nothing but contempt for the United Nations. He proposes to end the Korean fighting by all-out air and sea attack on China's mainland and if necessary to make that attack alone, with no allies in either Europe or Asia except Chiang Kai-shek. That is the logic to which he is driven by his theory that the Korean war—or any war in which he may be involved—cannot possibly be won except through a maximum of force thrown into that particular theater, with disregard for strategic requirements elsewhere and disdain for the natural function of the diplomat—to limit the fighting if possible while attaining the objectives. He took that position while admitting that he knew little about America's or Russia's stock of atomic weapons, little or nothing about the North Atlantic Pact, little about China, little about the United Nations, whose supreme commander he has been—in fact, that he was a mere "theater commander" without responsibility for global strategy.

One need not be a military expert to observe that MacArthur cannot and does not promise—he merely hopes and believes—that bombing China would ultimately extricate us from our difficulties. The General's anachronisms about the "Oriental mind" and "face," considered in the light of Asia's new nationalisms, reveal an extraordinary heedlessness of history. It may properly be asked whether his revolt against Mr. Truman may not cost us more lives in Korea, as our enemies observe our confusion and are encouraged to prolong the fight, than would have been lost had he kept his appropriate position as a soldier. The General can say, correctly, that as commander in the Far East he did not disobey the orders of his superiors, but he undoubtedly launched a campaign—which he has served notice that he will continue—to force the President to change

those orders. That was insubordination, and that is why he had to be recalled.

In the end the Republicans may discover that they are not exploiting MacArthur but rather that MacArthur, a professional military man, has hoodwinked and exploited them. They are a frustrated group of politicians, but they should have known better than to let themselves be captured by a general on a white horse. Yesterday one of the shrewdest Republicans on Capitol Hill said privately that if this controversy goes on another six months it will split the G. O. P. wide open—non-isolationist, pro-United Nations Republicans cannot possibly tolerate domination of their party either by MacArthur himself or by a Presidential candidate tied to MacArthur's coattails.

The Democrats have shown better morale and greater clarity of thought than they managed to muster last year during the McCarthy smear campaign. Senators Kerr of Oklahoma, McMahon of Connecticut, and Neely of West Virginia have fought hard throughout the ferocious Senate debate. Now that MacArthur has exposed his hand more fully, now that he has recited his contempt for the United Nations and for the whole system of alliances built up to secure the Western world and to avoid the tragedy of global war, their work should be easier and they may get more help from their colleagues. A few other Democrats who have been groaning in indecision may be shocked out of their doubts by what MacArthur has revealed as his policy—total war on China and total disregard of the opinions of the rest of mankind.

The Path to Deadlock

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

TEN weeks of attacks and counter-attacks, of discussions of fundamental issues and peripheral details, of high politics and petty quarreling, have left the average citizen of the world confused, bored, and despairing about the Paris conference of the deputies of the Big Four Foreign Ministers. Since its failure or success will largely decide whether the international situation is to become much worse or somewhat better, an attempt to clarify its involved and endless debates seems in order.

The conference started on March 5. Antagonism developed at once over the question of giving priority to the German question, which was Moscow's reason for requesting the conference. Commenting on the first meetings, the London *Economist* said (March 10): "The Western deputies were ill-advised to contest the Russian wish to put Germany at the head of the list of topics to be discussed, for it is clear to everyone that this is the central problem." The Western deputies insisted that the general causes of the tension in Europe should be taken up first, since this would give them an opportunity to attack the post-war policies of the Kremlin. Thereupon the debate became long and impassioned. The West proposed putting Austria on the agenda; the Russians replied with a demand for reopening the question of Trieste. Every painful point at issue was endlessly discussed—the Balkans, Iran, Indo-China, Korea—although the purpose of the conference was not to settle these questions but simply to draft the agenda for a conference of the Foreign Ministers. Whenever Mr. Jessup reiterated that the causes of the international tension should be discussed first, Mr. Gromyko answered with virulent attacks on the establishment of American military bases in Europe and the Middle East, the Italian peace treaty, the denazification of Austria, and above all the Atlantic Pact.

After a while the Western delegates, especially the French, recognized that the world would not be blown to pieces by the mere mention of the Atlantic Pact. The Western powers had a perfect right to present the pact as a reply to the policies of the Kremlin, but Mr. Gromyko could claim, if he wished to, that it was part of the American policy, enunciated in the Truman Doctrine, of containing Russia and communism, everywhere in the world and by every possible means.

The battle over putting the pact on the agenda led to a counter-offensive by Dr. Jessup designed to insure the discussion of the specific military situation in each of the satellite states—Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and the rest—and to prevent the lumping of all that under the general subject of reduction of armaments.

Several times during the conference the question arose whether it would not be better for the Foreign Ministers to meet even if they brought with them two different lists of topics to be discussed. A meeting would at least represent a last supreme effort, on a high official level, to keep the international situation from degenerating into a total war. Another suggestion which has been made each time the conference has threatened to break up is that the framers of the agenda should put only three items on it—Germany, armaments, Austria—and let the Foreign Ministers try their luck with them.

In between the disappointments of the long and fruitless weeks in Paris there have been moments when an accord seemed almost within reach. For instance, the new draft agenda presented by Mr. Gromyko on April 4 contained concessions which closely approached Western demands. Mr. Jessup might have seized the opportunity to strike a bargain, but according to commentators who can certainly not be accused of pro-Soviet sympathies, like the experienced Pertinax, he stuck out stubbornly for the text he had offered on April 2. One of Gromyko's concessions was a proposal to discuss not only

the causes but "all the effects" of European tension. The Westerners, however, and especially the Americans viewed this as a cunning maneuver to obtain priority for the German issue. Though theoretically such an enlarged agenda would permit any foreign minister to introduce any subject, the Americans feared that the Russians would be able to halt negotiations early in the conference by refusing to discuss other matters until the question of German demilitarization had been settled.

Last week's sessions were comparatively calm. Previously a violent controversy over Korea had brought the conference to the verge of breakdown. Mr. Gromyko had delivered what seemed to the West an intolerably arrogant speech; the British delegate, Ernest Davies, had been provoked to a harsh reply; and the acting president, M. Parodi, had intervened and adjourned the meeting until the next day. Apparently French diplomacy, in the person of M. Parodi, had resigned the mediating role which it had played in many of the most difficult moments of the conference. This was the more regrettable since the conference seemed to have entered a phase in which the gap between the Russian and the Western point of view was narrowing. The chief cause of contention, the demilitarization of Germany and the priority of this question, was no longer in dispute. Even the issue of the Atlantic Pact, which Russia tried to put on the agenda over American objections, was later set aside by Gromyko. At present the disagreements resolve themselves to this: the West wants to drown the reduction of armaments in the inventory of armaments; Russia wants the reverse.

But while these tedious and trying talks have centered around the subjects mentioned above, both sides have been constantly watching developments outside the Palais Rose. The Western powers have felt their position strengthened by a series of events among which the most spectacular has been the signing of the Schuman Plan. The Russians have been encouraged by the multiplication of difficulties within the Atlantic coalition. In the opinion of some diplomatic observers, these factors explained why Mr. Gromyko last Friday rejected the three different agenda drafts presented by Mr. Jessup in an effort to break the deadlock. The Western interpretation of this was that the Russians are not now in any hurry to arrive at an agreement. But neither are they in any hurry to end the Paris talks, and as long as the talks continue one can still hope for a meeting of the Foreign Ministers in Washington. There is even the possibility that out of such a meeting might come a solution for Korea, which seems, from the point of view of the United Nations, to have brought Western diplomacy to its lowest point.

The Railroads and the 14th Amendment

BY DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY

IT'S news when a railroad pays damages for having humiliated and discommoded a Negro passenger. A few months ago the Seaboard Airline Railroad made such a payment, to the tune of $1,500. Yet the trial which began in the Federal Court of the Southern District of New York on January 8 and ended three hours later in a settlement was overlooked by the Associated Press and the metropolitan dailies.

Mrs. Lillie Belle Perez, a widow of fifty living in New York City, had taken a trip on April 5, 1948, to visit relatives in Tampa, Florida. She had obtained a seat on one of the reserved day coaches of the "Silver Meteor," a through train from New York to Tampa. This train travels over the tracks of the Pennsylvania from New York to Richmond and then over the Seaboard's tracks, changing crews at Richmond. After the train left Richmond, Mrs. Perez, in spite of her protests, was forced to move from her reserved seat to a Jim Crow coach, and at Wildwood, Florida, was transferred to a local train marked "For Colored Only."

On her return to New York in June she sued the two railroads for $100,000 and filed a complaint with the Interstate Commerce Commission, which she withdrew after her suit against Seaboard was settled. Her case against the Pennsylvania, which had not discommoded her, was dismissed by Judge Samuel H. Kaufman.

Mrs. Perez was able to collect damages because the United States Supreme Court has ruled more than once against Jim Crow practices in interstate commerce. The first victory was won in 1941 by Arthur W. Mitchell, who from 1935 to 1943 represented the First Illinois District in Congress. Mr. Mitchell, a Negro born in the deep South, who had been Booker T. Washington's office boy at Tuskegee Institute and had risen to be a lawyer and a Congressman, argued his own case before the high court.

In 1937 he bought two first-class tickets entitling him

DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY is a well-known New York journalist.

to an entire Pullman compartment on a trip from Chicago to Hot Springs, Arkansas. After the train crossed into Arkansas, a conductor of the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railroad moved him to a foul-smelling Jim Crow car, at the same time using language that Representative Mitchell considered "too opprobrious and profane" to be spread upon the court record. The conductor, no doubt, feared that he would be penalized if he did not move the Negro passenger, since an Arkansas law passed in 1893 calls on railroads "to provide equal but separate and sufficient accommodations for the white and African races" and imposes a fine on conductors who do not carry out the law.

The Interstate Commerce Commission threw out the Mitchell case in 1938, violating thereby its own legal charter. "It shall be unlawful," the I. C. C. act, passed in 1886, says, "for any common carrier to subject any particular person . . . to any undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage in any respect whatsoever." Tongue in cheek, the I. C. C. ruled that under the circumstances lack of equal (first-class) accommodations was not unduly prejudicial "because there was comparatively little colored traffic." The three-judge Federal District Court, to which I. C. C. decisions are appealed under the law, took the same position.

When Representative Mitchell carried his case to the Supreme Court, he was backed by Solicitor General Francis Biddle, and opposed by ten Southern states—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Their segregation statutes, the attorney generals of these states argued, were enacted "for the purpose of promoting the welfare, comfort, peace, and safety of the people of both races." Abolition of the statutes, they held, was up to Congress and not the Supreme Court—where the filibuster could not be invoked.

IT WAS later than the South thought. Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, in his opinion of April 28, 1941, did not pass on the states' segregation laws, but he and the entire court held that denial of equal accommodations to a person because of his race "would be an invasion of a fundamental individual right which is guaranteed against state action by the Fourteenth Amendment."

For some years the Mitchell decision was construed as applying only to Negroes traveling on first-class tickets. But in 1948, in a case brought by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the I. C. C. ruled that three women who, like Mrs. Perez, had seats in a reserved-seat coach were entitled to remain in them. Mrs. Vashti Brown and her sisters had been accompanying their father's body from New York to Atlanta and had been moved to a Jim Crow coach on the Southern Railway.

Two years earlier the N. A. A. C. P. had taken an interstate bus case to the Supreme Court and won: Mrs. Irene Morgan, traveling by Greyhound bus from Baltimore to Norfolk, had declined to move to the rear after it crossed the Virginia line and had been jailed and fined $10. The court declared the state's segregation law to be "a burden on interstate commerce." As a result, in April, 1950, the N. A. A. C. P. was able to collect $1,500 in damages for Miss Elizabeth Whiteside, who had been put off an interstate bus when it crossed from Missouri into Kentucky.

Progress had been made, but though Negroes slept in the same Pullmans as white folks and used the same smoker and lounge, they were still eating behind a curtain or partition in diners, provided there was a seat for them. Finally, in June, 1950, the Supreme Court ruled on a dining-car case. It was brought by Elmer W. Henderson, who while traveling from Washington to Birmingham as a field representative of the President's Commission on Fair Employment Practices in 1942, had been denied service in the diner, the steward refusing to seat him with white passengers. The I. C. C. and the three-judge District Court had upheld the Southern Railway's regulation.

In the Supreme Court Mr. Henderson was supported by United States Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, who attacked the I. C. C. ruling as Solicitor General Biddle had in 1941. "The notion," Mr. McGrath said in a sixty-eight-page brief, "that separate but equal facilities satisfy constitutional and statutory prohibitions against discrimination is obsolete. The phrase 'equal rights' means the same rights." He referred to the doctrine, yet to be overthrown, laid down in Plessy vs. Ferguson in 1896.

In an eight-to-nothing decision the court held for Mr. Henderson but ducked the constitutional issue, saying that dining-car segregation clearly violated the Interstate Commerce Act.

In November the I. C. C. directed the Southern Railway, and by inference all Southern lines, not to refuse dining-car service to any person because of race. The Southern Railway claimed that it had put such an order into effect July 1. But Mr. Henderson told the I. C. C. that the regulation issued to stewards was still discriminatory. The Southern Railway's instructions, he said, read as follows: "When entering singly, women will be seated with women, men with men, young people with young people, elderly persons with elderly persons, white persons with white persons, and Negroes with Negroes." The Southern replied that no Negro had been refused service when there was a seat in the diner and no complaints had been received.

In all events the Henderson decision has given traveling Negroes a new self-confidence. Since June the N. A. A. C. P. has received more than fifty communica-

tions from Negroes who claim they have suffered some form of discrimination by railroads or buses. The N. A. A. C. P. is hopeful that the Henderson decision will be held to apply to all kinds of interstate travel, no matter what class a Negro is traveling or whether he starts from a Northern or a Southern terminus. One such decision has recently been handed down by Judge Morris A. Soper of the Fourth United States Circuit Court of Appeals in Richmond. On January 27 Judge Soper ruled that the Atlantic Coast Line had violated the rights of W. C. Chance, a school principal, who in 1948 intended to travel by day coach from Virginia to New York, refused to enter the Jim Crow car, and was put off the train.

Why Our Allies Complain

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

AMERICAN military expenditures, which were one-fourteenth (7 per cent) of the national income in the second half of 1950, are to climb to nearly one-fifth (18 per cent) in 1951-52. That is an Administration estimate, made on the assumption that the tension between the Western and the Soviet bloc will continue but will not become worse during the next two years. As I explained in a previous article, the United States has never before had a peace-time military budget that consumed nearly one-fifth of its production and national income; nor have its peace-time military expenditures ever reached the point where they necessitated a lowering of the standard of living. Yet that must now be expected. In 1951 military expenditures can go up to 18 per cent only if the output of consumers' goods is curtailed—which means that the standard of living must go down.

In 1951 increased industrial production cannot possibly keep abreast of the increased demand for military goods. As to how large a gain in production can be expected in 1951, the Economic Report of the President, transmitted to Congress, January, 1951, says:

> In the face of current circumstances and problems we feel that maximum production for 1951 should bring an annual rate of output of about 310 billion dollars at 1950 prices, by the end of the year. While this rate of growth is much higher than the average rate of growth in more normal times, it is not above the reach of our resources as we now should use them. The total increase would be about 20 billion dollars, or about 7 per cent above the annual rate at the end of 1950. Roughly 15 billion dollars of this total gain could be expected to come from increases in employment and working hours, and the remainder from increases in productivity.

In short, the increase in military expenditures from 7 to 18 per cent of the national income will be counteracted by a mere 7 per cent increase in industrial output. That is why the production of consumers' goods will have to be cut. Actually it will have to be cut even more than these figures seem to indicate, since only 25 per cent of the gain for 1951—roughly 2 per cent in relation to over-all production—will come from increased productivity; the larger part of the gain will be due to a rise in employment, with more women and older persons working, and the contemplated longer working week. Nevertheless, despite greater man-power and longer hours, fewer consumers' goods will be turned out in 1951 and probably also in 1952. By and large, the American standard of living will be restored to its 1950 level only in a later phase of the rearmament program. This is made clear in the Economic Report:

> By way of rough illustration, if the labor and investment efforts which will be essential to accomplish the targets for 1951 are achieved and maintained, total national production at an annual rate should rise by about 25 per cent within five years. This would bring us about 60 billion dollars above the current level, which would be enough to absorb a yearly defense effort at the levels to be reached at the end of this year, to maintain and expand our productive plant, and *at the same time to bring per capita consumption for a growing population up to the level achieved in 1950.*

Thus if the 1955 level of production exceeds the current level by 25 per cent, it should be possible not only to restore the present standard of living but to carry out investment programs for the future expansion of output. In the near future, however, we must expect a general decline in the standard of living, accompanied by economic and social struggles generated by the question of how the burden is to be distributed. The danger that the lower income brackets will suffer more than the upper ones is accentuated by the strong inflationary trends that have prevailed ever since the beginning of the Korean war. During World War II prices could be kept relatively stable; the depreciation of the dollar set in only afterward. The next few years will show whether the American government will be strong enough to stabilize

---

FRITZ STERNBERG, distinguished economist, will soon bring out a new book, "Socialism and Capitalism on Trial." In The Nation *of April 7 he wrote on Rearmament's Rising Tempo.*

prices adequately during the defense boom, on top of an economy already in high gear. Unless the dangers that threaten from this direction are surmounted, they will intensify existing social conflicts.

However, certain facts should not be overlooked. One is that the present standard of living in America is exceptionally high, much higher than that of the big industrial nations of Europe, and another is that this standard has gone up substantially within the last ten years as a result of the tremendous growth in production. Even if it declines during the first phase of rearmament, it will still be about 25 per cent above the 1940 level. The chart below shows how the American standard of living rose between 1929 and 1950.

The situation in Europe is very different. At the end of World War I production in the major industrial countries of Europe—Britain, France, and Germany—was only about 60 per cent as high as in 1913; in America production was about 15 per cent higher than in 1913. In the decade following World War I American production, already above the pre-war level, experienced a further upswing, while the European countries were hard put to attain even their 1913 level; as late as 1929 production in Britain lagged behind 1913. During World War II American production rose even more sharply than in World War I. In Europe, on the other hand, World War II brought a tremendous drop in output, and in consequence the workers' standard of living fell everywhere except in Britain.

One should not be deceived by reports that Europe has been rebuilt much faster than it was after World War I and that, largely through Marshall aid, Western Europe, with the exception of Germany, is already turning out 25 per cent more goods than before the war. Optimistic reports of this kind fail to show that Europe was in the throes of a depression before World War II: that in Britain, for example, millions were permanently unemployed from 1921 right up to the war itself, and that in France in 1938, the last year before World War II, output was only 75 per cent of what it had been in 1929. Any comparison with the pre-war period is thus misleading. Moreover, in contrast to America, a considerable part of Europe's productive plant must be devoted to reconstruction. Britain, in addition, must use much of its production to turn out goods for export in order to balance its finances. British labor, because of the Labor government's policies, has attained a standard of living equal to and at times even above the pre-war level, but on the continent the broad masses have not yet recovered their low peace-time status. Thus Europe faces the necessity of imposing its rearmament program on an economy which has barely managed to repair the damage wrought by the war and the preceding crisis.

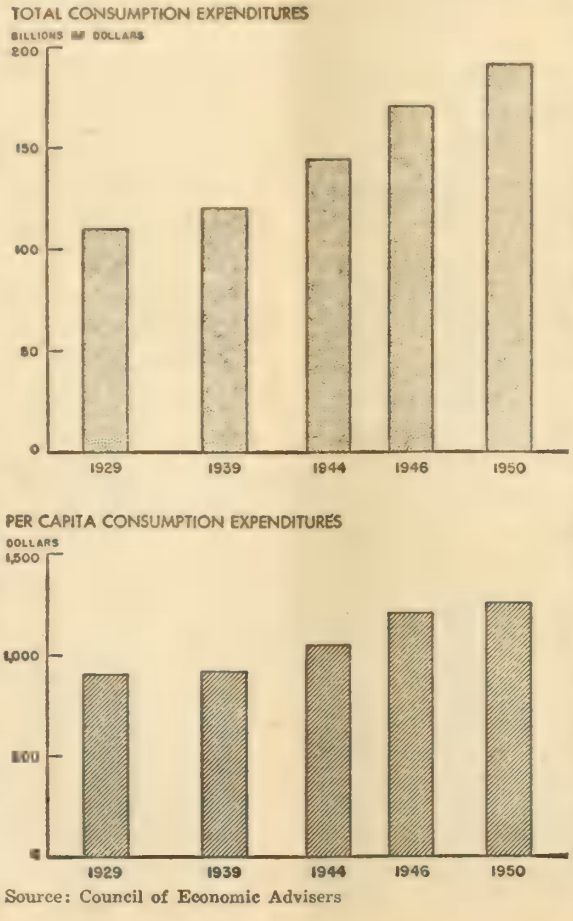
The administration of the Marshall Plan was gravely at fault in not requiring an adequate check of working and living conditions in plants receiving Marshall Plan funds. Many European workers still harbor a feeling of resentment because, as they see it, the Marshall Plan accelerated economic recovery as a whole but did not diminish social inequalities.

Since the economic structure of the countries of Western Europe is incomparably weaker than that of the United States, their productivity much less developed, and their living standards no higher than in 1939 if not below that level, it is unwarranted, as General Eisenhower emphasized, to demand that they contribute the same percentage of their national income to the defense effort as the United States. Too great an increase in the military load placed on France—or on other European countries—might so aggravate the social conflicts that the political damage would be greater than the military benefit.

America is of course giving Europe considerable support in its rearmament effort; in fact, the American contribution to European rearmament already surpasses the aid provided through the Marshall Plan. This gives us an opportunity to correct some of the gravest mistakes of the Marshall Plan and to use our influence to obtain an equitable distribution of the rearmament load among all classes. If the United States wants Europe to rearm, it should see to it that the rearmament program does not make the rich richer and the poor poorer. The danger spots in Europe are explosive and will become more so unless everything possible is done to prevent too sharp a reduction in the European workers' standard of living.

PERSONAL CONSUMPTION EXPENDITURES

1950 PRICES



Source: Council of Economic Advisers

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Free Trade: Fading Dream

THE third international tariff conference, attended by thirty-four nations, closed at the end of April after being in session for seven months. Torquay, England, where it met, is a seaside resort with a salubrious climate much favored by invalids. Unfortunately it did not prove very bracing to the still ailing cause of unrestricted, multilateral international trade.

However, when the official record of the conference is published shortly, it will show some gains. A hundred and fifty separate bilateral tariff negotiations were concluded, the benefits of which will be generalized under the most-favored-nation clause. This means that if the United States has agreed with Sweden to reduce the duty on table glass, the lower rate will apply to imports of glassware from all other nations.

Altogether, it is understood, this country negotiated fifteen new agreements at Torquay, the most important of which, described as "good to very good," are with West Germany, France, Sweden, and Italy. So presumably we have undertaken to lower barriers against some of the chief products of these countries in return for substantial concessions to American exports.

Another achievement of the conference was an agreement, signed so far by nineteen nations, including the United States and Britain, to maintain customs duties as they are at the conclusion of negotiations until January 1, 1954—a safeguard against any early outbreak of "tariff wars." But in general it must be said that less was accomplished at Torquay than at Geneva in 1947 or Annecy in 1949. That was partly because many countries had exhausted most of their bargaining power at these earlier tariff conferences. In addition, new difficulties and uncertainties in the world economic situation made some nations hesitant to commit themselves to greater freedom of trade at this time.

The major disappointment at Torquay was the failure of negotiations between the United States and four of the Commonwealth nations—Britain itself, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. That old bone of contention, the imperial-preference system, under which members of the Commonwealth charge each other lower rates of duty than apply to the goods of "outsiders," was responsible for the breakdown. The United States, it is reported, was prepared to offer important concessions, particularly on British textiles, in return for substantial reductions in the margin of preference given by Britain to Commonwealth farm products. But the British government was not prepared to deal on these terms. "In this uncertain and dangerous world," said the *Economist* of April 21 in a critical editorial, "it seems still to be the British policy to pull down the shutters, to seek the cosy security of the Commonwealth—without Canada—cushioned by exchange control and import licensing."

Britain's reluctance to abandon these cushions, its refusal to give any definite assurances about relaxation of import restrictions or even modification of the discriminatory manner in which these restrictions are applied, was another reason why Anglo-American relations were somewhat strained at Torquay. After all, Britain has committed itself again and again—in the Lend-Lease agreements, at Bretton Woods, in the Anglo-American loan agreement—to cooperate in promoting a general reduction of trade barriers and, in particular, in eliminating various discriminatory trade practices. When, the United States is inclined to ask, are these pledges to be honored?

Yet it must be admitted that when Britons defend their hesitation by talking of "uncertainty over the future," they have more of a case than some American officials are prepared to admit. There is, in the first place, uncertainty about how long this country will continue to follow Cordell Hull's free-trade policy. Would it survive a Republican victory? That seems doubtful in the light of current Republican efforts to write crippling amendments into the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act now up for renewal. Again, the United States has run out on its own child, the International Trade organization, which was intended not only to foster the gradual elimination of trade barriers but to promote world economic expansion and international action to maintain full employment. The Administration's announcement, in the early days of the Torquay meeting, that it would not ask Congress to ratify the I. T. O. charter did nothing to allay British fears of what Aneurin Bevan has called "the lurchings" of the American economy.

Finally, we must not forget that drastic curtailment of East-West trade has far more serious implications for Britain and some other countries than it has for us. Not only does it cut them off from once important markets, but it promises to intensify competition elsewhere. Thus Germany and Japan, deprived of the normal and natural market for their goods in Eastern Europe and China respectively, are bound to strive more vigorously than ever for outlets in the British Commonwealth. Since these countries combine modern techniques with relatively cheap labor, their competition is probably more feared by Britain than that of the United States, and is undoubtedly one reason for British reluctance to give up its preferred position in the Commonwealth.

Thus the ripples of the cold war spread, and with the world acutely divided, the ideals of free trade, which assume a considerable degree of international unity, continue to languish.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Mixed Economy

WHAT'S AHEAD FOR AMERICAN BUSINESS. By Sumner H. Slichter. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. $2.75.

SUMNER SLICHTER'S popular fame rests to a considerable extent on his description of the United States as a "laboristic" economy. Conservatives who have concluded from this that he is on their side may be disillusioned by his new book.

He is equally emphatic in rejecting laissez faire and pure socialism. Of the former he writes, "Most important of all the changes that have affected our economy in late years are changes in ideas and preferences. The essential change in ideas may be put in one sentence: it is the abandonment of the view that the economy is self-regulating and that it is a mistake for the government to interfere with its operation." And on the other side: "The principal charges made by Karl Marx against the capitalist system, for example, could have been shown to be untrue at the time they were made, had adequate statistical series been available. At the very time that Marx was charging capitalism with producing greater concentration of wealth, it was actually building a large middle class."

With some reservations Slichter now accepts the term "mixed economy" as the best description of our present state, and while he finds many things to worry about, he is generally in favor of it. His concluding sentence is: "By forcing the members of the community constantly to improve and extend its ethical codes, a dynamic economy gives dignity and significance to the lives of millions of men."

In the course of a comparatively short book the author covers a wide range of topics and at times necessarily deals with them in rather sweeping generalizations. It is not likely that any reader will agree with all of them, but they are at once sufficiently documented and sufficiently provocative to make very good reading. The book is intended to invite a reexamination of fundamental principles by everyone, regardless of political persuasion, and in this it is remarkably successful. The economic dilemmas of the time are presented with incisive clarity, whether or not one accepts the conclusions and predictions.

Generally speaking, Professor Slichter is optimistic. Parts of the book have been revised in the light of the Korean war, but most of the material was developed for a series of lectures presented at Stanford University in July, 1950, and the predictions are apparently all based on the assumptions that the present defense economy will be of relatively short duration and that there will be no all-out war. At the present moment it seems likely that changes both in the economy and in public opinion will be greater than those the author anticipated.

The range of subject matter covered is impressive. Among the many topics discussed are the power of labor unions and the author's belief that there will not be a labor party in the United States; the concrete possibilities of increased production and productivity; the labor force and the importance of providing more jobs for women and older workers; the economic position of this country in the world, with a strong argument for lower tariffs and greater imports; the tax structure; the economic and political position of farmers; the so-called dilemma of thrift; the future of small business and the confusions inherent in the anti-trust laws.

At times Professor Slichter writes with an unexpected and very dry wit. In his discussion of trust-busting and the sometimes successful efforts of business to use the anti-trust laws as a deterrent to price-cutting, he notes a "failure to distinguish between protecting enterprises from stiff competition and protecting consumers from lack of stiff competition." Of business's position in public opinion he says, "In 1950 business was doing an indifferent job of presenting its views and, in particular, was presenting many conclusions that were not the result of careful research and thought. Since there is much room for improvement, the influence of business may be expected to grow."

On the other hand, while Professor Slichter expects the economic activities of government in the United States to grow rather than diminish, he believes that compromise is inherent in democracy, and that democracy is therefore incompatible with comprehensive economic planning. To which he adds, "It is more important, of course, to have a democratic economy than a planned one."

CHARLES E. NOYES

Of Boors and Heroes

WORLD SO WIDE. By Sinclair Lewis. Random House. $3.

RETURN TO PARADISE. By James A. Michener. Random House. $3.50.

IT IS interesting to speculate on what would have happened if their publisher had interchanged the titles of Sinclair Lewis's last novel and James Michener's new collection of tales of the South Pacific. It would have been an understandable error, for the essential concern of both writers is with American innocents abroad in the world so wide, and their paradise is not really history-incrusted sunny Italy or the fairy islands of the South Seas—it is still the United States, a paradise inhabited by wonderful boors. The boors have gone forth reluctantly to conquer the world, but in the end they must return, as must those who are amused and horrified by them: Mr. Michener loved the South Pacific, but he had to come home again ("with a tremendous appreciation of my native land"), and Hayden Chart, the final Lewis hero, loved Italy, but he too had to come home ("home by way of Ceylon and India and Japan, if they'll let us in. Home!").

In its essentials the portrait of the unseeing innocent painted by both Lewis and Michener is the same. Lewis gives us the retired tourist, "the man of affairs and efficiency and death," seated in St. Mark's Square in Venice with his wife. "But while the wife bent her neck forward, enraptured by the glow of the San Marco mosaics, the husband showed his frustration by jiggling his feet, tap-

ping on the table, violently trying to catch flies, looking at his watch, clearing his throat, yawning, and making a sporadic sound halfway between a hum and a band-saw. . . . 'Well, come on, come on, Heaven's sake, let's get going!' 'Going *where?*' his wife sighed, 'We're here!' 'I know, but good God, you can't just sit around all *day!* Let's —we can go back to the hotel and write some more letters, can't we?' "

Michener gives us the spiritual son of Lewis's retired tourist, Private Max Murphy, who came from Brooklyn "to Ferrymead and sat with his feet on the ottoman, delivering his opinions of New Zealand. 'Until I rode on a New Zealand train I didn't know what murder was. When the train stops everybody piles out for tea and sandwiches—he pronounced it *sangriches*—and if you get caught in the middle you're a dead duck. . . . But it's not diners I'm worried about, it's the disrespect New Zealand men show their women. . . . Now in America . . .' "

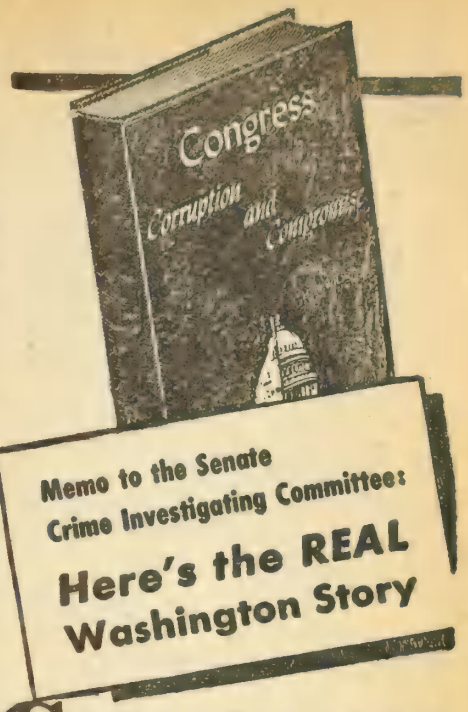
Sinclair Lewis was dealing, as he had so often done before, with the spiritual enlargement of a young American. Hayden Chart, Colorado architect and widower, escapes from his stultifying environment, learns about culture in Italy, and returns at the end with a lively hometown girl. Practically all the story takes place in Italy, but Hayden never actually knows any Italians. Instead, he is exposed to a variety of transplanted Americans, some like the man in St. Mark's Square, some like Sam Dodsworth, and some—the most worth-while, of course—like himself. What is pathetic is that all of them, from the big operator who can "swing a big traction deal" to the culture-hungry college girl, are made to speak in the go-getter accents of the twenties. Lewis sensed, in these last pages, that the By Golly, Yes Sirree backslapper was being replaced by a suaver—and more ominous—American conservative, but this was a phenomenon with which he simply could not cope, and perhaps that is why his wide world now begins to look so much narrower.

The Michener stories alternate with descriptive essays on The Atoll, Fiji, Guadalcanal, New Guinea, and so on, each of which constitutes a chapter in the author's own spiritual enlargement. Some of the work has apparently been done on assignment, but while the stories, all taking off from one aspect of the preceding essay, often bear the scars of a laboriously dutiful assembly job, the essays are fresh and forthright.

I think this is because Mr. Michener, ashamed of our boors and proud of our heroes, is basically a warmhearted and modest Kilroy. He writes in the tradition of the American journalist-traveler, and because he is at once curious, gregarious, liberal, patriotic, and receptive to different ways of life, he can become enthusiastic virtually in the same breath over awesome island scenery and the fact that Australian steak costs 29 cents a pound, without arousing in us any emotions more ignoble than envy and a wan desire to follow in his expensive footsteps. Book-club members who cannot afford to leave the American paradise will be fortified in their intuitions that the far-off Edens are great to visit but no good to live in, particularly without Mary Martin to enliven the languorous air; while those who, like this reviewer, have been so fortunate as to make even a cursory tour of the South Pacific will have to concede that James Michener is justly rapturous about the sunsets, the foliage, and the glamour of the islands, without overlooking the deficiencies and the reactionary aspects of life in this far corner of the world.

This is in short a very pleasant travel book, full of charming vignettes, stray facts, and not especially penetrating insights into the power structure of the area, the racial relationships, and this country's role in the Pacific, about which Mr. Michener is apprehensive.

However, one must take issue with Mr. Michener's self-appraisal, which finds the fictional portions of his book more "truthful" than the rest. If this were so, one could salute the author as a true creative artist, but unfortunately his stories range from atrocious Noel Coward (Until They Sail, an endless chin-up saga of a New Zealand family) to passable Somerset Maugham (The Mynah Birds, about a stuffy American career diplomat almost overwhelmed by racial conflicts in Fiji). It is odd that Mr. Michener, whose charm as a writer, like that of Sinclair Lewis, would seem to reside in his abhorrence of cant and sham and in his peculiarly American



Congress

CORRUPTION AND COMPROMISE

By H. H. WILSON

Associate Professor of Politics at Princeton

A SOBER – yet explosive – study of the growing Congressional irresponsibility *which is contributing to the breakdown of our national morality!* This detailed, factual analysis of recent congressional scandals poses important issues: Are business "ethics" unethical in Congress? Does Congress control misconduct by its members? Should be read by everyone who ever voted for a representative to Washington. $3.50

The Genius of Europe

By HAVELOCK ELLIS

A COLLECTION of essays in which one of the most extraordinary philosophers of our century explores the national temperaments of the peoples of Europe. $3.00

At all bookstores

RINEHART & COMPANY

New York 16

largeness of spirit, should fashion his heavily constructed short stories after the model of English writers whose bland and cynical outlook is so diametrically opposed to his own vivacious optimism. HARVEY SWADOS

Pamphleteer of Freedom

THE LIFE RECORDS OF JOHN MILTON. Volume II, 1639-1651. Edited by J. Milton French. Rutgers University Press. $5.

IN A review (*The Nation*, August 5, 1950) of the first volume of this important work, which will be completed in four volumes, an attempt was made to describe the combination of broad scope and minute attention to detail which characterizes both the author's purpose and his achievement. All that needs to be said, by way of brief recapitulation, is that the work is not a biography. It offers rather the materials of biography in day-by-day, year-by-year notes of what Milton did, wrote, and said and of contemporary happenings that concerned him during the critical years after his return from Italy up to the publication of his "Defense of the English People."

Volume II reveals a Milton unfamiliar to general readers of the early poems but a man eminently worthy of the respect reserved for those who do not flinch in the face of stern duty and who give themselves freely for the common good. After a short interval of school teaching Milton moved with increasing speed into the arena of public affairs. Long-planned literary projects painfully put aside, he entered the fierce debate on the issue of church and state. No solution of the question satisfied him except complete separation of the two domains. With rare courage he attacked the divorce laws then accepted by all Christians, and demanded radical reform. He wrote a classic justification of a free press and of freedom of thought. A month after the execution of Charles I he published a vigorous defense of regicide when committed to purge the state of a tyrant. He struck hard blows at the attempt to canonize the dead king, one of the most dangerous pieces of Stuart propaganda. He accepted appointment as Secretary for Foreign Tongues to the Council of State. He passionately defended the deeds and character of his countrymen against the furious assault of Stuart hate penned by the eminent scholar Salmasius. All this massive record of Milton's struggle for the liberty of man's conscience and person, and much more of his thought and labor, finds faithful presentation in this volume. Here fact piled on fact builds the image of a leader immune to corruption, fearless in speaking the truth, and not to be silenced by those who spoke harm to freedom whether by authority of king or bishop.

Professor French records the data he has so painstakingly gathered with the cool objectivity that marks all true scholarship. It is impossible to believe, however, that he did not experience an inner glow as he created this volume. Certainly no reader can escape a stirring warmth or resist the wish that a fuller knowledge of Milton's public service might make him doctrinal to our age. DONALD A. ROBERTS

CAREY McWILLIAMS
RICHARD NEUBERGER
ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, Jr.
ROSCOE FLEMING
BENTON STONG
R. E. G. HARRIS

write for **frontier**

THE VOICE OF THE NEW WEST

A monthly magazine of progressive principles in *The Nation* tradition. Read it to understand what's happening in the dynamic western states—and for frank-speaking and honest-thinking on the vital issues of the West: the phenomenon of Los Angeles and the significance of the tremendous population growth of the West. Central Valley; Western politics and personalities; theater, art, books and music; segregation and minority problems; test oaths; anti-democratic legislation.

free examination offer

SUBSCRIBE NOW AT SPECIAL RATE OF
$1.00 for SIX ISSUES
— or send for free sample copy —

Name_____

Address_____

☐ Enter my subscription for [illegible] months. Enclosed $1.00 ☐ Send me free sample copy

Send to Frontier, [illegible] S. Beverly Drive, Beverly Hills, Calif.

Verse Chronicle

"IN AMERICA," I have heard a distinguished European émigré quoted as saying, "novels are written by journalists, and poetry by professors." A little of the sting is eased, on our side of the fence at least, if we reflect that in a good many cases the poetry came before the profession, and that men were called to academic chairs, with the Ph.D. requirement waived, because they were poets. In this respect the twentieth century, as compared with the nineteenth, can possibly lay some claim to progress.

What this leads up to is some notice of the work of a man who preceded this dispensation, a man who has been both professor and poet all his adult life. In 1947 the University of New Hampshire Writers' Conference made its poetry award to Donald C. Babcock, a professor of history in that university, and some thirty short poems of his were issued in brochure form under the title "For Those I Taught." To quote here, with your indulgence, from my own foreword to that very far from representative selection of Mr. Babcock's total work: "Written for his students,

the thirty poems in this collection are informed with wisdom, humility, and love. And they have virtues of the letter as well as of the spirit: a respect for the language and its tradition, as distinguished from a weakness for its fashion; craftsmanship, an eye, and an ear." And, I should have added, a heart.

Those poems have now been reissued, with the addition of a new section entitled "The Friendly Commonplace, Being a Book of Graces Before Meat and Other Homely Devotions" (The American Weave Press, Cleveland, 75 cents). There are forty-three six-line graces, a miniature Hesiodic calendar, stanzas of thanks and praise for rhubarb, dandelion greens, green peas, for Fourth of July, for a meeting of the Men's Club, for Christmas Day and New Year's. A religious poet is rare in this country, and a man whose religious emotions are combined with brevity of expression and a sense that God is better praised by that soul of wit is even rarer still. Here, for instance, is a Post-Prandial Grace:

Now, being of thy bounty fed,
We turn us unto speech for bread.
Prevent us, Lord, lest we put forth
The form of wit without the worth.
Though laughter flow from lingual play,
Grant substance to the words we say.

"The Friendly Commonplace" includes commemoration of such simple blessings as a Midnight Snack:

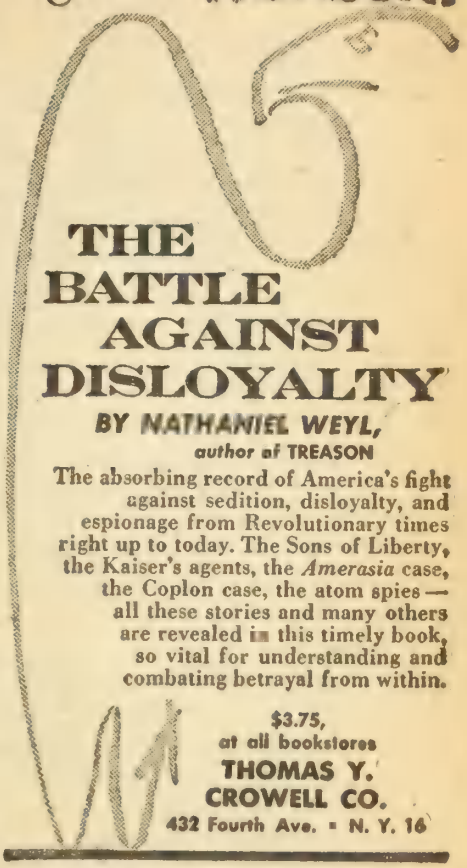
Forbid that we should come to be
Within the taint of gluttony.
Yet even our third appointed meal
Leaves the strange hunger that we feel
For comforting of milk and bread
Before the eyelids turn to lead.

Messrs. Kimon Friar and John Malcolm Brinnin, editors of "Modern Poetry: American and British" (Appleton, Century, Crofts, $4), state in their preface that having thoughtfully considered some two thousand volumes, their inclusion or omission of a poet or an example of his work is in the nature of a criticism. Since none of my own work is included, and that of some, in my opinion, very dubious operators is, the gentlemen would have to be extremely naive to expect a fair-minded review from this quarter. The poems in the anthology are arranged in chronological order, according to birth-years of the authors; they begin with Emily Dickinson (1830) and end with James Merrill (1926). Following Dickinson come Hardy (1840) and Hopkins (1844); preceding Merrill are Sidney Keyes (1922-43) and Howard Moss (1922).

Judged from the apparatus with which it is provided, the book is intended for the scholar and student rather than the amateur or dilettante; in other words—semantics being what they are—for the eager and earnest rather than the lover and delighter. The appendix offers a long essay, Myth and Metaphysics, subtitled An Introduction to Modern Poetry. This is ordered and has obviously cost some laborious thinking, which is transmitted in an also somewhat laborious prose style, with some recklessness or insufficiency of judgment. "Thus all materialities of the cosmos are purified of substance into an aesthetically created World and Word enfolded in its own and only reality, and whose single tenuous relation to outer phenomena are the eyes which might, but need not, read it." "Aeneas . . . carries with him . . . the detachment of the hero free from passions of love and war." This of the person who wept when the god ordered him to leave Dido, who was thrown into a berserk rage by the death of the young prince Pallas! "Since Dante's time . . . every poet has since, in despair, tried to become Dante." Pardon me, but I doubt very much that Herrick, Marvell, or Lovelace, or God knows how many others, ever made any such effort. After this essay the book contains a hundred-odd pages of notes, varying in length from the statement that Léonie Adams was born in Brooklyn on December 9, 1899, to forty pages on Eliot. These have probably cost compositor and proofreader more scrupulous attention than they will anybody else; all right to dip into, nothing to settle down with, unless you have to pass an exam.

"The Shadow of the Swimmer," by Charles Edward Eaton (Fine Editions Press, $3), contains a wealth of sensuous observation and imagery, marred by some carelessness or ignorance in the motion and texture of line, marred too by a tendency to force unnecessary labels on the symbols, to obtrude the flat abstract morality on the illuminated fable. A taskmaster concerned with Mr. Eaton's own best good should impose on him, for home work, doing a sonnet, no, a

Our constant war against TREASON!



THE BATTLE AGAINST DISLOYALTY

BY NATHANIEL WEYL, author of TREASON

The absorbing record of America's fight against sedition, disloyalty, and espionage from Revolutionary times right up to today. The Sons of Liberty, the Kaiser's agents, the *Amerasia* case, the Coplon case, the atom spies — all these stories and many others are revealed in this timely book, so vital for understanding and combating betrayal from within.

$3.75, at all bookstores
THOMAS Y. CROWELL CO.
432 Fourth Ave. • N. Y. 16

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR
Just Arrived! ELMAR GREEN
WIND FROM THE SOUTH
Stalin Prize Novel
In English — 292 pp. — 75¢
Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
1951 Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals
Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

Land of Liberty
By Francis L. Bacon
Colorful charts and accompanying text matter, tracing the beginnings of our democracy and developments under it.
D200N. 50¢ postpaid. Order 2, you'll want more!
Send a dollar bill to
DENOYER GEPPERT COMPANY
5235 Ravenswood Avenue, Chicago 40, Illinois

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

sestina, without one single adjective at all. And why do so many people seem so sure that the word *dream* is so damn poetic? ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Books in Brief

PATTERN FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE. By William Foote Whyte. Harper. $3.50. An illuminating case history in labor relations. The factory studied is the Inland Steel Container Company's Chicago plant; the union is a local of the United Steelworkers of America. What makes the study particularly interesting is its detailed analysis of the steps by which distrust and conflict were gradually replaced by cooperation and mutual respect, to the vast benefit of both the corporation and the workers. The author writes objectively but with a novelist's flair for dramatizing personalities and issues.

ONE WOMAN'S FIGHT. By Vashti Cromwell McCollum. Doubleday. $3. A chatty little book by an Illinois mother about a famous suit she brought to ban religious instruction in the public school her son attended; of how she was violently abused by local and religious organizations but finally won her case on appeal to the Supreme Court.

JUST ISSUED
GUILLAUME DUFAY
13 Secular Songs
Instrumental and Vocal
Performed by Pro Musica Antiqua
E. M. S. 206 12" L. P. $5.95
ELAINE MUSIC SHOP
9 EAST 44th STREET NEW YORK CITY 17
bet. Fifth & Madison MUrray Hill 2-6154

SELECTED LIST OF L. P.'s
33 1/3% OFF
Catalog available on request
DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB
DEPT. N-22
Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.
Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges
(50¢ minimum) SAME-DAY SHIPMENT

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN
MARY MARTIN
RAY MIDDLETON
IN
South Pacific
Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with MYRON McCORMICK
MAJESTIC Thea., 44 St. W. of B'way
Evenings 8:30 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

THE dialogue of "The Little Blue Light" by Edmund Wilson, which ran for a week at the ANTA Playhouse, is, as one might expect, irreverent, pointed, and amusing. The actors obviously took delight in voicing Mr. Wilson's satirical commentary on sex, politics, and religion; their mood was infectious, and I enjoyed the evening.

The play as play, however, is not likely to survive. Mr. Wilson rides off in so many directions and his attitude toward his characters is so inconstant that in the end one has no clear idea of what his aim is—apart from overturning all the platitudes. Which is an honorable aim but doesn't necessarily make for dramatic effectiveness.

The hero of the piece is a liberal editor, Frank, who is making a last stand for free expression in a United States that has degenerated into a jungle of pressure groups. But Mr. Wilson can't resist poking fun at liberal editors, and while I can appreciate the temptation, it plays hob with the intention—and the necessity in terms of plot—of making a hero of this one; with the result that the spectator is never quite able to take him seriously. The attitude toward the writer of science fiction, one Gandersheim, who is also a homosexual with a mother fixation, is likewise shifting. Actually the only character toward whom the author maintains a fairly consistent attitude is the wife, Judith; and Judith, moreover, is the only character who holds her own as an individual rather than a type.

The play is cast in the form of a thriller with all the trimmings—Mr. Wilson seems to be making fun of playwriting too. A good deal of suspense is generated in the first half, but it somehow leaks away during the second, and the climax hasn't the force it should have. I think the trouble here is that the play, in psychological terms, should somehow end happily, with the triumph of the liberal editor. But Mr. Wilson, one feels, can't resist annihilating Frank, Gandersheim, and Judith. And the spectator, thanks to the author's success in making all his characters a little ridiculous, is in the position of not knowing whether to be glad or sorry or a little of both—which is no position for a spectator to be in at the climax of a play.

There is what appears to be an attempt to pick up the pieces in an epilogue consisting of a solemn speech by the gardener—who has begun as a comedy character and turns out to be, of all things, the Wandering Jew; but this epilogue doesn't seem, to put it mildly, inevitable.

The play may be had in book form and is fun to read if only because it violates every precept of the Hays Code. By which I mean the Haze Code of timidity and solemnity that dominates practically every medium of public expression these days and makes one wonder what ever became of the guffaw that made this country great.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

HERE is a report on recent recordings of songs:

Fourteen songs of Hugo Wolf, sung by Alfred Poell, bass-baritone (Westminster). They include some of the best, and nearly all are good or are made to seem good by Poell, a member of the Vienna Opera, who has a remarkably beautiful voice which he uses with powers of expressive projection and musical intelligence that make him an outstanding singer and an exciting find. German texts (with mistakes) and translations (with omissions) are supplied.

Sixteen songs of Brahms (Westminister). More of Poell's superb singing in some of Brahm's better songs and some of his poorer ones. German texts and translations.

Songs of Wolf and Brahms, sung by Suzanne Danco, soprano (London). They are sung in an over-cultivated style and with insufficient animation—also with occasional shrillness in a high note. The recording has a prominent

resonance. English summaries of the texts.

Songs from "Des Knaben Wunderhorn" by Mahler, sung by Poell and Lorna Sydney, mezzo-soprano, with the Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Prohaska (Vanguard). Early but characteristic in moods and style, and some very fine. Poell sings magnificently again, but Sydney's voice is breathy and afflicted with excessive tremolo. The orchestra's excellent playing is reproduced with a beauty of orchestral sound clearly defined in space that I haven't heard recently from records; but it is blanketed by the singers. German texts and translations.

Schumann's "Liederkreis" and songs of Brahms, sung by Lorna Sydney (Vanguard). Of these I like only "Waldesgespräch" and "Mondnacht" of the Schumann cycle; and the singing is no better than in the Mahler songs. German texts and translations.

Schumann's "Frauenliebe und Leben" and Brahms's "Vier ernste Gesänge," sung by Katherine Ferrier, contralto (London). Uninteresting music, beautifully sung. The recording has that prominent resonance of London recordings. Only English summaries of the texts.

Songs of Schubert, Schumann, Haydn, Mozart, Brahms, sung by Elena Nikolaidi, contralto (Columbia). They are excellently sung, but the voice doesn't have in them the breathtaking beauty it has in the previously issued arias from "Don Carlo," "Macbeth," and "Semiramide" that are on the reverse side of the record. Audible surfaces; no texts.

Songs of Schubert and Mozart, sung by Genevieve Warner, soprano (Columbia). They include a couple of less familiar Schubert songs which are also less interesting. The voice is one of the loveliest now to be heard in public, and is used with unfailing musical taste but with, as yet, no personal or expressive force. No texts.

Schubert's "Gretchen am Spinnrade" and "Liebesbotschaft," well sung by Marian Anderson (RCA Victor 45 rpm).

Debussy's "Trois Chansons de Bilitis," "Le Promenoir des duex amants," "Ariettes oubliées (incomplete), sung by Suzanne Danco (London). The lovely sounds Danco produces in her cultivated style seem appropriate to these songs, which I don't care for. A resonance and hum this time; English translations only.

Debussy's "Ariettes oubliées," sung by Hugues Cuenod, tenor (Vanguard). The songs are much more effective as sung with a voice of little sensuous beauty but with extraordinary expressive coloring and inflection and with powerful personal force. Some surface crackling; French texts and translations. Fauré's "Les Mélodies de Venise," to the same poems of Verlaine, are also on the record.

Spanish and Italian songs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, sung by Hugues Cuenod (Westminister). Songs and performances very fine. No texts this time; badly crackling surfaces.

Eight Hungarian folk songs arranged by Bartok, and Bartok's Five Songs Opus 16, sung by Nina Valery, soprano (Allegro). The folksongs are impressive, Bartok's own songs mean nothing to me; all are sung well. No texts; gritty surfaces.

Poulenc's "Banalités" and "Chansons villageoises," sung by Pierre Bernac (Columbia). I find "Voyage à Paris" and "Chanson de la fille frivole" amusing and "Le Mendiant" powerful, the rest uninteresting. All are excellently sung. No texts; and Ravel's "Histoires naturelles" and "Trois Chants hébraiques" are on the same record.

Elisabeth Schumann's performances of songs by Wolf (Allegro) and Du Bose Robertson's of songs by Dowland (Allegro) are things to skip.

CONTRIBUTORS

CHARLES E. NOYES is the author of "Economic Freedom."

HARVEY SWADOS has published short stories in the little magazines. He writes reviews for the New York *Post* and has contributed to the *Progressive* and the *Menorah Journal.*

DONALD A. ROBERTS is assistant professor of English at the City College of New York.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES, *The Nation's* poetry critic, is the author of several volumes of poetry. His latest book is a verse translation of the "Aeneid" of Virgil.

Letters to the Editors

Liberals' Debate

Dear Sirs: I have often disagreed with but always respected *The Nation.* Here are some notes about Freda Kirchwey's comments upon my exchange with the London *New Statesman and Nation.*

After my article appeared in the *New Republic* of March 5, Kingsley Martin, editor of the *New Statesman and Nation,* publicly asked me to make a specific reply to his rejoinder. I did this in a letter dated March 14, written in all good faith. He has never acknowledged this, and I suppose it is now too late to expect him to publish it.

My views, of course, differ from yours about the English magazine. I believe Mr. Martin has a cultural antipathy for the United States which he expresses on every occasion, depicting United States soldiers in Korea as wilful murderers and defending the booing of American tennis players at Wimbledon. I cited what seemed to me to be two untrue statements about Korea in his magazine. Far from defending them, he has not even let the readers of his magazine know they are in dispute.

His magazine has the largest circulation of any weekly journal of opinion in London and is fat with advertising; yet his lack of knowledge of America is fantastic. In the March 24 issue, for example, he speaks of the Washington correspondent Robert S. Allen as "said to be close to MacArthur." The fact is that MacArthur sued Bob Allen and Drew Pearson for a million and a quarter dollars.

I think we should all try to get the *New Statesman and Nation* back on the beam. At present it is one of the principal critics of the Labor government's foreign policy.

RICHARD L. STROUT

Washington, D. C., April 16

[Naturally I cannot comment on Kingsley Martin's failure to publish Mr. Strout's counter-rebuttal, since I have no idea of the reasons for it. As to Mr. Martin's alleged "cultural antipathy" for the United States, I doubt that it exists. Certainly he is sharply critical of American policy and has published some generalizations that seem to me extreme, as well as a few errors of fact. But to say that he expresses this antipathy on anything like "every

SUMMER RENTALS

ATTRACTIVE six-room house, completely furnished, garden, orchard, 55 miles from New York. May through August. Phone: BUckminster 2-3993.

PROFESSORS, WRITERS, ARTISTS, special summer rates: $99-180 per month, completely equipped 1- or 2-bedroom apartments, all utilities, janitor service, garage included. THE FOUR SEASONS APARTMENTS, on its own Gulf beach, Lido Beach, Sarasota, Florida.

RICH'S COTTAGES in the Poconos. Fully equipped, Frigidaire to dishes. Bendix. Beautiful, safe grounds for children. Swimming, boating, fishing on premises. Season June 15 through Rosh Hashana $425 and up. Write Milford, Pa. or call KIngsbridge 3-2551.

NEW YORK, furnished, June 15–Sept. 15, airy six-room apartment near Metropolitan Museum and Park. $225 monthly. References required. Box 221, c/o The Nation

1st three weeks in July
PRIVATE MAINE CAMP

Ideal housekeeping set-up 2 or 3 couples with or without children. On the shore Rangeley Lake. Main house: LR, DR, Kit, 2 large, 1 small BR, 2 baths. 2nd house: 2 BR, Large Dormitory, Bath, Boathouse; BR & Bath. Completely furnished, equipped—Boats, linens, tableware, kitchenware, etc. Rent $300 complete for three weeks. Write owner: R. D. Myers, 5613 Cross Country Blvd., Baltimore 9, Md.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

WE print, publish and distribute your manuscript in pamphlet or book form. *Send for free folder.* WILLIAM-FREDERICK PRESS; Pamphlet Distributing Company, 313 West 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

WRITERS!—Book mss. wanted for publication, fiction, non-fiction. Free booklet. Write today! Daniel S. Mead Literary Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. C. 16.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, $5.00.

PERSONALS

TEACHER wants completely different employment June through September. Any location or travel. Box 226, c/o The Nation.

Butcher . . Baker . . Candlestick Maker ?

Where will they spend their vacations this year?

Why not tell them about your resort in the pages of

THE *Nation*

RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

$7.42 per inch, one insertion
Generous discounts for multiple insertions.

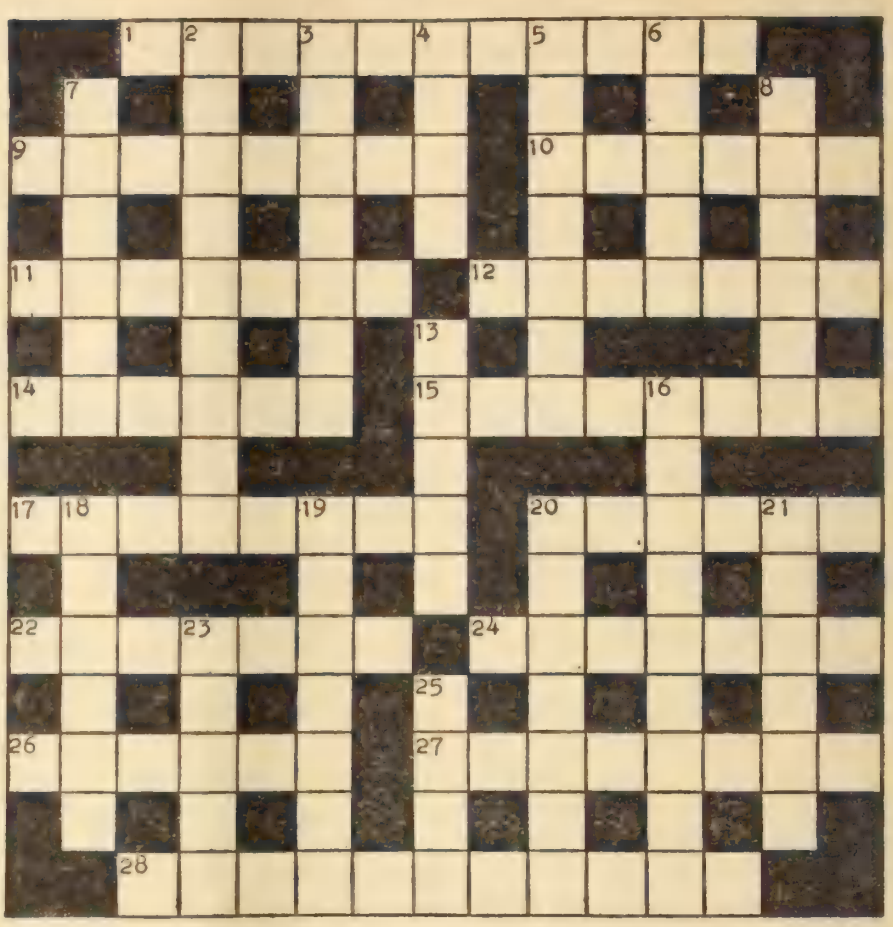
Write or phone today for further information.

ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

***The* NATION**
20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.
BArclay 7-1066

Crossword Puzzle No. 412

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1, 16, 25 and 10 Implying one took "oxen" to be "toxin"? (3, 4, 4, 2, 7, 4, 6)
9 and 18 Do cavalry officers on parade, in back? (8, 6)
10 See 1
11 Certainly not enemy pilots' quarters! (7)
12 Is sorry for a snake when it uncoils. (7)
14 Covers both sides out of bounds, perhaps. (6)
15 Sounds like the good old days, for real fun! (8)
17 Sacrifice? (8)
20 Tire on a vessel. (6)
22 Cross cat. (7)
24 Nothing can come between the hound's cry and the dog catcher. (7)
26 It implies sound holdings. (6)
27 Put down, perhaps. (8)
28 Will the master of his craft? (11)

DOWN

2 Changes the rule again! It gives me a pain! (9)
3 Minute men. (7)
4 Caesar, spelled with one R. (4)
5 Wash the little darlings, and they'll look like dolls. (7)
6 The quick part of 20 down. (5)
7 The car is wrecked on a peninsula. (6)
8 and 21 Anchor as an example of the fisherman who found the Genie? (6, 6)
13 The spirit of the 23 wood. (5)
16 See 1
18 See 9
19 Is a cattle man so rich and readily available? (2, 5)
20 A filigree that is removed becomes easily breakable. (7)
21 See 8
23 Sort of stone found in 28. (5)
25 See 1

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 411

ACROSS:—4 CABALLERO; 10 DREAD; 11 EVERGREEN; 12 SATYR; 13 ABYSSINIAN; 17 HURDLE-RACE; 21 FREDA; 22 TULAREMIA; 23 INGLE; 24 LIE IN WAIT; 25 GOOD TASTE; 26 ENTER.

DOWN:—1 OFFSET; 2 TAXIED; 3 ENOUGH; 4 CANTERBURY TALES; 5 BUSINESS COLLEGE; 6 LADYSHIP; 7 ELECTRIC; 8 ORDERING; 14 CHAFFING; 15 ARPEGGIO; 16 ALKOHEST; 18 PRINCE; 19 UMLAUT; 20 1, and 9 MASTER OF THE FOXHOUNDS.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

OAKWOOD
Unexcelled Food
53 MILES FROM N.Y.
You'll love the charm and informality of this gracious colonial estate. Private lake, all sports. Golf nearby. Acres of flowers, velvety lawns. Television. Excellent cuisine.
Accommodations for 60
REOPENING MAY 25TH
New Windsor, N. Y. Newburgh 4477

MERRIEWOODE
A CAMP FOR ADULTS
HIGHLAND LAKE ▪ STODDARD, N. H.
Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation. Enjoy beautiful 10-mile lake. All Land and Water Sports. Interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails. Square and Folk Dancing Instructions. 4 hrs by train from N. Y. $50 for Opening Week June 23-30
UNTIL MAY 15 ADDRESS:
OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
21-36 33rd Road, L. I. City, N. Y. RAvenswood 8-4697

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK
MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
RIDGEFIELD, CONN.
Phone 820
A beautiful country estate converted into a delightful retreat for vacations and weekends. All outdoor activities. Mile-long lake. Tennis. Golf nearby. Informal, congenial atmosphere. Television, recordings. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates.

• SACKS LODGE ▪
(Formerly Sacks Farm)
SAUGERTIES, N. Y. ▪ Tel: 555
Nearly all rooms with private or semi-private bath. Unusual new dining room and lounge. Superior food. Every recreational facility. Day camp for limited number of children. Truly outstanding vacation value.
INSPECTION VISITS WELCOMED

"IN THE HILLS OF THE SKY"
Hathaway Lodge
OPEN ALL YEAR — FOR ADULTS
Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate. Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Walking, hiking—magnificent mountain trails. Horseback riding. Recordings, ping-pong, library, informal dancing. Delicious food, American-Jewish cooking. Easy transportation. Attractive Spring Rates. *Reservations or booklet:*
HATHAWAY LODGE
Haines Falls, N. Y. Phone Tannersville 299

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE
Your Spring vacation will be truly an unforgettable one, in this gay resort-paradise. Forest House achieves new levels of relaxation, rest and happiness. Superb food, fine quarters, congenial hospitality. Two grand lakes, all sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449

the dream resort you've been looking for and looking for and looking for!
THE NEW Glenmere
PRIVATE GOLF COURSE
Chester, N. Y. in the beautiful Ramapos
Phones: Chester 2151 — N. Y. REctor 2-5407

Lakecrest ON HUNNS LAKE
Stanfordville, New York
Noted for its distinctive atmosphere, excellent food and warm hospitality. Ideally situated in beautiful Dutchess County, only 90 miles from N. Y. C.
ATTRACTIVE SPRING RATES
EVA BERG, Director • Stanfordville 2098-2982

occasion" is to go to still greater extremes. And in spite of Mr. Martin's inaccurate comment on Bob Allen, it also seems absurd to say that "his lack of knowledge of America is fantastic." Many excellent articles on the United States have appeared in the *New Statesman*, some by Mr. Martin himself. Nor is it fair, on any count, to describe the *New Statesman* as "one of the principal critics of the Labor government."

In my opinion the *New Statesman* is performing a much-needed service at a time when decisions made in Washington determine, to a great degree, the fate of the British as well as the American people.—F. K.]

Cardinal Privilege

Dear Sirs: I am interested in hearing from agnostics concerning the current film "The Prince of Peace." Perhaps if we organize our protest and circulate petitions, we may succeed in having the film banned as offensive to our religious beliefs. This *is* a cardinal privilege of Americans, is it not?

GERALD WALKER

New York, April 6

Neuberger Corroborated

Dear Sirs: Many an ordinary citizen of Idaho is grateful, I am sure, for Richard L. Neuberger's article about Hell's Canyon dam in *The Nation* of March 24. From this little Idaho village where I live, but a few miles from the dam site, I can corroborate every major statement that Neuberger made. Private power-company interests have our state, with its tumbledown schools, its unbelievably bad roads, and its depressed standards of all sorts, almost completely at their mercy. Idaho's Congressional delegation, our newspapers (with few exceptions), and our Governor feed to the nation at large the propaganda of the Washington Power Company and the Idaho Power Company. They do not express the will of the ordinary people of Idaho.

Our hope is for the development of our one great natural resource, hydroelectric energy, harnessing the countless millions of horse-power that rush by our doors every day. From such development alone can be created the industry and wealth needed here to take us out of the "poor relation" class to which Neuberger so aptly ascribes us.

PAUL KIEPE

Riggins, Idaho, April 7

RESORTS

OPENING MAY 25TH
All Sports • Entertainment
Arts & Crafts • TV Room
Easy to Reach! Send for Vacation Guide
Chesters' ZUNBARG
Woodbourne, N. Y. Phone Woodbourne 1150

Stonegate LODGE
ON LONG LAKE N. Y.
Informal Adult Estate in the Adirondacks
Limited to 90 — 14-mile Lake — Pollen-Free
Tennis • Fishing • Golf ▪ Motor Boating
Folk-Square Dancing ▪ Concert Trio • Dance Band
Bachelor Club Rate
New York Office: 250 West 57th Street. Circle 6-6386
Reduced Rates to July 10th — Louis A. Roth, Director

WINDY HILL
ON ORANGE LAKE
A pleasantly, informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Books, Records, Ping-pong, a two-mile lake for boating, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity.
Opens May 11 • Pre-Season: $45 weekly, $7 daily
65 miles from N. Y. C.
JANE C. ARENZ, R. D. No. 1, Walden, New York
Phone: Newburgh 115W2

THIS ADULT CAMP
in Picturesque Gloucester
CAMP ANNISQUAM — a bit of rugged land and seashore — swimming, sailing, boating and fishing on premises. Dancing, tennis, planned trips and all sports. Write for booklet and rates to Abram Resnick, Dir., Gloucester, Mass., OPENS JUNE 15. Phone: RE 2-9640.

Camp Searsmont
Bungalow Colony
LINCOLNVILLE, MAINE
DeLuxe lake-side bungalows, fully equipped with modern bathroom and kitchen; beautiful country, congenial people. $40 weekly; $150 monthly; no extras.
82 Winfield Ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

Timberland
POTTERSVILLE, N. Y.
AN ADULT CAMP IN THE ADIRONDACKS
SPECIAL 5-DAY ALL-EXPENSE
DECORATION DAY WEEK-END
Limited to 100 • Dancing • All Sports
New York Office: 33 W. 42 St. LO 5-3674
The Rare Charm of an Intimate Congenial Group

CIRCLE PINES CENTER
A Cooperative Camp which welcomes all people regardless of race, age, creed or politics. A family Camp.
$30, 1st week $25, 3rd week
$27, 2nd week $24, thereafter
Farm—Folk Dancing—Swimming, etc.
Write for folder to
William Knox, Circle Pines Center, Cloverdale, Mich.

BREEZEMONT PARK
ARMONK, N.Y.
We Proudly Celebrate
our 15th birthday — Breezemont Park and Camp Alyssum. In 1936 we organized a unique combination of gracious hotel accommodations for parents together with an outstanding camp for children 4–11 in age. Today we are a renowned institution popular with the intelligent parent interested in his child's growth and happiness and who wants to partake in this adventure. Camp is a progressive summer's experience. We invite every interested reader to inspect our facilities. We are only 35 miles from the city.
Opening for Decoration Day Week-End
Phone Armonk Village 3-3162, 3-8155

Printed in the U. S. A. by Steinberg Press, Inc., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

THE



STATE OF ISRAEL

announces its

first bond issue

$500,000,000 INDEPENDENCE ISSUE

on the occasion of its third anniversary

•

State of Israel

INDEPENDENCE ISSUE

two types of bonds are offered

a) Interest Bearing Bonds Denominations as

Fifteen Year 3½% Dollar Coupon Bonds

(in denominations of $500 to $100,000)

b) Capital Appreciation Bonds Denominated as

Twelve Year Dollar Savings Bonds

(in denominations of $50 to $10,000)

Maturity Value: 150% of issue amount

This is not an offer to sell these securities. They are subject to the registration and prospectus requirements of the Federal Securities Act. Information about the issuer, the securities and the circumstances of the offering is contained in the prospectus required by that Act. Copies of the prospectus may be obtained from the undersigned.

HENRY MORGENTHAU, Jr., Chairman, Board of Governors
American Financial and Development Corporation for Israel
State of Israel Bonds NWY
120 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 5, N. Y.

Please send me a copy of the prospectus describing the $500,000,000 State of Israel Independence Bond Issue.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ STATE_____ ZONE_____

AMERICAN *financial and development*
CORPORATION FOR ISRAEL
STATE OF ISRAEL BONDS
120 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 5, N. Y.

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MAY 19, 1951 NUMBER 20

The Shape of Things

TEST VOTES ON NEW TAX LEGISLATION IN the House Ways and Means Committee suggest that the members either favor a sharp reduction in Mr. Truman's remobilization program or lack sincerity when they deplore the danger of new federal deficits. The House committee has voted to raise corporation taxes by 5 per cent instead of the 8 per cent proposed by the Treasury, and individual taxes by 3 instead of 4 per cent. Its members are unwilling to eliminate such inequities and loopholes as the gas and oil depletion allowances, and the total revenue that will be realized from all new taxes seems likely to be $7,000,000,000 rather than the $10,000,000,000 minimum requested by the Administration. Even allowing for increased production and higher employment, which already have raised government revenues beyond what was anticipated, this will be insufficient to maintain rearmament on a pay-as-we-go basis. There is not the slightest possibility of cutting the expenses of the civil departments sharply enough to eliminate a prospective deficit of from $3,000,000,000 to $9,000,000,000; the whole "regular" budget, exclusive of fixed costs such as interest and veterans' benefits, is less than $10,000,000,000, and cutting appropriations for old-line departments, such as Agriculture and Interior, will make it impossible to obtain vitally needed increases in food production and power capacity. Unless the Senate raises the tax rates now moving through the House, the alternatives are a deficit and a cut in military spending and in the foreign aid designed to supplement our own mobilization by strengthening the economies and military position of our friends. If a deficit is the choice, the inflationary gap between purchasing power and available civilian goods will be widened rather than narrowed.

✶

THE VIGOR AND CALM DETERMINATION displayed by Israel's distinguished Prime Minister should be an example to officials of states older and more securely founded. Coinciding with the third anniversary of his country's birth, the visit of David Ben-Gurion has served to dramatize several facts of which Americans should be reminded: first, Israel's need of dollars with which to build houses and schools, expand social services and finance productive enterprises for the 600,000 emigrants who have come from Europe and the Arab world in the past three years and the additional 600,000 expected in the next three years; second, Israel's firm adherence to civil rights and democratic processes in the midst of staggering economic difficulties and external dangers; third, Israel's stubborn resistance to the threats and attacks of its Arab neighbors, who still promise a second round of aggression; fourth, Israel's refusal to yield to panic or war hysteria, although its position is far more exposed, if war comes, than is that of many larger nations, including the United States. Speaking with the confidence that springs from absolute conviction, Prime Minister Ben-Gurion is explaining to America Israel's problems and requirements and asking for the funds to meet them. Through the bond issue, the requested grants-in-aid, the United Jewish Appeal, and increased private investments, these funds must be made available. The fate of Israel is closely bound up with everything decent this country stands for—the survival of freedom and humanity, the defeat of aggressive nationalism.

✶

PAMPLONA IS THE LAST PLACE IN SPAIN where a demonstration of protest against Franco might have been expected. Nobody had ever heard of a strike in that ultra-clerical city, stronghold of the Carlists, who for a century have fought every liberal penetration. Last week 30,000 Pamplona workers not only went on strike but faced the police with angry determination and rejected every ultimatum issued by the governor. Their defiance made the authorities look impotent and ridiculous, and drove the police to fire on an unarmed crowd, injuring five workers—an incident damaging to the regime. This was the fifth important strike in Spain in less than two months. Like those in Barcelona, Manresa, Bilbao, and San Sebastian, not to mention minor walkouts, the Pamplona demonstration was clearly directed by men who had won the confidence of the masses—responsible, sober, and skilful leaders. An entirely new situation is being created in Spain. Even our Ambassador, Stanton Griffis, is impressed, to judge from his speech before the American Chamber of Commerce in Barcelona. Departing markedly from his former laudatory attitude, he was extremely critical of certain economic policies of the Franco government. The whole current development provides an ironic commentary on the view of conditions in Spain expressed by Franco's

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 453
Spare the Trees 455
No Aladdin's Lamp 455
Most Evil Censorship 457

ARTICLES

1952 Is the Prize *by Willard Shelton* 457
Three Elections *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 459
France's No. 1 Question *by Alexander Werth* 460
Poisoned Pork *by Leonard Engel* 461
How Free Is Fair Trade? *by Carey McWilliams* 463
The B. B. C. on Trial *by Charles A. Siepmann* 465
The *Zemindars* and Due Process *by Jean Lyon* 468

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Evening Dusk. *A Poem by Vernon Watkins* 471
Bert Brecht Produces an Opera *by Peter De Mendelssohn* 471
"The Liberated Artist" *by Henry Nash Smith* 472
The Primitive Gospel of the Herrenvolk *by Rayford W. Logan* 473
Pleasant Tour of Italy *by Frances Keene* 474
A Partial Portrait *by Morton Dauwen Zabel* 475
Two Novels from Germany *by Harvey Swados* 476
Art *by Manny Farber* 476
Drama Note *by M. M.* 477
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 478

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 479

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 413 *by Frank W. Lewis* 480

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Contributing Editor: Carey McWilliams
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

chief American champion, Senator McCarran, in the *Saturday Evening Post* of April 28. McCarran praised the spirit of the Spanish people and of the dictator's army and urged the full incorporation of his regime in the American system of defense. The spreading rash of strikes has already revealed the Senator's misconception of the people's feelings, and it may not be long before the army too presents him with a surprise.

*

THE NEW YORK *TIMES* HAS PERFORMED A service in publishing two excellent articles by Kalman Seigel on the impact of McCarthyism and other forms of thought control on American university life. A study of seventy-two major colleges throughout the nation has convinced Mr. Seigel that "a subtle, creeping paralysis of freedom of thought and speech" has produced an apathy about current problems that borders "almost on their deliberate exclusion." One exception is noted, "At the country's leading Catholic colleges," Mr. Seigel reports, "deans and students explained that any pressures toward conformism were virtually non-existent because student and faculty thinking and action were consistent with the Catholic point of view." Direct restrictions have not been numerous. Generally speaking, freedom of speech is not suppressed; it is inhibited. Freedom of political association is not denied; it is merely discouraged. Censorships are not directly imposed; but self-censorship is universal. The caution of the instructor is matched by the caginess of the student. The inhibitions seem to stem from a fear of social disapproval, of a "pink" label, of criticism by regents, legislatures, and friends, of discharges and demotions, of rejection for further graduate study, of government investigations, and, above all, "of future reprisals." The general consequences are more striking than the individual injustices; the real casualties have been social values. As might be expected, however, the new inquisition-by-indirection has given fresh impetus to a small but growing resistance.

*

AN ENERGETIC, WELL-FINANCED CAMPAIGN now is under way to push a "fair trade" act (Senate Bill 42) through the Missouri legislature. One of three states that have held out against resale price maintenance, Missouri has long been a major annoyance to the fair-traders. The current drive is spearheaded by the Bureau of Education on Fair Trade Council, whose president is John W. Anderson of the Anderson Company, Gary, Indiana. A "community relations consultant" of the Anderson Company has addressed sixty or more meetings in Missouri, advocating the enactment of "fair trade" legislation as a means of attracting new industries to the state. Scores of out-of-state manufacturers of brand-name products have written their distributors in Missouri urging

them to support the legislation and suggesting that they write similar letters to their major customers. The manufacturers and wholesalers who are putting up most of the money for this campaign want to amend the state's anti-trust act to authorize "fair-trade" agreements. If such agreements are applied to brand products, the price of these in Missouri will probably be raised on an average 12 per cent over the present retail level. "Fair trade" has not received anything like the attention it merits from labor, consumer, and cooperative groups. The growth of "fair-trade" legislation, and the kind of politics it breeds is examined by Carey McWilliams in an article on another page.

Spare the Trees

BEFORE the curtain is rolled down on the RFC investigation, Senator Fulbright should be encouraged to inquire into certain transactions of the Pickering Lumber Company, a Kansas City corporation with important holdings in California. In 1936 the company was saved from bankruptcy by a timely $2,500,000 loan from the RFC. At that time Ben Johnson was personal assistant to Chairman Jesse Jones and also directed the division which appraised timber collateral; James M. Kemper, of Kansas City, was chairman of the RFC advisory committee for Missouri; and A. T. Calkins was manager of the RFC in San Francisco. Not long after the loan was made, these gentlemen all resigned from the RFC to become directors of the Pickering Lumber Company.

All this might be regarded as ancient history were it not for the fact that the company has curtly rejected Secretary Brannan's request to delay cutting virgin timber in the famous South Calaveras grove of sequoias and sugar pine in California. With the backing of some of the nation's most distinguished conservationists, the California War Memorial Park Association has asked that the area be set aside as a state park. Experts agree that the grove would make one of the finest American parks. The immediate problem is to keep the company from cutting this stand of irreplaceable trees before federal or state action can be taken.

The recent appointment of Newton B. Drury as Chief of California's Division of Beaches and Parks, only a short time after he had resigned as director of the National Park Service at the request of the Secretary of the Interior, has not improved the chances of saving the trees. Although the appointment was made by the State Park Commission, headed by Senator Knowland's father, it is hard to believe that it did not have the approval of Governor Warren, who was a classmate of Mr. Drury at the University of California. Emphatic objections to the appointment, based on Mr. Drury's record in the Park Service, were registered by Harold L. Ickes, Rosalie Edge, Irving Brant, and John B. Elliott, president of the California War Memorial Park Association. We urge Congress to enact whatever emergency legislation is needed to remedy this unhappy situation.

No Aladdin's Lamp

HERBERT MORRISON, Britain's Foreign Secretary, has conceded the right of Iran to nationalize foreign-owned property but still contests its right to renounce unilaterally a legal contract. He has therefore proposed that the dispute between Iran and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company be submitted to international arbitration. This suggestion has been in turn rejected by the Iranian Premier, Mr. Mossadegh, who argues that since nationalization is "a sovereign act," no international authority is competent to investigate it—a conception of sovereignty which would enable any country to break any international agreement at will.

The British Foreign Secretary also told the House of Commons that radical changes in the status of the oil company could be negotiated but not under duress. Unfortunately, as the *New Statesman and Nation* of May 5 pointed out, the duress exists: it would vanish only if the Iranian Parliament suspended the nationalization law—a move clearly out of the question in the present frenzied atmosphere of Tehran.

Yet sooner or later the Iranian and British governments must get together to discuss ways and means of ending the present deadlock. For neither country can get any benefit from the disputed oil without the cooperation of the other. Were the supply to be cut off, Western Europe and Asia would suffer from a fuel famine and the British balance of payments, in which Anglo-Iranian revenues figure importantly, would be thrown violently out of kilter. On the other hand, Iran can consume at home but a minute fraction of its liquid



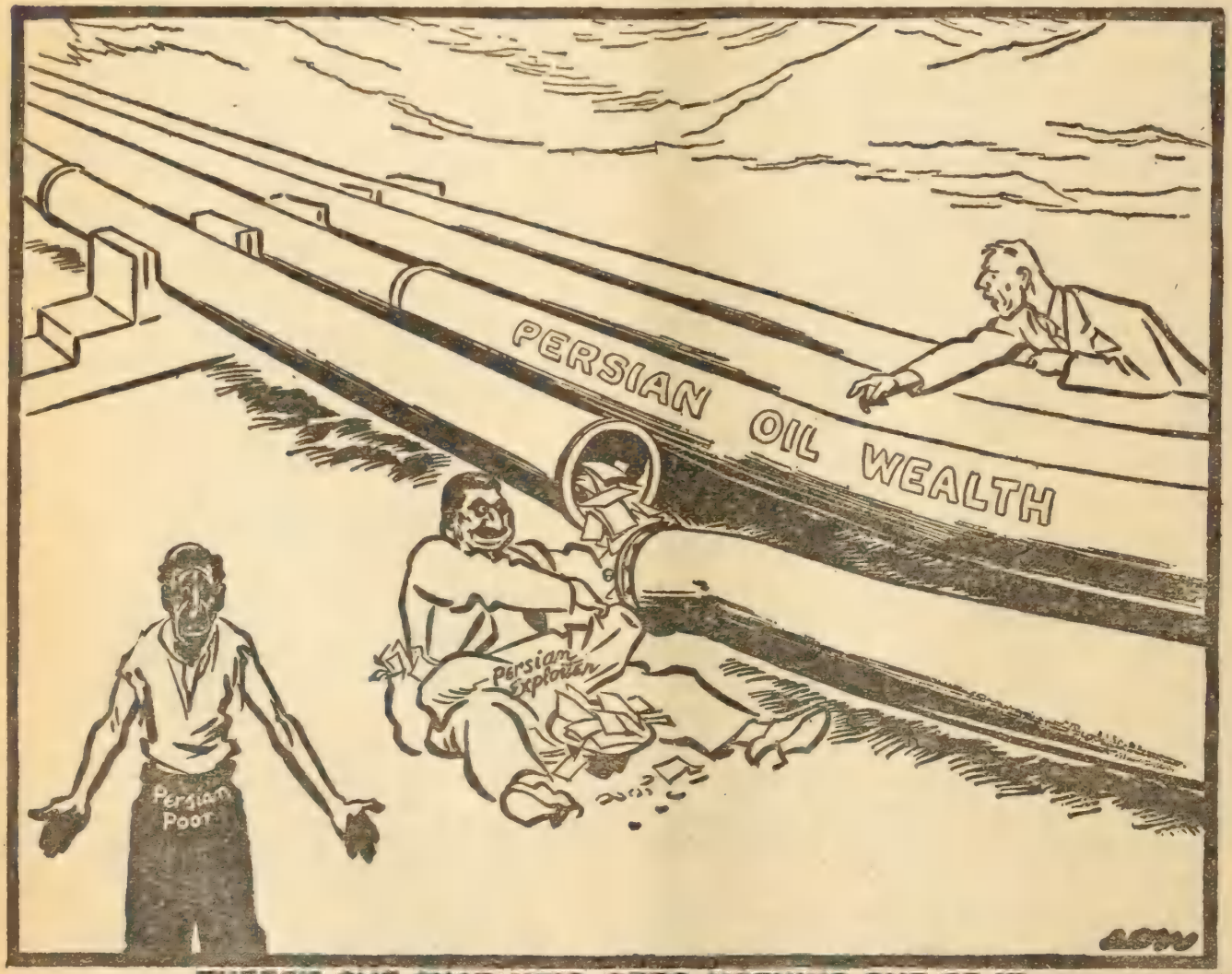
[For answer see page 457]

wealth: only when exported can the oil produce the funds the Tehran government desperately needs. Therefore it cannot dispense with the services of the Anglo-Iranian Company's huge tanker fleet and world-wide marketing organization. Denied the use of these services, the Iranian government would have to close down wells and refineries in a few weeks. Then we might well have a situation in which the Soviet-supported Tudeh Party, which is both revolutionary and nationalist, would be able to take over.

Recognition of this danger is one reason why the British government is proceeding cautiously. Whether it is equally well understood by Premier Mohammed Mossadegh, a sincere but highly emotional nationalist, is doubtful. Certainly he seems to have little appreciation of the economic problems of the industry he is taking over, and when asked by a foreign diplomat what he would do about various practical questions, replied with a tirade against British imperialism. He has told the people that now they have recovered their property, the new flow of wealth will strengthen the economy and bring "comfort and ease" to all.

Such airy promises are likely to boomerang. Even if satisfactory marketing arrangements can be made, even if the Iranian government is able to find efficient and honest administrators for the oil industry, it will be many years before Iran will receive more revenue than it would have obtained under the draft agreement with the company which was rejected in favor of nationalization. Compensation, which it has promised to pay, will take at least the equivalent of the profits that the company has been withdrawing, and the need for large development expenditures will continue.

In any case, nationalization of oil is no panacea for Iran's many troubles. Granted that in a sense the Anglo-Iranian was an "exploiter," it also made a genuine contribution to national development. On the other hand, the rich Iranian landlords seem to be a purely parasitic class. The abolition of their monopoly is the real starting-point for basic social, political, and economic reform. If the present ferment produced a government strong enough to tackle this job, there might be some hope for peaceful change. But Mr. Mossadegh appears to believe that all he needs is to have the genii of the oil wells at his command. Unfortunately, this is no longer the world of Haroun-al-Raschid.



THERE'S ONE CHAP WHO GETS NOTHING OUT OF IT London *Daily Herald*

Most Evil Censorship

IN REFUSING to review the Dorothy Bailey case—another four-to-four decision—and in begging the main question in the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee and companion cases, the Supreme Court has shirked its constitutional obligations in a manner that will aggravate current tensions in the field of civil liberties. The court has often been unable to reach agreement on major issues, but it has seldom failed to decide these issues, one way or the other. The present court, however, simply decides not to decide them.

In the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee case Justice Burton took the narrow position that the government admitted allegations of arbitrary action by filing a motion to dismiss; therefore it was improper for the lower court to grant the motion. Justice Jackson concurred in the decision but on different grounds, while Black, Douglas, and Frankfurter filed separate concurring opinions. Justice Clark, the architect of the loyalty program, did not participate. Joined by the Chief Justice and by Justice Minton, Justice Reed took the position that wrongly listing an organization as "subversive" is an innocent mistake —like an inaccurate listing in a telephone directory!

By refusing to review her case, the court has not only robbed Miss Bailey of her one chance to obtain a fair hearing but has indirectly sanctioned the President's loyalty program. At the same time it has clearly implied that an organization is entitled to a hearing before it can be listed as subversive. But it did not order the Attorney General to remove the name of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee from the list pending a trial of the action, and by then the McCarran act will be in full operation. The court has decided nothing and has confused the basic issues.

By this futile intervention, the court has, in Justice Jackson's apt phrase, floundered "in wordy disagreement over the validity and effect of procedures which have already been pursued for several years." If the Executive can enforce an order of the most doubtful constitutionality for three years without being effectively challenged, then administrative agencies can pick up where the Executive leaves off and avoid a test for an additional three or four years. In the meantime, of course, the structure of civil liberties can be disastrously weakened. Once a bulwark against governmental tyranny, the court now functions as a somewhat reluctant collaborator in promoting unconstitutional procedures.

Among the concurring opinions, only that filed by Justice Black cuts to the heart of the issue. With characteristic courage and clarity, Black found that listing an organization as subversive, with or without a hearing, is a direct violation of the First Amendment, since the effect is to punish the organization and many of its members solely because of their political beliefs. One can admire Justice Frankfurter's fine exposition of "due process"—in his view the validity and moral authority of a conclusion largely depend on the mode by which it is reached—but still feel that procedures are secondary to purposes. "Due process" may provide solace to those accused of disloyalty, but in the current atmosphere such an accusation carries an indelible taint. It is the thought control itself that is objectionable. Any attempt to control thoughts and beliefs, with or without due process, is certain to result, as Justice Black points out, in "a most evil type of censorship."

Answer to Who's Who—Mao, Ridgway

1952 Is the Prize

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, May 11

LONG-RANGE political prognostication is a tricky business, but this reporter cannot escape a conviction that the Republicans by their ardent embrace of General MacArthur may be creating issues that will haunt them in 1952. At present Senator Taft may argue, without attracting overwhelming attention, that we should accept MacArthur's advice to broaden the war in China and simultaneously cut down military spending and the projected size of our armed forces. Pro-Hoover and pro-Taft Republicans can claim MacArthur for their own, even though the General in testifying repudiates the Hoover and Taft variations of neo-isolationism. But a year and a half in advance of the Presidential election, issues are less sharply defined than during a campaign. The Republicans eventually must choose a candidate, who presumably must commit himself rather specifically on foreign and military policy. Unless MacArthur himself is to be the nominee—an idea touted by Colonel McCormick but rejected by Courtney Whitney, the General's spokesman, as slightly sacrilegious—many Republicans in 1952 may suddenly become anxious for MacArthur to fade away rather more rapidly than now seems his plan.

Other Republicans in the committee hearings are digging tenaciously for an issue on which to base a campaign. In handling Secretary Marshall, in his first five days of testimony, their effort has been partly to discredit him—else one old soldier's counsel might offset another's—and partly to obscure the clear fact that MacArthur attacked the President's policies too persistently and publicly for the insubordination to be overlooked.

So Marshall is accused of permitting alleged pro-Communists to retain power during his period as Secretary of State and of earlier complicity in the "sell-out" of Chiang Kai-shek. It is suggested that as Secretary of Defense he is no longer a soldier but merely a Truman

political puppet. (McCormick's Chicago *Tribune* goes farther and intimates that he is a senile puppet.) And there is an effort to stir up sympathy for the "manner" in which MacArthur was fired. Could not the General have been left in Tokyo, even though removed from the Korean command, until the Japanese peace treaty was signed? Didn't he really owe his "highest loyalty" to the country and the Constitution rather than to a human being who happened to be President? Marshall cannot compete with MacArthur's histrionic talents, but he has his own patriotism and dignity, and he has patiently reiterated his views without losing his temper. As army chief of staff during World War II he had disagreements with Roosevelt, but he never forgot that the same Constitution to which he owed his highest loyalty established the President as commander-in-chief. Last year, when General Marshall was named Secretary of Defense, Senator Jenner violently attacked his reputation and ability. His cross-examination in the current hearings indicates that many Republican Senators are adopting Jenner's views on Marshall as they previously adopted Joe McCarthy's on Dean Acheson and the Department of State.

All this, however, does not get the Republicans a candidate and a foreign policy. Behind the scenes there is a breach in Republican ranks which will grow wider if, as seems possible, the MacArthur incident propels the party into the hands of a candidate representing the isolationist or the go-it-alone extreme or any combination of the two. Senator Morse of Oregon has already said publicly that if his party nominates an isolationist he will "take a long walk." There are others on the Republican side of the aisle who are deeply disturbed by the rush of their colleagues to climb on the MacArthur bandwagon. Nationally respected Republican newspapers, such as the New York *Herald Tribune* and the Cowles publications in Des Moines and Minneapolis, are strongly supporting Truman on the MacArthur issue.

Four powerful publishers beat a path to MacArthur's door during his early seclusion in the Waldorf Tower—McCormick, Roy Howard of the Scripps-Howard chain, Henry Luce of *Time*, and William Randolph Hearst, Jr. But they have only one thing in common—a dislike of Truman's domestic policy. Luce and Howard favored the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Pact and also supported the President's intervention in Korea, although they are not now averse to exploiting our difficulties there to promote anti-Truman sentiment. McCormick and the Hearst chain, on the other hand, think of the Marshall Plan as "Operation Rathole," despise the Atlantic Pact and the United Nations, and abhor the Korean campaign even while indorsing MacArthur's plan to expand it. If the election next year hinges on a foreign-policy fight, the Republican nominee will have to engage in a remarkable kind of doubletalk, or "newspeak," to obtain the support of both the MacArthur worshipers and the more international-minded Republican press and leadership. As for the influential independent newspapers—the Washington *Post*, Baltimore *Sun*, St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and *Star-Times*—it is difficult to imagine that they could be for MacArthur or Taft, or any candidate representing the McCormick-McCarthy-MacArthur-Taft group, against Truman or some other Democratic nominee fighting to vindicate Truman's foreign policy.

Whether continuing the Democratic Party in power would be a good thing for the country may be, in the abstract, a debatable question. A good many sympathetic observers are conscious that the New Deal–Fair Deal after two decades in office has lost much of its verve. In many areas the Truman Administration is painfully deficient in ideas and in personnel committed to an affirmative program. There is mediocrity in the executive offices and in the Democratic National Committee, which is supposed to function as the political arm of the Administration. Doubt and confusion hamper Democratic members of Congress; a majority in both House and Senate voted last year to override the President's veto of the McCarran act—action that would have been unthinkable if the party retained a clear liberal urge and sense of mission.

But if the Republicans wish to capitalize on the desire of many for a change, they must offer something more than negation, a reversion to reaction and isolationism, and an orgy of hero-worship for a dramatic ousted general. Politicians of the Joe Martin stripe like to think that Governor Dewey lost to Truman in 1948 only because he did not "fight." They seem incapable of understanding that the record of the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress deprived him of anything to fight for. He could not openly repudiate that record, but if he had tried to defend it, and thus lined up officially with Republican primitivism, he would probably have been beaten much worse.

The clamorous Republican indorsement of MacArthur as a political issue has destroyed for the present the working coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats in Congress. The conservative Democrats—some of them, it is true, rather gingerly—have rejoined the Administration on this issue, and will stay with it if the right-wing and isolationist Republicans insist on projecting the General into the campaign. The international-minded and more liberal Republicans, who thus far have remained relatively silent, will find their position increasingly uncomfortable. They do not believe in "going it alone," in giving America the unenviable responsibility for blowing up the United Nations, or in rashly starting a "preventive war." It is not the Democratic Party which faces a dangerous split over MacArthur but the Republican Party.

Three Elections

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

PEOPLE who think that you are a decade or two behind the times if you still talk about fascism and that only communism is a live question today must have been surprised at the success of the Socialist Reichs Party (S. R. P.) in the elections in Lower Saxony last Sunday. Something of the sort, however, had been expected by those who have followed recent developments in West Germany and the policy of the occupation authorities. Not wanting to alarm public opinion outside Germany or to risk banning as a neo-Nazi organization by Chancellor Adenauer, the S. R. P. had denied that it wanted to restore Nazism or overthrow the republic, but it was finally encouraged to come out in the open by the amnesty granted to the war criminals and the general policy of the Western Allies.

Commissioner McCloy's liberation of the Landsberg prisoners (commented on by Carolus in *The Nation* two weeks ago) was preceded by a campaign for their release in which all sections of the population joined—associations of former army officers, church congregations, political parties, and even groups which call themselves liberal. But in all the talk about the "conscience of mankind" the loudest and most aggressive voice was that of the S. R. P. It was the S. R. P. which organized the demonstrations before the gates of Landsberg, where the infamous Pohl, among others, was imprisoned, the man who had personally directed the destruction of the Warsaw ghetto. Of twenty-eight war criminals confined in Landsberg under sentence of death or life imprisonment, twenty-one were reprieved by the American High Commissioner. When even Alfried Krupp, moving spirit of Hitler Germany's industrial mobilization for war, was set free as the price of West Germany's adherence to the Atlantic Pact, the S. R. P. entered the elections with confidence, flaunting racism and *révanche* on its banners.

Every German who felt sympathy for the war criminals was intensely pleased to see the S. R. P. receive some 400,000 votes and come in fourth among the ten parties which campaigned, with a larger percentage than was polled by Adenauer's party. The S. R. P. leaders realized that by revealing themselves as the Nazis they were, they were not threatened by any serious reprisals from the occupation authorities, whose chief interest now is to hasten West Germany's rehabilitation as a sovereign state. Its diplomatic service has been reestablished; the British are showing greater willingness to remove the controls over its economy; economic and political advantages of many kinds are assured to it by the Schuman Plan and the Council of Europe, and foreign trade is beginning to boom. In short, the Germans are courted, favored, strong, and large numbers of them, instead of voting for democracy, as may have been expected by their benefactors, vote for neo-Nazism, through which, they believe, Germany will one day become again the most powerful nation in Europe.

In the Austrian elections for a new President to replace the late Dr. Karl Renner, an unexpectedly large vote was cast for Burghard Breitner, running as the candidate of the League of Independents, which is supported by many known former Nazis and other elements dissatisfied with the parties now in power, the People's Party (strongly Catholic) and the Socialists. The outlook is not so ominous as in Germany, but the trend is the same. In all European countries reaction has been helped to power by rearmament; the fascism which many people were ingenuous enough to think had been extirpated is putting forth new shoots everywhere. A new fascist international is beginning to appear over the horizon, as witness the congress of fascist leaders called in Stockholm, and World War III is the best card it holds.

THE Bolivian elections were not less interesting. Victor Paz Estensoro, who won a majority of the votes cast, is generally labeled a "Communist-fascist" and can hardly be the hero of any genuine liberal. It is true that he has opposed Franco, but he has also been accused of totalitarian tendencies. And yet it would not be accurate to call him an agent of Perón. After he was exiled by the 1946 revolution which overturned the regime of Gualberto Villarroel, who was hanged in the public square, he spent most of his time in Argentina but moved recently to Montevideo because Perón did not want to antagonize the Bolivian government. The candidate who was actually a Perón agent, Gabriel Gosálvez, formerly Bolivian ambassador in Buenos Aires, trailed Paz Estensoro in the voting.

Nor was Paz Estensoro's victory due to his undeniable propagandist gifts, for he was in exile and could not exercise them in the campaign. His political friends within Bolivia were persecuted and helpless. He had against him the government, the army, the mine owners, and the big business interests anxious to maintain good financial relations with the United States. How, then, did it happen that he received more votes than any of his rivals? The answer is simple: he voiced the demands of the mine workers, among the most exploited and miserably poor people in the Western Hemisphere. The social problem in Latin America must be a cause of great anxiety in Washington. Some day, nobody knows when, there will be an explosion, and the starving Indians will rise up and say, "An end to all this," as the people of Asia have done. Then the Kremlin will again be made responsible for a movement which has its roots in social injustice, in the contrast between the wealth of a tiny minority and the poverty of an incredibly ill-paid

proletariat. The situation is loaded with explosive material, and no help will be needed from the Moscow Politburo to set it off.

Paz Estensoro only had to emphasize two slogans in the election manifesto which served for the speeches he was unable to deliver: "Nationalize the mines" and "Bolivia without the Americans." Washington may be satisfied with the official solidarity expressed at inter-American conferences like that held last month in Washington or with the support of the Latin American delegations at Lake Success. But the fact remains that Bolivia elected a President, demagogue or not, who promised to nationalize the mines and wrest control of national policy from foreign capitalists.

In Bolivia, this time, the old method of buying an election did not bring results. Instead of selling their votes for a meal or some drinks, the Indians preferred to give them to the man who promised to lead them out of slavery. Apart from the type of man chosen, the elections were, for Bolivia, democratically conducted. The fact that Paz Estensoro did not succeed in attaining an absolute majority was emphasized in an effort to deprive him of his victory, but the most farsighted Bolivian leaders and even the chief of the army are now urging that his election be confirmed, fearing that otherwise the road will be opened to a possible "legal revolution." The significance of the election transcends Bolivia. It is a warning that Washington dare not ignore.

France's No. 1 Question

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Lyon, May 7

I LIKE Lyon. Built, like Manhattan, on the point of a sword between two mighty rivers, it is the only French city except Paris which looks like a metropolis. It has spectacular squares, boulevards, and bridges, large dignified buildings old and new, smart crowds, a lot of traffic, white-gloved policemen. The National Congress of the Mouvement Républicain Populaire, held in the large hall of the Lyon Fair, beside the swift emerald waters of the Rhône, was as good a pretext as any for revisiting Lyon and starting my "election close-up" there. Then, too, the chestnuts were in full bloom.

The M. R. P., with 144 deputies in the Assembly, is today the second-largest party in France, and in the last election it received the votes of 27 per cent of the electorate. In the coming election it stands to be the biggest loser. The M. R. P. is the Christian Democratic party of France but is strikingly unlike the conservative Christian Democrats of Germany and Italy. It counts Lamennais and Montalembert among its ancestors, and its uncles and cousins include Jacques Maritain and Marc Sangnier, whose noble countenance embellished the entrance of the congress hall. It was the Resistance and the Liberation that increased the small group of thirteen Démocrates Populaires in the pre-war Chamber to nearly 150 M. R. P.'s in the 1946 Assembly. *En principe,* it is a left-wing party, and during the four days' discussions at Lyon the phrase "social justice" kept cropping up. Unlike the Radicals, and more than the Socialists, the M. R. P., with which are closely linked the powerful and strongly leftist Christian trade unions of the C. F. T. C., may be said to be, in some respects, a "working-class party."

One cannot help having a soft spot for the M. R. P. Its members have ideas, an ideology, and good instincts. No doubt, there are some machine politicians among them, such as P. H. Teitgen and Paul Coste-Floret, the latter one of the men most responsible for the situation in Indo-China; but more typical leaders are the party's president, Georges Bidault, who was a better Prime Minister than most produced by the Fourth Republic; Robert Schuman, who is more sinned against than sinning if his two favorite children, the Council of Europe and the Schuman Plan, have not turned out as well as he had hoped; and Paul Bacon, the Minister of Labor, who showed more understanding of the workers' legitimate demands in the recent strikes than most members of the Queuille government.

These and many others, like Maurice Schumann, the M. R. P.'s foreign expert, give the impression of being men of sincerity and good-will, disinclined to be carried away by hate propaganda. No doubt, the record of the M. R. P. in the handling of Indo-China is about as bad as anybody else's, but at least it may be said that if Radicals and Socialists, and also a few Gaullists, were up to their necks in *l'affaire des généraux* and other colonial financial scandals, the M. R. P. kept its skirts remarkably clean. And today Coste-Floret himself, whose speech here on Monday contained more blah than is usual even in pre-election speeches, was trying to think a little more constructively than most about Indo-China. France, he said, must try to get Bao Dai's Indo-China to be admitted to the U. N.; if Russia objected, it might be offered in return the admission of Communist China. It was not perhaps a very practical solution, but it was still a suggestion that might pave the way for a general settlement in the Far East.

On this as on most subjects something of a gulf separates the ministers from the *militants* of the party and also from some rank-and-file deputies, like André Denis, who recently had the temerity to propose that another attempt be made to negotiate with Ho Chi Minh. His proposal was taken up by one of the youth federations at this congress but was sat on, of course, by the leaders.

I had dinner one night in a little working-class restaurant with some of the young people of the M. R. P. They are essentially Socialists, believing in planning and passionately advocating a square deal for the French

workers. They felt rather disgusted that in the congress that day a motion proposing that a sliding scale for wages be universally applied in France was rejected after a somewhat tortuous speech by M. Bacon, the Minister of Labor. They dislike most of all the conservative, laissez faire Radicals, "who haven't learned a thing," and the American-business-man type of politician like M. Pleven, who for months refused, despite M. R. P. protests, to face up to the financial and economic problems besetting France.

"It's a funny business," one of the party said, "this M. R. P. of ours. In '46 all the good Conservative Catholics voted for us, and our leaders largely reflect their views. But our young people are more working-class in mentality, and Etienne Borne, the great ideologist of the M. R. P., is awfully alarmed by our hankering for Marxism, which apart from Christianity is the only optimistic faith one can have these days." As we were walking home that night, we passed a huge hoarding covered with anti-Russian posters. "Pleven stuff, American stuff," one of the young people remarked. "Who the devil in France wants to start a crusade against Russia?"

These young M. R. P. boys were sorry never to have been able to establish any contacts with British student and youth organizations. There was nothing they were more interested in than the "Labor experiment," nothing they would like better than for the M. R. P. to become, in time, a French *travailliste* party.

There was no Gaullist movement in the '46 election, and now the Gaullists will get many of the M. R. P. votes, often perhaps with the support of the local curé. The M. R. P. fought a losing battle against the electoral reform, but in the end decided it was a lesser evil than any other solution. It reckons that, in practice, the new system will be only a slightly modified proportional-representation system, calculated, above all, to limit the number of Gaullist and Communists seats. The *apparentement* with the other Third Force parties may often be difficult, but the leaders of the M. R. P. have been stressing the fact that M. R. P. votes will *not* go to the anti-clerical Radicals, for instance, and that the *apparentés* parties getting more than 50 per cent of the votes will simply share out the total poll on a P. R. basis.

At the congress De Gaulle was accused of "Caesarism" and "Boulangism" and of wanting to drag France into a deadly adventure, and although Bidault clearly regretted that De Gaulle had "bolted the door," he (Bidault) wasn't going to ring the bell. One wonders what would happen if De Gaulle, before or after the election, were to unlock the door. Others, notably M. Teitgen, were more emphatic in their opposition to having anything to do with De Gaulle either before or after, and this seems to be the M. R. P. line—at least for the present.

Much, if not everything, ultimately depends on how many seats the Gaullists get in the next Assembly. Forecasts at the congress were: 120 Gaullists, 100 Communists, and the remaining 400 more or less Third Force, including 80 M. R. P.'s. Only what on earth would happen if the Communists got, say, 120 and the Gaullists, as some of their spokesmen have been prophesying, 200 seats? This is France's No. 1 question.

Poisoned Pork

BY LEONARD ENGEL

IN 1945, 256 German prisoners of war at a camp in Michigan came down with severe attacks of trichinosis. The outbreak, which was traced to a favorite German dish, raw pork sausage, prepared by camp cooks from United States army pork, led to a bitter exchange between the army and the camp's inmates. The army stiffly told the prisoners they should have cooked the meat—everyone in the United States knows raw pork is dangerous. To which the prisoners replied that it never occurred to them that anyone in the United States would serve infected pork; in Germany trichinosis had been wiped out sixty years before. The incident points up a singular situation. We Americans pride ourselves on the purity of our drinking water, the wholesomeness of our milk, our generally high standards of sanitation; yet we continue to tolerate trichinosis-infected pork, a health menace eradicated long ago in most of the advanced nations of the West and one which we also could be rid of within a decade.

Trichinosis is caused by a microscopic spiral worm, *Trichinella spiralis,* parasitic to man, rats, mice, and hogs. Trichinella comes to man in the form of an encysted larva which, if not killed by cooking or curing of the infected pork, is liberated in the intestine by the process of digestion. The larva is soon transformed into an adult and proceeds to breed; as many as 100,000,000 young may be hatched in the walls of the intestine after a single meal of infected meat. The young parasites are carried through the body by the blood and lymph and burrow into the muscles, especially the muscles of

LEONARD ENGEL writes frequently for The Nation *on new developments in science. This is the first of a series of articles on abuses in the food and drug trades.*

the chest, diaphragm, and tongue, where they grow rapidly. One of two things then happens. Either the host succumbs or his body succeeds in throwing cysts around the trichinae. In the latter case the parasites stay with the host for life, causing painful symptoms usually blamed on other disorders. Trichinosis is exceptionally difficult to diagnose and has been confused with more than sixty other ailments, ranging from arthritis to typhoid fever. There is no cure for it.

Trichinosis is directly responsible for probably fewer than 100 deaths a year. A recent United States Public Health Service study, however, indicates that it is more widespread than any other chronic disease. A team of Public Health Service pathologists made a microscopic examination of tissues from 5,313 individuals from thirty-seven states and the District of Columbia who had died from other causes. Some degree of trichinous infection was found in 16.1 per cent. Rich and poor, farmers and city-dwellers, Northerners and Southerners were equally affected. The only group free of trichinosis were the Orthodox Jews, who don't eat pork.

The extraordinary incidence of human trichinosis in the United States—far and away the greatest anywhere—is a direct reflection of the fact that American swine are the world's most trichinous. No less than 1.5 per cent of the hogs coming to market here harbor parasites. Professor S. E. Gould of Wayne Medical College estimates that the average American consumes 200 servings of trichinous pork during his lifetime. "Infection may occur," declares a special report of the Committee on Public Health Relations of the New York Academy of Medicine, "if the trichinae are viable in only one serving of pork." The label, "U. S. Inspected and Passed," on fresh pork or cured pork meant to be cooked by the consumer is no protection. The Department of Agriculture prescribes standards for processed products meant to be eaten without further cooking which guarantee freedom from trichinae; on other pork products, however, the label merely means that the product has passed the department's routine meat inspection, which does not detect trichinae.

Deaths from trichinosis would undoubtedly be much more numerous but for two circumstances. First, the majority of American housewives have learned to cook fresh pork well enough to kill most of the parasites. Second, in preparing sausage and similar products our streamlined packing plants generally blend meat from many hogs. This serves to dilute infected meat and reduce the number of parasites in any one serving. As a result, most trichinosis victims escape fatal attacks.

WHILE there is no cure for trichinosis, there are well-proved, practical methods of stamping it out. One that has been in use for two generations in France, Germany, Scandinavia, and Switzerland is microscopic inspection of all pork coming to market and destruction of any carcasses found infected. Microscopic inspection brought the proportion of trichinous hogs entering slaughterhouses in Germany, which once had a more serious trichinosis problem than the United States, down to an average of 0.001 per cent before World War II.

The second method—employed in Canada and Great Britain for upward of three decades—is compulsory cooking of garbage fed to swine in order to break the chain of infection. Hogs pick up trichinosis mainly from scraps of trichinous pork in raw garbage. Boiling kills the parasites and makes the garbage non-infectious. Compulsory treatment of garbage has cut the trichinosis rate among Canadian hogs to one-thirtieth the rate in the United States. A third method, freezing of fresh pork products, has also been used on a small scale, but the necessary refrigeration equipment is too expensive to permit rapid general adoption, and freezing produces undesirable changes in the flavor and appearance of the pork.

The United States Public Health Service and other health authorities have called repeatedly for either compulsory boiling of garbage or microscopic inspection of pork products. Pork destined for export to countries which insist on microscopic inspection, such as France and Sweden, is in fact so inspected by the Department of Agriculture. But the extension of similar protection to domestic consumers has been blocked by a politically powerful alliance of hog-raisers and meat-packers abetted by cities and towns—about half of those with a population of more than 10,000—that sell garbage to hog farms or are in the hog-raising business themselves, and that place a few pennies of municipal profit above the health of their citizens.

The loudest objections to compulsory cooking of garbage come, of course, from hog-raisers who feed their animals mainly on swill. Many meat-packers are also against it because they feed hogs awaiting slaughter on uncooked, and therefore infectious, offal from previously slaughtered animals—a thrifty practice they wouldn't want to see changed. The hog-raisers contend that pigs will not eat boiled swill, and that the cooking requirement would be impossible to enforce because of the number of small farmers who raise a few pigs on home-produced swill. The strongest opposition to microscopic inspection naturally comes from the meat-packers, who point out that it isn't 100 per cent reliable (trichinae are often difficult to detect in animals under a year old, and an animal may be trichinous though no parasites are found in the particular tissues examined) and that pork shipped in intra-state commerce, about 30 per cent of the total coming to market, is not subject to federal control. A microscopic-inspection program, the packers argue, might give people a

false sense of security and make them careless about thorough cooking of pork.

The record in other countries shows that none of these arguments has merit. Indeed, I doubt that they are taken seriously by many who advance them. The real objections to garbage cooking and microscopic inspection are economic. The hog-raisers who use swill are afraid that the cost of cooking will put them at a disadvantage as compared with those who feed corn; the meat-packers are thinking of the cost of microscopic inspection and in addition fear that the procedure would disrupt their highly mechanized production processes. The hog-raisers and meat-packers, however, exaggerate the expense of proper protective measures. The United States and Canadian Departments of Agriculture have devised swill cookers that can be built from discarded oil drums and boilers at a cost ranging from less than $25 for a unit capable of feeding a dozen hogs to about $1,000 for a system capable of providing for 1,000 animals; these can be operated for roughly $1 to $2 per ton of swill. Microscopic inspection, it is true, is slow and expensive when performed manually, but semi-automatic equipment could be devised to speed up the process. Public-health specialists estimate that making our pork supply safe will cost about what we now spend on pasteurizing milk.

When compulsory pasteurization of milk was first proposed a half-century ago, dairy leaders predicted that it would ruin the industry and send the price of milk soaring. Actually pasteurization adds only a fraction of a cent per quart to the cost of milk, and we would no more think of going back to unpasteurized milk than of giving up our modern water-supply systems. The housewife should no longer be compelled to carry the burden of preventing trichinosis. The responsibility should be put where it belongs—on the hog-raisers and meat-packers. "It appears to be a legitimate demand," Dr. Maurice C. Hall, the late chief of the division of zoology of the United States Public Health Service, once remarked, "that when a man exchanges dollars for pork he should not do it on the basis that he may be purchasing his death warrant. In a day when goods of all sorts are assumed to be, and quite generally are, safe and wholesome as marketed, no one has a right to ask that an exception be made for pork."

Pork is an appetizing, economical, and nutritious meat. The elimination of trichinosis would finally make it a safe food as well.

How Free Is Fair Trade?

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

IN THE last few years convergent pressures have begun to undermine the little-noticed but expensive "fair trade" laws which, in force in forty-five states, have worked a quiet revolution in certain lines of merchandising since 1931. In the estimate of Dr. Joseph M. Klamon of Washington University, an outstanding expert, "fair trade" now taxes American consumers a billion dollars a year by increasing retail prices. The story of how the laws under which this tax is imposed were "eased into the American economy" is one of the extraordinary political success stories of the last two decades.

The essence of "fair trade," or resale-price-maintenance, is control of competition by vertical price-fixing of branded goods. The manufacturers instituted the movement, but in the 1920's its leadership was taken over by the independent retailers and their suppliers, the jobbers and wholesalers. As trade areas expanded, the department store, the supermarket or "giant store," and the chain store had begun to encroach on the market of independent retailers, who had long enjoyed a quasi-monopoly based on strategic location. The more mobile the consumer became, the better able he was to choose where to buy.

This new trend in distribution was more pronounced in California than elsewhere. There the year-round use of automobiles, rapid growth of population in certain areas, and large low-cost, open-air markets favored the new merchandising methods. At the same time the steady influx of merchants, drawn by the "climate" rather than by a realistic appraisal of the opportunities, multiplied the number of retail outlets in a wasteful and competitively ruinous fashion.

Out of the necessity which in California breeds an exceptional inventiveness, a number of retail organizations joined forces with the retail druggists in 1931 to push the first state resale-price-maintenance act through the legislature. The depression had weakened the opposition and given impetus to price-maintenance schemes. Two years later a clause was added which made the resale price agreed upon by a manufacturer and a single retailer binding on all retailers upon notice. This act be-

CAREY McWilliams, associate editor of The Nation, *has been for many years a close observer of the California political scene. A following article will deal with the counter-revolt against fair trade which has developed since 1948.*

came the model for virtually every state's "fair trade" law; in eleven states it was copied so slavishly that certain minor typographical and grammatical errors were repeated.

In 1936 the Supreme Court, perhaps to make up for having just struck down the NRA, upheld the Illinois fair-trade act. Senator Tydings, whose former law partner represented the retail druggists, was then induced to offer the Miller-Tydings amendment to the federal Anti-Trust Act as a rider to a District of Columbia appropriation bill. This amendment legalized minimum resale-price-maintenance agreements on branded goods sold in interstate commerce provided the commodities were resold in states where such agreements were authorized by law. President Roosevelt denounced it as "vicious" but, lacking an item veto power, was compelled to accept it. In the wake of the Miller-Tydings amendment fair-trade laws were pushed through thirty-one state legislatures before you could say "anti-trust."

The original California act was a most ingenious legislative device. The type of price maintenance it authorized could be labeled "purely voluntary," even though the agreement fixing the price was made binding on all retailers upon notice. It could also be praised as economical: enforcement cost the state nothing since the remedy was by injunction. Competition, at least in production, could still be said to be unrestricted, since the commodity affected must be one in "fair and open competition with commodities of the same general class." And since only minimum prices were maintained, it could be argued that the act did not authorize price-fixing *per se*. Impressed by this dazzling invention, the California legislature in 1935 revised an earlier "unfair trade" act to complete the new scheme of price maintenance.

STATE legislators are more responsive to local pressures than Congressmen, and the pressure behind "fair trade" stems from local retail merchants. Retailers can exert pressure on legislators because they are found in all communities. Furthermore, they can lobby the constituents of the legislator while spokesmen for the retail trade association lobby the legislator in the state capitol. Bills to legalize price control have been introduced in each session of Congress since 1914, but not even the eloquence of Louis Brandeis, speaking on behalf of the American Fair Trade Association, could induce Congress to modify the anti-trust laws in the interest of "fair trade." The Supreme Court's decision upholding the Illinois act made it possible for Congress to shift the onus of modification to the states. Even so, enactment of the Miller-Tydings amendment is only to be explained by the power of the new grass-roots lobby which the California retailers had perfected. Nearly 2,000,000 retailers, it may be noted, were interested in the amendment.

At an early date, also, the retail druggists in Oakland, California, had hit upon the "captain" plan of organization. This was used in the drive to adopt the Miller-Tydings amendment and in subsequent state campaigns for fair-trade laws. The "captain" plan works as follows: The trade association concerned selects a "colonel," usually the most prosperous and best-known retailer of the area, and in his name sends out a call to the other retailers to meet for the purpose of working out a collective attitude, policy, and procedure. A "captain" is then named for each subdivision of the area and made responsible for the execution of the measures decided on. The strategy is directed by the trade association, which also handles the publicity.

Some associations have spent three or four times their normal income from dues and assessments on lobbying and similar activities, obtaining the necessary additional funds from wholesalers and jobbers. Pepsodent, for example, felt compelled to contribute $25,000 to one association after an experiment with fair-trading its products had proved unsuccessful. The retailers, in fact, first used the "captain" plan to exert pressure on manufacturers by offering to cooperate with those who fair-traded their products and boycotting those who did not; the Federal Trade Commission, in its report of December, 1945, found that "tremendous pressure" had been applied to drug manufacturers in this manner. But the plan was equally effective in focusing political pressure on legislators.

These new retail grass-roots lobbies must be ranked among the most cohesive and powerful pressure groups influencing state legislation. Recently the lower house of the Colorado legislature passed a retail-price-maintenance measure for the liquor industry with only five dissenting votes. Attempts to repeal fair-trade laws have been decisively defeated in Colorado, New Mexico, and Wisconsin. In Wyoming a fair-trade law was adopted after a one-day hearing in a Casper hotel. State committees receive advice from the Bureau of Education on Fair Trade, whose "campaign guides" and political manuals are excellent texts on the art of pressure politics. Only in Texas, Vermont, and Missouri have the fair-trade lobbies been unsuccessful; in Missouri the opposition owes much to the leadership of the St. Louis *Star-Times* and *Post-Dispatch*. The fair-trade lobby was able to force the Miller-Tydings amendment through Congress, but it has never succeeded in inducing Congress to adopt a local fair-trade act for the District of Columbia—after all, Congressmen are interested in low-priced bourbon.

Underlying the effectiveness of the lobby is a growing class consciousness among independent retailers, out of which has come an impulse toward political action. The fair-trade groups are essentially the collective bargaining agencies of the retailers in their dealings with the manufacturers, price-cutters, and low-price, big-volume mer-

chandisers. The development of the fair-trade lobby has been carried farther in California than in any other state; this type of lobby is the basis of the power of Artie Samish, who has bossed the California legislature as long as he has represented the liquor industry. But in the past five years fair-trade lobbies have been greatly strengthened in other states as well, and largely by the same means—offensive-defensive alliances among various retail groups. Their efficiency largely accounts for the quietness of what Leverett A. Chapin of the Denver *Post* has called the revolution "from competition to fair trade."

The B. B. C. on Trial

BY CHARLES A. SIEPMANN

SINCE the inception of our system of broadcasting in 1934, its merits and defects have received no sustained governmental consideration. The British, on the other hand, have officially reviewed their system four times in less than thirty years and only now, in 1951, have finally concluded that, all things considered, it is for their purposes the best.

The recent report of the Broadcasting Committee of which Lord Beveridge was chairman is an illuminating analysis of broadcasting as a force in society and of the problem of social control over its operation. It examines the pros and cons of monopoly and competition in broadcasting and throws new light on the vexed question whether broadcasting can usefully be thought of as an instrument of education. This last is of special interest to Americans just now in view of the awaited decision of the Federal Communications Commission on educational TV.

The report is still subject to approval by Parliament. As submitted, it gives a permanent green light to the British Broadcasting Corporation, a monopoly which henceforth will determine the output of both radio and television in and out of Britain. No substantial changes are recommended. There is to be greater scope for regional and local self-expression; there is to be more controversy on the air; and the B. B. C. is to be rendered more sensitive to criticism and suggestions from without. The hands of its Board of Governors are to be strengthened and their term of service lengthened. The new charter is to have no fixed time limit—thus far the charter has run for ten years only—but the work of the corporation is to be subject to quinquennial review.

The B. B. C., however, gets here no rubber-stamp approval. It survives, rather, a searching inquiry. The report runs to nearly 1,000 pages. The committee held sixty-two meetings, apart from subcommittees and studies by individual members. It received nearly four hundred memoranda and a million words of evidence from sources other than the B. B. C. itself. The report includes a dissenting opinion by one of its members, who pleads for an end to the monopoly and the introduction of commercial competition. But majority opinion holds that both the system and the program service of broadcasting in Britain stand vindicated.

What kind of programs are they which have won such approval? Dramatically illustrated by the report is the fact that broadcasting in Britain is about as different from broadcasting in America as it could be. In Britain there is no advertising on the air. The main source of revenue is an annual license fee (one pound) paid dutifully by approximately twelve million owners of radio receiving sets. (The percentage of listening homes is about the same as in the United States.) Television set owners pay two pounds and number some 400,000. A tribute to British honesty is the fact that only 5 per cent of listeners have to be reminded by the Post Office that their license needs renewal.

As far as channels go, the choice is meager. In the evening there are only three, up to 6 p.m. only two. Yet paradoxically the number of program types available far exceeds that provided for the average listener in America. Indeed, the B. B. C. claims that it offers "a wider range of programs than does any other broadcasting organization in the world." The range is certainly remarkable. In an average week there are 70 newscasts; 20 hours of talks, readings, and discussions; 100 variety programs; over 100 programs of serious and light music exclusive of dance music (over a thousand orchestral concerts of serious music are broadcast annually); some 23 hours of drama; a daily children's hour; 15 religious broadcasts; and 47 programs for schools, to which 18,000 schools tune in.

Listening in Britain is as extensive as here. On any given winter evening a quarter of the adult population is likely to be tuned in. The service is, if anything, more popular. The percentage of listeners expressing satisfaction has never been below 84 per cent; that of the dis-

---

CHARLES A. SIEPMANN is chairman of the Department of Communications at the School of Education of New York University and author of "Radio, Television, and Society."

satisfied has never risen above 5 per cent. The B. B. C. keeps in close touch with listeners, who are represented on thirty advisory committees.

The "average" listener's taste in the two countries is roughly the same. But this "average" obscures what actually differentiates the taste of the individuals composing the two audiences. In both Britain and America the *decisive differential factor in matters of taste is education.* And since in both countries the less well educated outnumber the better educated, the very existence of the better educated is denied by the average produced by the statistics. As the report shows in a graphic chart, "if the population is taken as a whole, weight of numbers makes the order [of program popularity] practically the same as that of the listeners with elementary education."



It is to such a level of taste that broadcasting in America is geared. In Britain broadcast programs correspond in kind, though not proportionately, to the known diversities of taste among *all* the constituent elements of the listening audience. In other words, a man's taste is not held to be negligible because it doesn't happen to be average. It is my own belief that on this point of program policy the B. B. C. is right and American radio is wrong. More disputable is the further claim of the B. B. C.—and of the Beveridge committee—that such catholic programming is possible only under a monopoly. It is, indeed, on this issue that one's judgment of the virtue of the Beveridge report depends.

Perhaps the report's most remarkable disclosure is that virtually no one in Britain wants commercial broadcasting, American style, and that virtually everyone wants the B. B. C. to carry on. Opinion differs only as to whether the B. B. C. should face some kind of competition. A public-opinion poll in 1949 showed 51 per cent in favor of the status quo; 33 per cent favored continuance of the B. B. C. but with commercial competition introduced; 16 per cent had no opinion. Ten of the eleven members of the Beveridge committee are against advertising competition; three favor, not sponsored programs, but limited periods each day during which firms can use radio to advertise their products to the public. One committee member only, while favoring continuance of the B. B. C., wants the introduction of a rival system of commercial broadcasting. The question remains, however, whether the majority opinion rests on valid reasoning.

Four main arguments against continuance of monopoly were advanced. Several witnesses expressed fear of the B. B. C.'s excessive power over men's minds: "I do not like the brute force of monopoly." There was objection, secondly, to the increasing size and unwieldiness of the B. B. C. Thirdly, those favoring regional and local self-expression resented centralized control of programming from London. And finally there was the argument of those "who look to broadcasting as a means of earning their livelihood . . . and fear the power of a monopoly over their lives."

Against these objections the B. B. C. submitted a passionately argued brief. It denied strenuously that the dangers cited were "inherent" or "inevitable" in monopoly. But as its main defense it put forward the view that in *public-service broadcasting, competition as such, whether commercial or otherwise, is disastrous.*

> So far as the part that broadcasting can play in the life of the community is concerned, the crucial test is that of standards. . . . By standards is here meant the purpose, taste, cultural aims, range, and general sense of responsibility of the broadcasting service as a whole. . . . Under any system of competitive broadcasting all these would be at the mercy of Gresham's Law. The good, in the long run, will inescapably be driven out by the bad. . . . And perhaps the worst prospect is that there would be no sudden or dramatic drop that could be seized on and challenged.

The warped mind of the well-intentioned monopolist could hardly be better illustrated than by this unqualified, and wholly unsubstantiated, prophecy of doom. The Beveridge committee properly dismisses the argument as nonsense. With equal emphasis it dismisses the B. B. C. contention that it is justified by its fine record of achievement: this of itself provides no guaranty that it may not later abuse its vast authority.

WHAT, then, induced the Beveridge committee to recommend continuance of monopoly? The answer highlights the fundamental difference between the philosophies of broadcasting that obtain in Britain and the United States. "The highest social purpose of broadcasting," says the committee, "in the last resort is one of education." The British, in other words, have such belief in education that they are determined to harness broadcasting to it. "To make broadcast programs directly and automatically dependent on the preferences expressed by listeners" would be contrary to this high purpose. For *"the duty of broadcasting is not to please the greatest number of listeners but to keep open the channel for communication of ideas of all kinds,*

popular and unpopular." It is a commentary on the confused thinking of our times that there will be many to protest that this is not the language of democracy.

Given this goal, the committee finds it easy to reject commercial broadcasting as a source of competition for the B. B. C. "Dependence upon sponsors for the means of broadcast communication means that the nature of the communication is in the last result dictated for the wrong aims and often takes forms which public opinion in this country would reject. . . . We want more and freer competition than exists at present, but it must be competition in service, not competition for listeners." The committee rejects non-commercial competition because "in the physical conditions governing broadcasting in Britain [that is, the shortage of available frequencies] there cannot be more than imperfect competition between perhaps three or four broadcasting authorities of equal rank." *Faute de mieux,* therefore, it seeks an internal reorganization of the B. B. C. calculated to mitigate, at least, the four "inherent" dangers of monopoly.

There can be no dispute that broadcasting should be an educative influence in society. Nor is it likely that anyone who knows the B. B. C.'s fine record of performance will grudge it a continued lease on life. One can even understand rejection of a rival system of commercial broadcasting if, as appears, it is not wanted by the public—though we should remember that at least one-third of the British public does want it. But what, to an American at least, seems baffling is the view that the use of broadcasting should be confined to a controlled experiment in education. Why should it not serve other ends as well? The scope for such other services is admittedly limited by shortage of frequencies, but perhaps the most damaging indictment of the B. B. C. is that it has strenuously sought to circumscribe that scope.

There exists in Britain a system of so-called "wire broadcasting." Programs picked up at a central point by a "relay exchange" are distributed by special wires to listeners subscribing to the system. Subscribers now number 8 per cent of all radio-license holders. Their number, however, is artificially restricted because half the county boroughs in Britain have refused to allow the relay exchanges to lay their wires. But for such restrictions an alternative system of broadcasting would be available to the vast majority of British listeners. Rural listeners alone would be excluded. The B. B. C. long ago foresaw this danger and worked feverishly to scotch it. As a result, if the exchanges provide two channels to their subscribers, they must offer B. B. C. programs exclusively on one and for 75 per cent of the time on the other. They are forbidden, moreover, to originate any program matter themselves!

B. B. C. engineers do not seem to have been exactly diligent in exploring the possibilities of high-frequency broadcasting. FM is thus far non-existent in Britain. The reason is not far to seek. Development of fresh channels, like wire broadcasting, offers an opening for competition, which the B. B. C. fears like the plague.

THE Beveridge report's insistence on the educational mission of broadcasting is but the reaffirmation, by an independent body, of a faith exemplified in a quarter-century of effort by the B. B. C. No system of broadcasting in the world has spent more thought, more time, more money on education. Nowhere, one might suppose, could one be surer of discovering the fruits of such persistent effort. It is profoundly disturbing, therefore, to find that the response of listeners has, to put it mildly, been lukewarm. Tragic almost in its social and cultural implications is the following admission in the report:

> On the whole it is fair to say that while the influence of an outstanding broadcast talk may be immense, broadcasting has proved a less forceful instrument of formal education than was hoped by many at its beginning. The main problem of school broadcasting is not at the sending end but at the receiving end. The main problem of broadcasting as a means of adult education is that of finding and keeping an audience. . . . The [B. B. C.'s] charter lists the purposes of broadcasting, in order, as information, education, and entertainment. The vast majority of listeners put these purposes in a different order, with entertainment first.

In school broadcasting the main difficulties, apparently, have been inadequate reception due to poor sets and atmospherics and the adjustment of classroom schedules to radio's fixed hours of transmission. In adult education the unsolved problem has been that of securing group leaders competent to guide discussion on the contents of the broadcast. But with respect, at least, to adult listeners, two more fundamental difficulties are brought to light. The first has to do with the behavior pattern of the average listener. The B. B. C.'s research department has discovered that "the bulk of the audience treat listening as a secondary activity, a background noise while they are doing something else"; 57 per cent of a cross-section of the public confessed to this. The B. B. C. suspects the true figure to be higher. What occasions this behavior pattern?



A partial clue is found in the second difficulty, which

has implications far transcending the realm of broadcasting. "Those who have not passed beyond the elementary-education stage at school," the report says, "are not easily brought beyond it by broadcasting." Formal education, in other words, which ends at the elementary-school level just doesn't "take." The inoculation is "negative," leaving the patient susceptible to all the environmental influences that lead to cultural backsliding. Worse still, perhaps, it implants no positive desire to enter into the human heritage of cultural experience. Here, perhaps, is one explanation of the perplexing paradox that in communication's golden age there is no sign that we are moving more rapidly or more surely toward a cultural millennium.

The response of the Beveridge report to this dilemma is not to admit defeat but to invoke redoubled effort. The B. B. C. likewise, instead of beating a retreat, has sought to discover breaches in the defense works of a seemingly intractable public. It believes it has found one. It is experimenting with broadcasts to "closed audiences"—that is, to groups of listeners with common specialized interests. A series of talks addressed to miners, for instance, has shown encouraging results.

Thus with the so-called facts against them, the British persist in tilting at windmills, firm in the belief that, at least where human beings are concerned, such "facts" are not immutable. They have the courage of their high faith in education as the keystone of democracy. At a time when deference to the infallibility of statistics is so much in vogue, it is difficult not to concede them one's admiration. Who knows but what, in the long run, faith will win out over logic.

The Zemindars and Due Process

BY JEAN LYON

Madras, India

INDIAN leaders have been talking of land reform ever since they began talking of independence. The slogan "Land to the Tiller" was never, in India, monopolized by the Communists. It was a slogan of the Congress Party for years before it came to power, is used by the Socialists, who have now split off from the Congress, and has been the standby of every rural reformer, Indian or Western, who ever dirtied the toe of his shoe in an Indian village.

Although there are few accurate data on the secretive Indian peasant, what figures one can find, ranging from those in a 1931 census to those in 1950 committee reports, point to the conclusion that a huge majority—anywhere from 70 to 95 per cent—of the people who till the soil of India have no permanent stake in it. The sun-baked, meagerly clad, chronically underfed agricultural workers carry on their shoulders rent collectors and landlords stacked up in tiers like circus acrobats.

All this was to have been changed when the Congress Party came to power and India won its independence. But India's young government, with its theories of justice to all groups, seems to have been caught on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand is the ideal of land to the tiller—or "elimination of all intermediaries between the state and the farmer," as it is more often worded now. On the other is the belief in individual property rights. The Indian constitution, partly at the insistence of Gandhi himself, guaranteed to the property-owner his right to his land; if it is taken away from him by the state it must be paid for "fairly."

A more revolutionary government would have seen to it that the state reserved the right to confiscate land. A less revolutionary government would never have promised land to the tiller—and probably, in India, would never have had the support of the people. So in trying to rid itself of landlordism and at the same time give landlords "fair" compensation, India has been moving toward land reform with leaden feet. The pyramid of people on the tiller's shoulders cannot be suddenly bounced off. A scaffolding must be built and ladders set up so that each one can come down from his perch safely and with dignity. Meanwhile the tiller must continue to bear the weight. He may, in fact, have to carry the scaffolding and the ladders as well before he is free.

Government and Congress Party planners have mapped out land reforms which make good reading. The 1949 report of the party's Agrarian Reforms Committee formulated four principles: (1) there should be opportunity for "the development of the farmer's personality"; (2) there should be no exploitation of one class by another; (3) maximum efficiency in production should be obtained; and (4) the reforms should be within the realm of practicability. Out of all the plans one major concrete proposal has emerged and has been pushed on a nation-wide scale—that is, the abolition of the *zemindar*, the ubiquitous rent-collecting landlord. The theory is that he must be plucked from the top of the pyramid before other reforms can be effective.

JEAN LYON is an American newspaperwoman now living in India.

This first step is being taken in slow motion, for two reasons. One is the high cost of "fair" compensation. If a state has a huge number of *zemindars*, the cost of abolishing them is nearly prohibitive, and the legislature is inclined to postpone the evil day. (Each state is expected to work out its own law, since land tenure has so many different forms throughout the country; the central government reserves the right only to pass on its final constitutionality.) In Uttar Pradesh, for example, where there are two million *zemindars* in a population of sixty million, the law was discussed for a year and a half, with government representatives paring down the compensation while *zemindars* jockeyed it up, before it was finally passed last January.

While the debate was going on in the legislative committees, the government hit upon a way of raising the sum required. Peasants would be asked to pay ten years rent in advance, as a sort of purchase price for their land. This would go into a fund out of which compensation to *zemindars* would be paid. Peasants were not compelled to do this, but if they consented, their land tax would be only half what they had paid to the *zemindar* and they would receive title to their land. Those who didn't pay up would presumably also get title to their land, but their tax would be equivalent to the rent they had paid to the *zemindar*. It seemed a strange twisting of the initial purpose of the legislation. The poorest tillers, who needed aid the most, would be unable to pay and would receive little benefit from the reform. Other states have handled the compensation in other ways, but in the end it must be paid with money somehow collected from the people. So far only eight states out of twenty-six have passed or are discussing the necessary legislation.

THE second obstacle is the influence of the *zemindars*, who are articulate, wealthy, and shrewd. Many are members of state legislatures; they control certain portions of the press—in Lucknow a group of *zemindars* publish their own newspaper; they have their representatives on the committees which have drafted the *zemindar*-abolition laws. Where such laws have been passed, they have carried the fight to the courts.

The Maharanjdhiraj of Darbhanga, who is one king up on a mere Maharajah and the richest *zemindar* of them all, is carrying on the fight in the state of Bihar. With an annual gross income from rents alone of seven million rupees (about $1,400,000) he will be able to continue the battle as long as the courts will let him.

The Uttar Pradesh *zemindars* did not wait for the ink to dry on the bill before they filed their complaints with the High Court, which ruled that the law should not be enforced until the complaint had been examined. If any one of these cases is decided in favor of the plaintiff, the constitutionality of the reform throughout the whole country will be in question. Government officials with whom I have talked do not seem worried; they are sure that the Supreme Court, if the cases reach it, will rule against the *zemindars*.

The voice of the *zemindar*, however, is far louder in the land right now than the voice of the peasant. In all the many columns of print in the Lucknow papers during the last week of the legislative discussion of the Uttar Pradesh bill I found only one mention of the benefits of the bill to the cultivator: a Socialist member of the lower house asked plaintively at one point why millions of poor peasants were being exploited for the sake of a handful of *zemindars*. The discussion of the bill became so centered on the size and method of the yearly payments to the *zemindars* that the peasant seemed to be completely forgotten. The benefits he would receive were defined for me by patient government officials as a reduced land tax, provided he paid his ten years' rent in advance, and title to the land, which included the right to sell. For those who did not qualify for the first benefit, there was still the second, which was said to be important "psychologically." Admittedly the bill did not benefit the landless agricultural workers, who are estimated to number eight million in Uttar Pradesh.

No state has yet completed the process of getting rid of *zemindars*, although Madras has come close to it. Under a law which was passed in 1948 Madras has been easing them out in batches, the last batch receiving notice to cease operations on January 22 of this year. But the legal process of compensation adjustment through district tribunals will continue for four years, and the actual divorce of the *zemindar* from his land revenues will not be completed until that is over.

In Madras even more than in Uttar Pradesh the benefit to the tiller of the soil is difficult to discover. In many cases the man who pays rent to the *zemindar* is another landlord rather than a cultivator. Thus when the *zemindar* loses title to the land, the immediate beneficiary is likely to be landlord number two. The abolition of the Madras *zemindars* is, in any case, not synonymous with the abolition of landlordism.

Earnest Congressmen plead for understanding that reform can only come step by step. The order of priority seems to be to tackle the problem of the *zemindar*, then of the other landlords, the small cultivators, and finally the landless agricultural workers. Whether land reform could be introduced in any other way in a country with a feudal agricultural economy like India's without confiscating the land as the Chinese Communists have done is of course the sixty-four-dollar question. One can't help wondering about both the democracy and the expediency of a method which leaves to the last the millions of landless agricultural workers and those additional millions whose land will not support a normal-sized family and a pair of bullocks, no matter how many improved seeds and how much chemical fertilizer is provided by the state.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Handouts for Management

AT THEIR annual meeting at Hoboken on May 7 the stockholders of the United States Steel Corporation approved a "stock-option incentive plan" for the benefit of the upper echelon of management which may well ripen into one of the juiciest plums in corporate history. Selected officials are to be given "calls" which may run for as long as ten years on blocks of common stock to be allocated by a committee of directors not eligible to participate in the scheme. Altogether 1,300,000 shares of unissued stock, 5 per cent of the total now outstanding and worth about $58,500,000 at the current market price, are to be set aside, but no one individual will be offered more than 10,000 initially or 30,000 in all. The options are to be at the market price at the time the offer is made.

A number of the stockholders present at the annual meeting protested this plan vigorously. It would, some asserted, "dilute" the stockholders' interest, and while it might produce very large bonuses for the beneficiaries, it would not mean any tax advantage for the corporation since these bonuses would not be deductible as an expense. A more telling point, perhaps, was that such handouts to a favored few made for bad public relations at a time when workers were being urged not to press demands for higher wages.

The chairman of the corporation, Irving S. Olds, who is himself eligible to participate in the scheme, made little attempt to meet such criticisms. He knew that, as usual, the vast majority of stockholders had signed open proxies and that he had the votes he needed. So he stood pat on the statement of the Board of Directors that a "greater stock ownership by those employees who have the primary responsibility for the financial success of the corporation will enhance their incentive, induce continuity of service, and generally be in the interest of the corporation and its stockholders." Yet there is no provision in the plan to insure that officers who take up optioned stock will retain it permanently: they will be free to dispose of it just as soon as they find it profitable to do so.

What is the reason for the present spate of incentive-option plans of this kind, which in recent months have been adopted by a host of leading corporations, including Radio Corporation, Loew's, Republic Steel, Continental Can, Celanese, and Douglas Aircraft? Their popularity appears to be a direct result of Section 218 of the Revenue Act of 1950, an act which piled new burdens on most of us but also provided, in the words of Dean Griswold of the Harvard Law School, for "handouts to a special class of taxpayers"—company officials. Under the old law, when companies gave stock options to their employees, the recipients had to report as fully taxable income the difference between the option price and the value of the stock at the time the option was exercised. Now, if the option price is at least 95 per cent of the value of the stock at the time the option is given, the holder does not have to report any income until the stock is actually sold, and then the profit will count as a capital gain subject to a maximum tax rate of 25 per cent. All that he has to do to qualify for this special treatment, which offers a tremendous tax-saving to men in the higher income brackets, subject to tax rates of 70 per cent or more, is to retain the stock for at least two years from the time the option is given and at least six months after the stock is actually bought.

Since the profitability of these option plans depends very much on the general course of security prices, interested officials will undoubtedly become keen observers of the Stock Exchange. If in the course of the next two or three years there is a general fall in stock prices, the options may prove worthless. But it seems much more likely that the inflationary potential of the defense program will continue to push the stock market to new heights. If that happens, the receivers of options will reap an automatic reward which will have little direct relation to their skill in management.

Suppose, for instance, that Mr. Olds is given an option this month to buy 10,000 shares of United States Steel at 45—the current market price. Big Steel common has been rising fairly steadily for the past two and a half years: its low in 1949 was 20¼, and a few months ago it touched a high of 47. A further rise of twenty points during the next two years is certainly conceivable. In this event, if Mr. Olds takes up his option in November, 1952, and sells six months later, in May, 1953, he will have a profit of $200,000, subject only to a 25 per cent tax, or a net return of $150,000. This would mean extra compensation over a two-year period more than doubling his present salary, which in 1950 amounted to $68,732 after taxes.

Of course Mr. Olds is not absolutely assured of a profit, and in the event of a sharp slump in the six months immediately following his purchase of the optioned stock he might even incur a loss. It is a worthwhile gamble, however, for what he and other fortunate representatives of management who participate in such incentive plans are getting is almost perfect protection against further inflation. What, I wonder, would be the reaction of Big Steel's board if the United Steel Workers asked for similar protection in the form of bonus payments based on any increase over a two-year period of the value of the corporation's stock?

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

EVENING DUSK

Translated from Heine's The North Sea

On the pale strand of the sea
I sat, troubled with thoughts and lonely.
The sun sank deeper, and threw
Red-glowing bands on the water,
And the white, wide waves,
Pressed by the incoming tide,
Foamed and rushed forward, nearer and nearer—
A weird rush of sounds, a whispering and piping,
A laughing and murmuring, sighing and whistling,
And between them in secret a lullaby-singing—
To me it reechoed like long-lost sagas,
Like earliest, beautiful stories
That I, once, as a boy,
Would hear from the neighbors' children,
When we, in the summer evening,
Squatted on the stone steps to the door,
Listening to the quiet tales
With small, attentive hearts
And shrewdly questioning eyes;
While the tall, grown girls
Beside fragrant flower-pots
Sat over there at the window,
Rose-faces,
Smiling and caught by the moon.

VERNON WATKINS

BERT BRECHT PRODUCES AN OPERA

BY PETER DE MENDELSSOHN

BERT BRECHT is outstanding among living German dramatists. He is also the most gifted producer now working on the German stage, and the only genuine revolutionary among its dramatic theoreticians. His clever and hard-hitting modern adaptation of John Gay's "Beggar's Opera," with music by the late Kurt Weill, earned him an international reputation in pre-Hitler days, but his more important works, mostly written in exile, in France, Finland, and the United States, like "Mother Courage and Her Children," "Master Puntila," "Galileo Galilei," and "The Caucasian Chalk Circle," are still largely unknown outside Germany.

Brecht is a veteran Marxist and has been close to the Communist Party, if he has not in fact been a member, for the past twenty-five years. Since his return from exile three years ago he has been working in the Soviet sector of Berlin, where he has established his own company and become virtual master of Max Reinhardt's former theater. This, he likes to explain, is the fault of the Americans, who placed so many bureaucratic obstacles in the path of his return that in the end he took the Russian short-cut. This may or may not be so, but it is significant that Brecht, a shrewd and wily man who affects a highly individualistic attitude of independence, has never publicly proclaimed his allegiance to President Pieck and the East German Republic. He has kept equally clear of committing himself in any way, at least in the eyes of the public, to the Soviet authorities. He never made the customary trip to Moscow, joined no writers' association, sits on no committee, and signs no manifestoes. He took no part in any of the various cultural and peace conferences arranged by the Russians in Berlin during the past few years, but insisted on taking his company on tours through West Germany and continued to produce his own plays in Switzerland.

It was presumably his high artistic reputation outside the Soviet orbit which enabled him to go his own way. German Communists were delighted to have him, placed facilities at his disposal which assured him of complete freedom to work, and make concessions to him which no one else in Soviet Berlin enjoys. As a result, during the past three years Brecht has gone from success to success both as a playwright and as a producer and become a factor of considerable artistic as well as political importance. What Brecht would do next was a question to which the answer had more than theatrical significance; it was a signpost as to how far anyone could go.

He has disappointed those who thought he would one day "see through it all," turn his back on Pieck and Grotewohl, and go West. But he has now "come up against" these men in circumstances which are as instructive as they were unforeseen. The cause was his new opera, "The Trial of Lucullus." Originally written in 1932 as a play for broadcasting, it has been set to music by Paul Dessau. The opera had its first and only performance at the Russian-controlled Berlin Opera House on March 17.

This is what happens in it. Lucullus, the great Roman general, has died, and at the crossroads between Hades and Elysium has to face a jury of shadows to whom he must justify his conduct on earth before they agree to admit him to the realm of the blessed spirits. The war lord who conquered "the East" for Rome in brutal wars of aggression and exploitation fails utterly to establish his case. As he recalls, ever more desperately, the heroic exploits of his career, the victims of his great deeds, soldiers and civilians, rise to confound his claims with accusations and mounting proof of the misery and suffering he has heaped upon them. Only his cook and his gardener testify for him, the latter because Lucullus caused him to bring the cherry tree to Europe. But

the lone cherry tree is not enough. The tribunal finally condemns Lucullus to the pit of Acheron, and the opera ends with the chorus singing, "Away with him into Nothingness!"

On the face of it, it would seem that the story faithfully conforms to the party line. The jury condemns Lucullus's wars of aggression against the East and convicts the aggressor for his utter failure to make his contribution to constructive peace. But this was not the way it was viewed by the hierarchy of the Socialist Unity Party. While rehearsals were already in progress, the party secretary, Walter Ulbricht, suddenly had his doubts. Had not the wily Brecht tried to pull a fast one? There could be no doubt about the opera's unconditionally pacifist tendency; but did it, by virtue of this tendency, automatically support the Stalinist peace campaign? Not necessarily, it seemed. The condemnation of aggressive war which Brecht had obviously had in mind, appeared to be negatived by his very propaganda in favor of unconditional pacifism, which, carried to its logical end, must inevitably stand in the way of the Stalinist conception of the "warrior for peace." It was hard to believe that Brecht had not perceived this; but if he had, and his intention had been, with tongue in cheek, to demonstrate the dilemma of how to reconcile the fight for peace with unconditional condemnation of war, he had for once gone too far. What was more, he had deliberately placed his story in the nether world, which even by the widest stretch of imagination could not be considered "realistic." Moreover, it had an unrelieved pessimistic undertone which was not, as it should have been, balanced by a "constructive statement." Come to think of it, the whole thing was utterly and damnably "formalistic."

Had Bert Brecht tried, with the help of his great artistic gifts and his unchallenged reputation, to imply the incompatibility of Marxist doctrine with Communist propaganda? If so, he was due for a lesson. It was decided to kill the opera, or rather to give it enough rope to hang itself. To ban Brecht was unthinkable. He had to be booed off the stage by the only people whose judgment, according to his own teaching, he respected as being of any value—the workers. The first night took place as scheduled, but the press—including the Communist Party papers—was excluded. Tickets were not sold to the public but distributed to selected groups of trade unionists, members of the Communist youth organizations, and other reliable bodies, with instructions to provoke a theatrical scandal which would compel Brecht to withdraw the work.

What happened, in the presence of Pieck and Ulbricht in their box, was the opposite. A few hissers obeyed their instructions; the rest clean forgot all about them and, carried away by the overwhelming dramatic force of the play and the stark directness of Dessau's music, turned the opera into a delirious success. Those who were present report that Pieck and Ulbricht left their box in indignation while the audience was in an uproar of wild cheering and clapping, and Brecht and Dessau, no doubt well aware of what had been planned, openly embraced each other on the stage. The following day it was announced that no further performances of the opera would be given.

The Communist Party press did not comment on the incident for a full week. Then the official party organ took author and composer to task in a brief but instructive notice. The opera, it said, was an experiment which for artistic and ideological reasons was bound to fail. When he first wrote the text, it explained, Brecht may have been right in giving the fight against German Fascism a nether-world setting and clothing his prediction of the inevitable end of all aggressors in allegory.

But his outstanding analytical gifts will no doubt convince him that even in 1940 this poetic parable no longer adequately mirrored the historical situation and its trend of development, and that today it quite obviously no longer corresponds to reality. The world peace camp, with its 800,000,000 supporters under the leadership of the Soviet Union, is not only no "jury of shadows" but possesses the very real might and power necessary to bring all war criminals to trial here and now, on this earth. What may have been understandable at the beginning of the Hitlerite war as an expression of the insecure position of an exiled anti-Fascist writer is bound today to give an impression of a relapse into doubt and weakness.

Brecht has not answered this, or taken part in any of the polemics since stirred up by his opera. But it is reported that he is planning to produce it in Munich and elsewhere, this side of the Curtain.

PETER DE MENDELSSOHN

"The Liberated Artist"

SHERWOOD ANDERSON: HIS LIFE AND WORK. By James Schevill. The University of Denver Press. $4.

SHERWOOD ANDERSON. By Irving Howe. The American Men of Letters Series. William Sloane Associates. $3.50.

THESE two books, drawing upon the Anderson papers in the Newberry Library and an unpublished dissertation on Anderson's early life by William Sutton, give us suddenly a great deal of information about a man whose biography, partly through his own efforts, had become a literary legend. James Schevill presents the fuller biographical narrative, especially where he can draw upon the reminiscences and letters of Anderson's close friend, the distinguished historian Ferdinand Schevill. But Mr. Howe, despite a propensity for practicing lay psychiatry, has a deeper insight into the meaning of Anderson's baffled career, and he is much the better critic of Anderson's work. Although Mr. Schevill deals with the writings as he comes to them, sometimes at considerable length, his book has no critical center. Mr. Howe has a coherent view of Anderson, and his book is an act of criticism.

The crux of Anderson's biography is his celebrated flight from his paint factory at Elyria, Ohio, into the freedom of the artist, his "revolt from business morality." "A Story Teller's Story" and the "Memoirs" make this an action of epic clarity and epic significance. The documentary evidence reveals that in 1912, at the age of thirty-six, Anderson underwent an emotional crisis involving temporary aphasia and possibly amnesia. He wandered about for four days and was picked up in Cleveland, forty miles away, in a state of collapse. After a brief convalescence he spent several months winding up the affairs of the corporation of which he was president. He then took his family with him to Chicago, where he became a copy writer with an advertising agency he had formerly worked for.

Yet Anderson did eventually flee from his family and from business, and the fictional version of the episode which gradually took shape in his mind was true to the ideal of the Liberated Artist which Mr. Howe rightly characterizes as a "culture-legend" of the 1920's. Van Wyck Brooks had stated the program of liberation in "America's Coming of Age." Later, in "The Ordeal of Mark Twain," he had demonstrated to the satisfaction of the post-war generation that this great artist had been maimed by repressive forces in American society. One could wish for a fuller analysis of Anderson's conception of Mark Twain, because here lay his "usable past"—not, as Mr. Schevill asserts, in the tradition of Hawthorne and Melville, which can hardly have meant much to a man with Anderson's inviolable Middle Western innocence and his touching faith that happiness always waited just around the corner.

The lesson of Mark Twain seemed to Anderson to prescribe flight into purity and freedom, but finding a pathway through the complexities of twentieth-century American culture proved to be more difficult than floating down the Mississippi on a raft. After "Winesburg, Ohio" (1919) and "Poor White" (1920) Anderson seemed to lose his way. For twenty years he passed from one literary fashion to another. In the decade of the First World War he had been an eager participant in what he later called the "Robin's Egg Renaissance" of Chicago, and a pupil of Brooks, Waldo Frank, and Paul Rosenfeld, whose Eastern and European cultivation seemed to him indispensable yet unattainable. During the 1920's he undertook experiments, sometimes profitable, under the influence of Gertrude Stein, whom he visited in Paris and with whom he continued to correspond. He had his Freudian phase, largely on the basis of conversations with a psychiatrist friend, and made an unsuccessful effort to become an American Lawrence. With the depression he discovered that he had been too restricted in his concentration upon "middle-class people in love," decided that "Freud let us all down," and became passionately interested in the workers and in militant unionism. The one preoccupation that survived all these changes was Anderson's need for a sense of community, of "togetherness." This need led him for a time to consider himself a Communist. In a fashion characteristic of the early 1930's he moved easily from this position to enthusiastic support of the New Deal, but he was as indifferent to ideologies as Huckleberry Finn, and the principal result of his sharing in the social consciousness of the 1930's was a body of vivid reporting on everyday life during the depression. At his death in 1941 he was still searching for a theme and a style that could release his imagination.

Despite their differences of equipment and method Mr. Schevill and Mr. Howe end up with approximately the same definition of the body of Anderson's work they are prepared to defend. The central achievement is of course "Winesburg." Mr. Schevill calls the book a myth, although he is not clear what this means, and he does not provide evidence to support his contention that "Winesburg" set the example for Faulkner's "extraordinary attempt to create a mythological Southern county called Yoknapatawpha." Mr. Howe's analysis of the book is richer and more relevant. He is especially perceptive in his account of Anderson's tenderness toward the "grotesques" who are grouped in it in an almost choreographic pattern. To "Winesburg" both critics would add the early part of "Poor White," the portrait of Sponge Martin in "Dark Laughter," and several stories—"The Egg," "I Want to Know Why," "Brother Death," "The Man Who Became a Woman," and "Death in the Woods." Both would rescue some passages from the journalism of the 1930's, and Mr. Schevill makes a valid claim for portions of the "Memoirs," taken as fiction rather than as autobiography.

The placing of Anderson that emerges from these first efforts at a full view of him is stated most satisfactorily in the concluding pages of Mr. Howe's book. Anderson cannot be accepted at his own valuation, as a prophet and seer: he simply "does not tell us enough." But his testimony concerning the transition from an agrarian to an industrial society has great evidential value, and he has created "a small body of fiction unique in American writing for the lyrical purity of its feeling." Despite his many failures "there were a few moments when he spoke, as almost no one else among American writers, with the voice of love."

HENRY NASH SMITH

The Primitive Gospel of the Herrenvolk

WHITE MAN BOSS. By Adamastor. The Beacon Press. $3.

REVIEWING Henry Gibbs's "Twilight in South Africa" in *The Nation* of March 10, 1951, I ventured the surmise that since Smuts was dead, the outside world might expect to get a truer picture of that "puzzled, frightened country" than it had had during his lifetime. Less than two weeks later came this exposé by a South African author who deemed it wise to use a pseudonym meaning the Spirit of Good Hope, "originally called the Cape of Storms."

The storms in the Union appear even more ominous in this book than they did in "Twilight in South Africa." Adamastor says in his conclusion, "The lights are going out in South Africa one



The extraordinary story of the man who was the crusading liberal governor of Minnesota in the thirties.
A candid picture of grass roots politics in a near-revolutionary era.

THE POLITICAL CAREER OF
Floyd B. Olson
By GEORGE H. MAYER
At all bookstores, $5.00
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA PRESS

by one." The light of English liberalism there burns hardly brighter than that of the Dutch Reformed Church—the blatant, obdurate, solemn voice of the primitive gospel of the *Herrenvolk*. In fact, the most important contribution of "White Man Boss" is the thesis that the English boss generally believes as fervently in white supremacy as does the Boer *Baas*. Britons and Boers alike, with few exceptions, demand *apartheid*—segregation of the natives—or "aparthate," as the critics call it. If a newcomer protests against that policy, "he will find at once that both white sections are against him; the English South African because he [the newcomer] is a humanitarian, and the Volk because he is talking like a 'Communist.'"

Like Gibbs, Adamastor devotes considerable space to the Broederbond, the sinister secret organization of the loyal Afrikaans-speaking sons of the loyal Boers of the war with the English, 1899-1901. The Bond controls two-thirds of the Nationalist members of the House of Assembly and the Senate and three-quarters of the Malan Cabinet. The author cites former Prime Minister Hertzog as authority for the statement that Malan became a member of this neo-Nazi-Fascist organization in 1933.

Even more than the English pseudo-liberals or the Broederbond, the Dutch Reformed Church is the favorite butt of the author's gibes. The God of these Afrikaners "is a very powerful, very exclusive, and very fierce God. He does not like Roman Catholics or Jews. He hates Communists. He turns His face away from skins that are not white or that are near-white. He has a traditional dislike for English-speaking folk."

What are the origins of this white tribalism in South Africa? In addition to the bitterness stemming from defeat in the Boer War, to the determination to make Afrikaans *the* language of the Union, and, of course, in addition to the lust for power and control of South Africa's great wealth, sex explains in large measure the psychopathic fear and hatred of most Afrikaners. Many Americans will recognize the force of the rationalization for the inequalities imposed upon the natives in the question: "Would you like your sister to marry a Kaffir?" But what South Africans really mean is, "How can I prevent my son from having bastard offspring by Kaffir maids?" In support of this view Adamastor cites the numerous offspring of Coenraad de Buys, Gertrude Millin's "King of the Bastards." About 500,000 of the "colored" have "escaped" into the ranks of the master-race.

Some of the most valuable pages of this disturbing book recount the Durban riots of January, 1949. Europeans looked on amused while black Africans fought Indians—"'the coons are after the coolies.'" Neither black Africans nor Indians were appointed to the commission that investigated the bloody riots. It is not surprising that the report closed with the mild admonition: "The situation in Durban requires constant vigilance."

Despite the storms, the riots, the dimming of the lights, Adamastor sees some hope. He is convinced that many white South Africans in the urban centers believe in equal rights for all men. Those of us in the United States who consider ourselves liberals must therefore find a way of establishing contact with the South African liberals behind what the author calls "the corrugated-iron curtain." Perhaps the Voice of America would have more success in South Africa than it has yet achieved in the Soviet Union.

RAYFORD W. LOGAN

Pleasant Tour of Italy

THE VILLA DIANA. By Alan Moorehead. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

THESE are stereopticon slides of Italy, their three-dimensional quality given more by the author's trick of rendering atmosphere through the selection of relevant detail than by a true, I should say identifying, understanding of his subject. Of the eight pieces all but one are, essentially, travel sketches—brief and sensitive summations of an observant foreigner's impressions of Florence, Portofino, Siena, Venice, Rome, Cassino, and, last and least, Sicily.

Despite the *New Yorker* titles (the pieces appeared in the *New Yorker* with the exception of the one on Rome)—for example, the Florentine sketch is entitled A Street Car Named Boccaccio—Moorehead obviously wants to render in each piece not only a relevant anecdote but some distillation of his own reactions to this Latin world. He defines himself early on as one who "lives here as a foreigner who only sees a small part of the game and this probably from a prejudiced angle," and then proceeds, with a perception and grace which are quite endearing, to get as far into the game as possible.

But he has stacked the cards. For the structure of these occasional pieces Moorehead, a prolific writer, formerly war correspondent for the rabidly conservative *Daily Express*, has picked a single incident or central theme—such as the Palio race in Siena in Victory for Snail. This incident is explored in detail, and on its peg are hung generalizations, starting with one in the first paragraph that the race is "fairly representative of the kind of thing that has been going on here each summer for the last four or five hundred years." True enough, so the reader is ready to accept the rest on its face value.

Next comes: "It is a little difficult for a foreigner to get a firm grip on the rules." Moorehead then notes "the complete cynicism with which the race is run—this bland assumption that all men are inherently bad," and soon concludes: "Once the bewildered stranger grips this point, he has probably gone a long way toward understanding not only what goes on at Siena but at quite a few other places around the Mediterranean as well." And in case you have missed the point, he adds, "and in other matters, such as politics."

That is, of course, what I called stacking the cards, and I find the method objectionable, though the results, owing to Mr. Moorehead's eye for detail and easy, literate style, make enchanting reading. My objection, obviously, is that the whole thing, the summation of a people from spectacular, isolated incident, is highly fallible. And this method is used in every single piece. It is Moorehead's voluntary separateness, his continuous pleasure jaunt among the "locals," which so effectively keeps him out of the game and prevents his studies in atmosphere from assuming anything like honest depth.

The eighth piece gives him more scope. As a curious, civilized, and sensitive man, and as a foreigner, Moore-

head is on safer ground when he explores the sympathetic past. His closing essay on Poliziano is first-rate in its joyous recognitional understanding of the period. (One is reminded of Pater's essays on Poliziano's famed and no less fascinating contemporaries, Ficino and Pico della Mirandola.) The present piece is far more than a spirited, slickly written piece of research, and the key to its penetration is in one of the few—but inevitable—generalizations Moorehead permits himself in this essay. Speaking of the closing years of the fifteenth century, he writes: "One has this impression of haste about most of Poliziano's friends: it is as though they sensed that they had very little time before some terrible and inevitable disaster came bearing down on them. . . . Where were they heading and what did it all mean? Who was going to control what they had created? It was a feeling, in fact, that has a certain familiar ring in the nineteen-fifties."

This sense of identity of sentiment, rather than the happy accident that the Mooreheads have been leasing Poliziano's Villa Diana for the past few years, seems to me to lie at the root of his fine understanding of his subject.

It is necessary to mention that the book is proofed neither for consistency of usage—"Renaissance" appears with and without upper case, in roman and in italics, and this is but one of fifty instances—nor for correct spelling of Italian words and phrases. This is unfortunate, since it distracts the reader's attention from a very pleasant and leisurely tour of Italy in good company.

FRANCES KEENE

A Partial Portrait

MARY GARDEN'S STORY. By Mary Garden and Louis Biancolli. Simon and Schuster. $3.75 (paper, $1).

THE memoir of the singer or prima donna, more so even than that of the actor, is a discouraging genre. The specimens produced in recent years by Farrar, Alda, Calvé, or even Lotte Lehmann have at best done little to redeem it, at worst done everything to put it hopelessly beyond the pale of literary redemption. So much skill and taste in one art, so abjectly little in another—such is the usual case in this sorely afflicted literary species. From Mary Garden, however, one expected something better. She helped shape an exciting chapter in modern musical history, from the moment of her abrupt and spectacular début as Louise in Paris in 1900 to her retirement thirty years later. It was, chiefly, the chapter of modern French opera. She was chosen and trained by Debussy as the first Mélisande; she created another dozen roles; she played a part in the careers and success of Debussy, Strauss, Charpentier, and other notable musicians; she established, with the help of Huneker and other admirers, a personal legend for herself, first in Paris, later at Hammerstein's Manhattan Opera, finally for twenty years in Chicago; and those who saw her Carmen, Louise, Salomé, Thaïs, and Tosca, her "L'Amore dei Tre Re" (Montemezzi), "Monna Vanna" (Février), "Judith" (Honegger), and "Risurrezione" (Alfano), above all her exquisite "Jongleur de Notre Dame" and her flawless and authentic Mélisande, have memories of a strange but haunting voice, a remarkable acting ability, and a compelling presence that counted for something important in the modern musical theater. She was able to raise operatic claptrap to distinction; but when genuine distinction was given her by a Debussy or a Strauss she met it on its own terms and realized a superb order of musical style and artistry.

Little of this is suggested in the present book. An earlier effort of Miss Garden's own having come to grief, Mr. Biancolli was called in to take down her words and put them into shape, the publishers insisting that she "tell all" and put in plenty about her celebrated "romances." This means that the history her book records is a jumbled blur; that dates and facts come helter-skelter if at all; that letters and documents are missing; that musical values become mostly a matter of gush, ecstasy, critical confusion, and "uninhibited" self-promotion; and that the famed "romances" (in which, we are told, no love for a human creature ever figured on her part), often lacking even the proper names that might satisfy vulgar curiosity, become the banal things such affairs inevitably turn out to be in books of this kind. This is a pity, for Miss Garden had an interesting tale to tell. A little light is shed: the chapter on Debussy conveys his impact and personality; and the ambition, sincerity, hard work, and vigorous dedication of Miss Garden's career come out through the interstices of the chatter, the "My God's," the self-bestowed "magnificents" and "wonderfuls," and the lists of triumphs, rivalries, backstage squabbles, and other customary features of the operatic life—much as they came out in her charming (and naturally "triumphant") lecture appearances of the past two years. But there was more than this to say—about Paris, Hammerstein, Chicago, acting, singing, and music; and until someone takes over from Huneker's and Van Vech-

SOCIAL ACTION

"The most thoughtful and significant magazine of its type in the American Protestant world."

—REINHOLD NIEBUHR.

Some topics in the current series

Decisions Christians Face in the World Crisis:

—Foreign Policy and Mass Communications

—Achieving Party Government

—Industrial Relations and Christian Ethics

—An American Program in a Revolutionary World

▸ SOCIAL ACTION is used widely as a study guide by church and educational organizations, educators, community leaders and people who influence public opinion.

▸ Published by the Congregational-Christian Churches' Council for Social Action to provide Protestants with better information, more penetrating social analysis, and a deeper religious context for their programs of social action.

One year ▪ 10 issues ▪ $1.50

SOCIAL ACTION, Dept. 4
289 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

ten's early essays and says it for Miss Garden to better effect than the present report, her legend must remain a matter of private memories, of two or three classic performances, and of a few primitive recordings of Debussy's songs and arias made in Paris almost fifty years ago, the composer at the piano and the Scotch girl's voice eerily evoking his poetry across the dimming years. MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

Two Novels from Germany

THE LIEUTENANT MUST BE MAD. By Hellmut Kirst. Translated from the German by Richard and Clara Winston. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.

THE WORLD'S LAST CORNER. By Theodor Plievier. Adapted from a Translation by Robert Peck. Appleton-Century-Crofts. $3.

THESE two novels, both concerned with the moral responsibility of the individual in a corrupt world, come from Germany, which we have been led to expect has only a minimal and belated concern with such matters.

Hellmut Kirst tackles the problem directly, with the story of an a-political officer who returns to the fatherland from three hard years at the eastern front to find his cushy rear-area assignment swarming with crookedness. Lieutenant Strick, and the author, wavers between two reactions: one, a wryly funny, Good Soldier Schweikian sabotage of the war effort by out-Naziing the Nazis, and the other a standard moral indignation at sloth, corruption, and wickedness, in the style of our own war novelists, eventuating in an alliance with the anti-Nazi underground. It is true that "The Lieutenant Must Be Mad" fails as a novel because the author cannot make up his mind which attitude should predominate. But what is more to the point, we cannot visualize a solution for his dilemma. We cannot conceive of Germany in 1944 as a country suited to clever tricks aimed at discomfiting the brass and the local stuffed shirts (how far was the nearest crematorium from Rehhausen, the scene of this story?); nor could we now accept in good faith, knowing what we do, a serious narrative of Strick's gradual awakening and his final association with the feeble underground (what had he been doing in Russia for three long years?).

Nevertheless, Kirst writes honestly and well, and it will be interesting to see him bring his mordant humor to play on more tractable subjects.

Plievier's novel is an age and a continent removed from his enormously successful "Stalingrad." "The World's Last Corner" is a dusty hole somewhere on the seacoast of Peru into which a sailor is pitched when he jumps ship. Wenzel, the sailor, tries to make good, in a place where no one cares about making good, in a variety of ways, from dynamiting fish to painting suspension bridges, before he learns, in much the same way and even with the same language as Hemingway's sailor, Harry Morgan, in "To Have and Have Not," that no man alone is any good.

The first half of this book is thoroughly fascinating. It is full of the kind of rugged excitement in exotic places that enlivens the adventure stories of B. Traven, and it is handled with the smooth skill of an expert craftsman. But something goes wrong in Part Two. The point of view shifts, Wenzel loses his centrality, and the reader loses his identification with the sailor's struggles.

The title page says that the book has been "adapted from a translation," whatever that means, and the publishers imply that material from two separate novels by Plievier has been translated and woven together. But the weaving is not skilful, and the final product is hardly fair either to Plievier or to his audience, who will recognize in this oddly jumbled but intriguing book another facet of a powerful and mature imaginative talent.

HARVEY SWADOS

NEW WORD FOR A WRITER'S VOCABULARY

Salable (*Exposition Press definition*) Any manuscript capable of being promoted successfully in a *small* edition.

★ We require 90% *less* sales than the average publisher to make your book profitable. . . .

★ Thus making it possible to offer the unknown, as well as the established, author *the opportunity to be read.*

If you have a book, any book—fiction, poetry, biography, or a textbook—if it can be promoted successfully, even in a *small* edition, we can publish your book.

For all the details of our unique publishing plan, which includes—

★ Professional Editing
★ Prize-winning Production
★ Newspaper, Magazine, Radio, and Television Publicity—

send for your FREE copy of our 32-page, illustrated brochure,
WE CAN PUBLISH YOUR BOOK.
No obligation, of course.

EXPOSITION PRESS Inc.
Dept. 61,
[illegible] Fourth Avenue, New York 16

Art

MANNY FARBER

AMADEO MODIGLIANI (1884-1920), once esteemed by worshipers of modern art, now makes most of them yawn. It is pretty obvious why he has become a forgotten man in the School of Paris while artists of less originality, deftness, and power hold their place as big shots—people like Soutine, Rouault, Bonnard, who are weak and vacillating compared to the outspoken Modigliani. His technique—composing in line and then filling in with unmodulated color, comic-strip fashion—has become passé in a world where the artist now gropes into his subconscious with ambiguous color and a worried brush. Modigliani was as sure as Velasquez that truth lay plainly before his eyes; he could draw a tiny button-hole eye and patiently, arbitrarily, fill it with dusty jade, not realizing—or realizing, and not caring—that life, his own debauched life, moved at a more violent, chaotic clip. Today he is like a cagy spit-ball pitcher hanging around in a business that has outlawed his delivery.

Painting only portraits, Modigliani had more odd little tricks than Olsen and Johnson, and some were just as tiresome. Elongated oval faces with pendulous noses, Mae Murray mouths, Halloween-mask eyes—gimmicks like these turned his models into puppets, toy balloons with hot rusty-orange skin, looping razor-sharp edges, plastered against a background that is as flat as they themselves are bulbous. These are just a few of the tricks repeated in

each canvas now on display at the Museum of Modern Art. The peculiar thing about this Italian Jewish mannerist is that for all his affectation he could not only catch personalities with brutal candor but also charge his tight, rigid portraits with enough elegant, painterly feeling to put them in the pure, unnarrative, unpsychological league of Matisse.

Brutal candor: the fat, snotty-bourgeois matronliness of Mme Amédée, the slob-farmer essence of Soutine, the desperate sexlessness of Cocteau. Like a caricaturist, Modigliani could instantly seize on the main fact and exploit it, exaggerate it. He seemed to gather—and attract—types without any critical concern; one cannot help gasping at the number and variety of people that made up his company—people of every class from bohemians to prudish professionals, wispy schizoid 'teen-agers, whores, sexless matrons. Every class but one: being a gigolo, he wasn't much interested in working stiffs.

The source of his power lay in the use to which he put his impersonal lines in static compositions with unmodeled figures. The lines have very little to do with the person he paints. Like boa constrictors here, like lariats there, they whip in without warning from a concealed quarter, playing their private dance, ignoring the model, squeezing a face or chest into a bursting, tight-skinned sausage. And so the figures come out as locked ovals of space piled treacherously atop one another and irritatingly divorced from the background. Modigliani's sensuality reacted so strongly to color, line, and texture that he spent most of his energy stepping up the voltage of his canvases. By laying a paper on wet pigment and then drawing it away he created a sucked-up stipple surface—one of the most freakish surfaces in all painting—whose insidious effect on the spectator is to make him accept a morbid substitute for brushwork or realistic skin. When he seems to employ a line to bring out the roundness of an abdomen or thigh, he actually uses it merely for abstract contrast. This unrelenting passion to sensualize his medium at the expense of everything else shows up in Modigliani's drawings; the empty-faced "Head of Kisling" is simply a doodling attempt to expand the lyrical effect of some grass-like lines of hair which don't suggest hair and aren't meant to. People probably think they are getting one man's stylized but realistic impression of a likeness in each of these portraits because Modigliani gives them hands with five fingers, navels, and all the other standard equipment. What they are actually getting is a warm, troubling abstraction outfitted with the thinnest kind of anatomical skin.

But Modigliani's compositions get steadily worse as he goes farther into the canvas. Take a look at the painting of Anna Zborowska: backing her up is a vague architectural mess, no better or worse than the glib settings to be found in the work of an art student—some striped wallpaper, a splintered board glued to the lady's back, irrelevant atmospheric "concrete." Like an art student, Modigliani echoes the shapes and colors of his figures in quickly drummed-up window ledges, curtains, wall corners. If the composition lacks movement, he can always juice up a doorknob with a crucial shadow—although there is no other shadow in the painting ("Boy with Red Hair").

For all this, he is one of the cleanest painters of his fecund period. Unlike the others, he is selling nothing, pushing no part of his own personality into what he does. No bombast, no heroics no rhetoric, no self-pity, and most of all—no forced feeding. He is a sober painter, interested in painting and little else. And like Velasquez, he is an essentialist who makes the others look like dramatists, sentimentalists, exhibitionists.

AMERICAN ARTISTS are most genuinely themselves in the peculiar arts which they invented or helped to invent—movies, jazz, comic strips, the after-hours disk-jockey programs. All these arts are built on movement, and they fit in with the free-wheeling American inventive genius which is cramped by most of the traditional and established arts. The exhibition of American cartooning at the Metropolitan Museum brings together about 350 strips, political and animated cartoons, single-panel drawings, and sports cartoons. The exhibit deserves extended comment, which will be forthcoming. Meanwhile I advise you to see it. It runs till the middle of June.

Drama Note

THE plot of "Stalag 17" (Forty-eighth Street Theater) is exciting and convincing, the main characters and the conflicts among them are well conceived and worked out, and the setting looks so much like the real thing—the barracks of a war-prisoner camp in Germany—that it is in itself very affecting. But there is a touch of the gruesome, as opposed to the grim, about the play which derives from the very element designed, no doubt, to avoid that effect. I mean the jokes and horse play with which the inmates of a Nazi prison camp fight off boredom and terror. Such material assuredly has a legitimate place in the play; the trouble is that while some of the humor here is authentic, moving as well as funny, as it should be, much of it gives the impression of having been turned out by a routine gag-man to catch the easy laughter of a comfortable Broadway audience. The authors actually spent two years in Stalag 17, but I gather that their play has been a good deal re-

OUT-OF-PRINT and HARD-TO-FIND BOOKS
supplied. All subjects, all languages. Also Genealogies and Family and Town Histories. Incomplete sets completed. All magazine back numbers supplied. Send us your list of wants. No obligation. We report quickly at lowest prices. (*We also supply all current books at retail store prices—postpaid, as well as all books reviewed, mentioned or listed in this issue of The Nation.*
AMERICAN LIBRARY SERVICE
117 West 48th Street, Dept. N, New York 19, N. Y.
N. B. We also BUY books and magazines. Please list.

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS from the U S S R
FOR A CORRECT UNDERSTANDING OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY
NEW TIMES
Published weekly in English, Russian, French, German, Polish
Delivered to Subscribers by Airmail
SUBSCRIPTION RATE—$3.50 PER YEAR
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2680

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*
Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.
Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

written by professionals. This would account for the variable quality and tone of the humor; whatever the reason, the fact remains that much of it rings false in the context of the play—and in the context of a world where thousands upon thousands of human beings are rotting away in concentration camps.

M. M.

NOW AVAILABLE
JASQUIN DES PREZ
14 Secular Songs
Instrumental and Vocal
Performed by Pro Musica Antiqua
E. M. S. 213 12" L. P. $5.95
ELAINE MUSIC SHOP
9 EAST 44th STREET bet. Fifth & Madison
NEW YORK CITY 17 MUrray Hill 2-6154

FIRST TIME! * from "Bach-Gesellsch." † from "Urtext" ed.
Pocket sized. Low-Priced Editions
BACH* 12 Solo Sonatas (6 Violin, 6 Cello)..... .98
BEETHOVEN† Violin Sonatas, 2 vols., each.... .98
& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG
Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From
LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138 New York 32, N. Y.

TRY US FIRST
on any L.P.'s you may wish to purchase during May and June. At least 187 titles and additional new releases are always available at discounts up to 50%.
Send us your order and we will ship to you C. O. D. giving you benefit of greatest discount (at least 30%). Same-day service.
For bargain list send self-addressed envelope and 10¢.
LES DISCOPHILES, 1079 Lexington Ave., N.Y.C.
Hours 12 noon-10 p. m. daily REgent 7-8334

30% OFF LIST
ALL MAKES LONG PLAY RECORDS
All Brand New! All Guaranteed!
Order by Mail
Satisfaction Guaranteed!
Mail Charges per Order:
Add 50¢ East—
75¢ West of Mississippi
FREE LP Catalog — Write Dept. N
MUSIC MASTERS
53 W. 47th St., N. Y. 19 JU 6-2768

PULITZER PRIZE and [illegible] AWARD
RICHARD [illegible] & OSCAR [illegible] 2nd
present in association with
[illegible] & JOSHUA [illegible]
MARY MARTIN
RAY MIDDLETON
IN
South Pacific
Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
[illegible] 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. [illegible]'s Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by [illegible]
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with [illegible]
MAJESTIC Theo., 44 St. W. of B'way
Evenings 8:30 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IN A previous article I said that I didn't find Sunday at one o'clock a bad time for the New York Philharmonic broadcasts; that the tape recording, the few times I had listened, had produced excellent sound; and that equally good recordings might be broadcast at convenient times in western parts of the country. But one feature of the broadcasts I do object to. If I remember correctly, C.B.S. stated that use of tape recording would make it possible to broadcast the entire program of the concert; and with the broadcast shifted to a commercially less valuable part of the day you would think that when C.B.S. found it could not get all the music into the previously allotted ninety minutes it would allot additional minutes but instead it continued to broadcast only part of the concert. On an ordinary occasion like the March 25 broadcast it omitted Debussy's "Iberia" from the March 18 concert; on one of the most extraordinary occasions in broadcasting history it sliced a couple of scenes out of "Wozzeck" and preserved the subsequent Longines Symphonette program intact. (The broadcast of "Wozzeck" also had the usual technical defect of broadcasts of such works—a lack of the balance that would have allowed the orchestral detail to be heard as clearly as the vocal parts.)

As for "Wozzeck" itself (which I heard also in Carnegie Hall), Berg's language, which has made no musical sense to me in self-contained structures like the Violin Concerto or the Lyric Suite, turns out to be the predestined expressive medium for the nightmarish drama. To listen to the work is to be impressed by the wonderful expressive accuracy and power of the music, the extraordinary powers that are involved, the mastery with which they operate. And to listen to the performance was to be made newly aware of the powers of Mitropoulos in dealing with works of this kind, the powers of Mack Harrell, in the title role, as a dramatic singer.

I would suppose Berg's idiom to be one of the sources of the language of Luigi Dallapiccola that I found impressive in an orchestral work broadcast by Cantelli with the N.B.C. Symphony, and that provided powerful musical underlining of another nightmarish drama in the opera "The Prisoner," given in March by the Juilliard School's Opera Theater. Frederick Kiesler designed and contrived a superb stage production, and Frederic Waldman conducted an excellent musical performance.

The Israel Philharmonic's last concert in Carnegie Hall ended with a performance of Beethoven's "Eroica" which gave the impression that Leonard Bernstein was thinking only from one moment to the next, or rather from one effect of the moment to the next, and letting himself be carried away by one such effect after the other—instead of keeping successive details related in a continuous progression. It sounded also as though he were thinking only of top and bottom, not of the voices in between; nor was it merely that these voices were not clear and did not make their effect in the texture. It is by the most painstaking balancing of voices that Koussevitzky achieves the beauty of the composite sonority which one heard in his performances with the Israel Philharmonic; and Bernstein's lack of care about such balance must be one reason for the coarseness of the orchestra's sound in the "Eroica" and other works he conducted. What he should have learned from Koussevitzky he has not learned; what he seems to have acquired is certain mannerisms of Koussevitzy's style of conducting, including his unorthodox and occasionally unclear beat, which produced some tense moments in the "Eroica"—and tension is another enemy of good orchestral sonority. Bernstein being the gifted person he is, that performance of the "Eroica," at this late date, is something to worry about.

Lovely vocal sound was heard at the Town Hall concert of the Collegiate Chorale conducted by William Johnson, in some beautiful old music—four motets of Byrd, a Stabat Mater of Palestrina, and Gibbons's "London Street Cries." Also in some contemporary music that I found uninteresting—Milhaud's "The Two Cities" and Poulenc's three motets for a time of penitence.

Letters to the Editors

Does the Record Differ . . .

Dear Sirs: In its issue of January 13 *The Nation* published an article by Louis Joughin entitled The Legal Defense of Hated Men. Concerning the contempt conviction of the lawyers who defended the Communist leaders, Mr. Joughin wrote: "Judge Medina's citation emphasized the fact of 'conspiracy' among the defense counsel, *and the record certainly appears to support the charge.* If ever a group of men gave indications of an agreement to get themselves in hot water, it was done by the Eleven and their lawyers [italics mine]."

This language can mean only that Mr. Joughin had read the record and had found in it evidence of conspiracy so persuasive as to lead inevitably to the conclusion that "the record certainly appears to support the charge."

The fact, however, is that Mr. Joughin had not read the record. In a letter which he sent me on March 20, he wrote, "I base my opinion upon parts of the verbatim proceedings as reported in reputable newspapers."

What is shocking is that, without hearing their side of the matter, a social historian of Mr. Joughin's eminence allowed himself to express a deliberate judgment as to the guilt of the defense lawyers—who were condemned to jail *without a trial*—on the basis only of what he had read in newspapers, the most "respectable" of which did not hesitate to stoop to the most unscrupulous distortions of the occurrences in the courtroom.

Mr. Joughin himself has had occasion to condemn other men for procedures far less reprehensible. In his book "The Legacy of Sacco and Vanzetti" he criticized a Canadian judge for his approval of the Sacco-Vanzetti verdict, although the judge had, according to Mr. Joughin's account, studied the whole record in the case. Mr. Joughin maintained that not even this was enough to support Judge Riddell's opinion, because "he obviously has not taken the trouble to understand many of the arguments of the defense, and because he insists upon considering the record in a vacuum—totally dissociated from the society which produced the issue."

I think that Mr. Joughin had so far succumbed to prevailing prejudice that, perhaps quite unconsciously, he permitted it to usurp the place of scientific method. In the average man this is understandable. In the social historian it is unforgivable. Mr. Joughin's lapse is but one more reminder of the caution with which all value judgments, from whatever source, are to be received.

HARRY SACHER

New York, April 19

. . . from Verbatim Reports?

Dear Sirs: First, Mr. Sacher charges that my judgment was predicated, not on the record, but on newspaper reports. This strikes me as a not too subtle mistranslation of my statement: "I base my opinion upon parts of the verbatim proceedings as reported in reputable newspapers." Apparently Mr. Sacher insists that I should have read the pertinent sections of the record in the certified stenographic typescript; he will not accept an opinion based upon a reading of the same words as printed in the newspapers.

Mr. Sacher is quibbling, unless he wishes to go farther and to charge that the verbatim proceedings were inaccurately recorded in the newspapers. He has not thus far offered that contention to me or to *The Nation.*

Second, Mr. Sacher believes that I allowed "prevailing prejudice" to "usurp scientific method" and that I arrived at a "deliberate judgment . . . only on the basis of what [I] had read in the newspapers . . . the most 'respectable' of which did not hesitate to stoop to the most unscrupulous distortions of the occurrences in the coutroom." Again, the question is: What *did* I pay attention to in the press reports? My answer is simple: I considered the verbatim record of the words used by the defense counsel in the presence of the court; to the narrative accounts of reporters, to pictures, to editorials, I gave absolutely no weight at all.

Third, Mr. Sacher complains that defense counsel were condemned to jail without a trial. But he makes no reference to my letter in *The Nation* of April 14 in which I state that there are formidable doubts as to whether the lawyers were held in contempt under lawful procedure. I based these doubts on the Harper-Haber analysis published in the *Yale Law Journal,* January, 1951.

Fourth, Mr. Sacher objects to my not having, in this instance, taken cognizance of the surrounding social scene, as I did in my history of the Sacco-Vanzetti case. I did not do so because my article was not a study of the Smith act, or the Communist Party, or the trial of the Eleven; my purpose was to evaluate certain empiric facts, among these, the language of Mr. Sacher and his associates.

G. LOUIS JOUGHIN

New York, April 25



SUMMER RENTAL

RICH'S COTTAGES in the Poconos. Fully equipped, Frigidaire to dishes. Bendix. Beautiful, safe grounds for children. Swimming, boating, fishing on premises. Season June 15 through Rosh Hashana $425 and up. Write Milford, Pa. or call KIngsbridge 3-2551.

PROFESSORS, WRITERS, ARTISTS, special summer rates: $99-180 per month, completely equipped 1- or 2-bedroom apartments, all utilities, janitor service, garage included. THE FOUR SEASONS APARTMENTS, on its own Gulf beach, Lido Beach, Sarasota, Florida.

WHITE MOUNTAIN village; Apartment; one or two bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom, utilities, garage, lawn; fishing, swimming. $99 to $139 monthly. Mrs. Robert Miller, Campton, N. H.

FURNISHED APARTMENT, 3 rooms, near Columbia, $65 monthly, June through August. Neff, 9–5, BA 7-1064; evenings, UN 4-6079.

PRIVATE, redecorated 2½-room apartment in old colonial for summer rental. In Berkshires, 2 minutes from lake. Only 20 minutes from Tanglewood. Near summer theatres, Jacob's Pillow, in heart of Shaker country. By week, month or 3-month season. Very reasonable. Write The H. Ningers, Canaan, N. Y., or N. Y. C. phone ST 6-8136.

FARMS & ACREAGE

ONCE in a lifetime—Beamed ceilings, fireplaces, Dutch Oven, wide boards. 6 rooms, new bath and kitchen; garage–workshop; 8 acres; spectacular view. Terms. $6200. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, New York.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

WRITERS!—Book mss. wanted for publication, fiction, non-fiction. Free booklet. Write today! Daniel S. Mead Literary Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. C. 16.

WE print, publish and distribute your manuscript in pamphlet or book form. *Send for free folder.* WILLIAM-FREDERICK PRESS; Pamphlet Distributing Company, 313 West 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

RESEARCH

INFORMATION pertaining to over 4,000 national trade, professional, and other types of non-profit organizations and associations in the United States. State field, etc., you are interested in. RESEARCH, P. O. Box 1326, Lexington, Kentucky.

PERSONALS

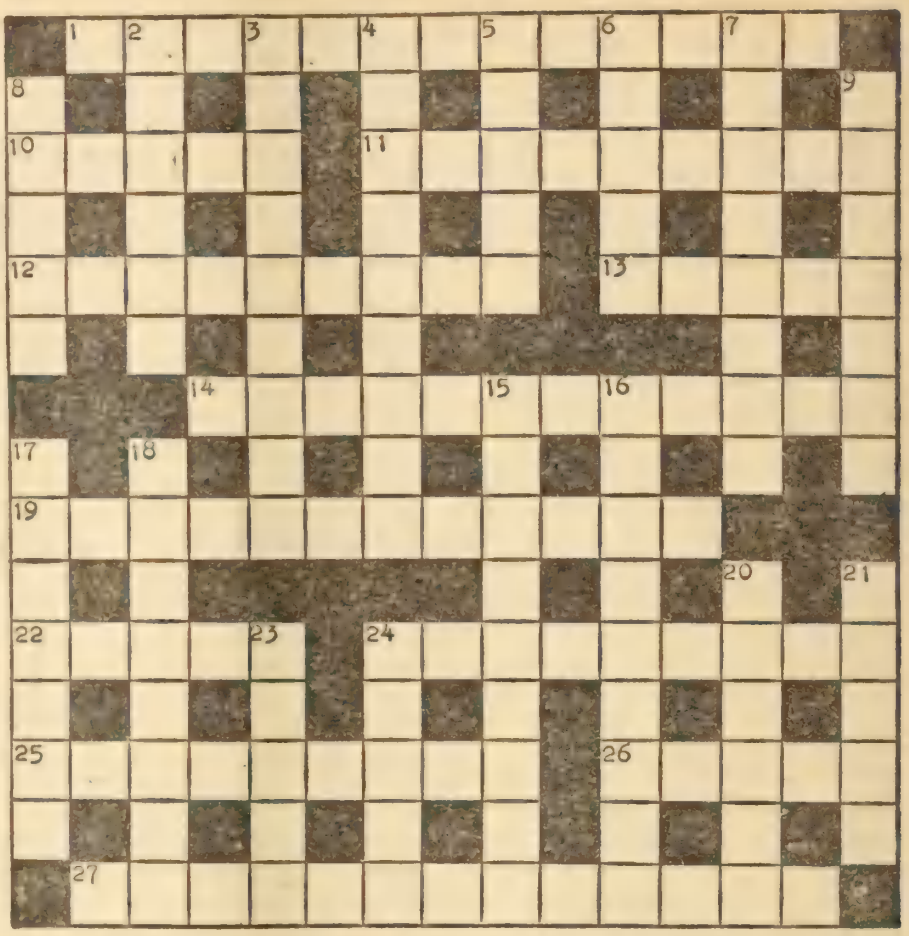
GENTLEMAN from the East would like to correspond with a young lady who holds the views of The Nation. Box 227, c/o The Nation.

M.A., English and history teacher at Private Girl's School, would like to tutor in Chicago area this summer. Write Box 228, c/o The Nation.

EDITORIAL SECRETARY, in the office of The Nation, skilled stenographer, fast typist. Newspaper Guild scale. Call for appointment BA 7-1064.

Crossword Puzzle No. 413

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See! Oh! Oh! It makes pop pop! (6, 7)
10 Ben Ezra was one. (5)
11 If you are me, I need not say "please remit." (9)
12 Except in the eyes of the cold-blooded? (9)
13 She couldn't be confused with the blameless. (5)
14 Heaven and hell (if you want to avoid an inclination)? (6, 6)
19 Honest hearts sit beside them, perhaps. (12)
22 Bury between. (5)
24 It might be a way in a well. (9)
25 Proving a rubber horse is best! (9)
26 Gum-drop? (5)
27 Capable of fracture with a Brazilian herb. (6, 7)

DOWN

2 Napoleon thought it perfidious. (6)
3 Bad for the driver, implying an old dog, perhaps! (5, 4)
4 Tidy flocks, or their keepers? (9)
5 Put in a broken stein. (5)
6 Trachea tissue. (5)
7 Bounced on the chin, perhaps? (8)
8 Roots, perhaps, like larvaé. (5)
9 Always a garage, if it looks fishy. (7)
15 One of those ships no man can serve? (3-6)
16 Evidently has the oculist's O. K. in the army! (4, 5)
17 Nice with rice! (7)
18 By land, in France, under the balcony. (8)
20 Plates for the drawing room . . . . . (6)
21 . . . . . or just one confused with part of the center-piece? (5)
23 The type characterized by serifs. (5)
24 Push aside. (5)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 412

ACROSS:—1, 16, 25 and 10 ONE MAN'S MEAT IS ANOTHER MAN'S POISON; 9 and 18 SHOULDER BLADES; 11 PALACES; 12 REPENTS; 14 HEDGES; 15 PASTIMES; 17 OBLATION; 20 FLAGON; 22 MALTESE; 24 BAYONET; 26 TENUTO; 27 ALIGHTED; 28 SHAKESPEARE.

DOWN:—2 NEURALGIA; 3 MIDGETS; 4 NERO; 5 MOPETS; 6 AGILE; 7 THRACE; 8 and 21 BOTTLE OPENER; 13 SPUNK; 19 IN STOCK; 20 FRAGILE; 23 TOUCH.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MAY 26, 1951 NUMBER 21

The Shape of Things

AT ONE POINT IN HIS TESTIMONY BEFORE the Russell committee Secretary Marshall misstated Administration policy, and may have made a settlement of the Korean war more difficult, by his advocacy of an American veto to prevent the admission of Communist China in the United Nations Security Council. Since the Department of State is as determined as Marshall that no country shall "shoot its way" into the U. N., the seating of the Peking regime at this time would be unthinkable. But if circumstances change—if a cease-fire can be negotiated and both Chinese and U. N. forces withdrawn from Korea—then Mao Tse-tung might get the necessary seven votes. Pro-Chiang zealots in Congress understand this and want to forestall such a possibility. That is why they deliberately pushed Marshall into saying that he favored a veto. The Department of State has consistently held that a veto cannot be used; the department's lawyers agree that the question of which Chinese regime shall be accepted by the U. N. is precisely the kind of procedural matter which we have refused to admit could be vetoed by the Soviet Union. Now Secretary Acheson will have to explain this position again when he meets with the committee. Beyond this, however, the great debate on foreign policy is certainly followed closely in Moscow and Peking. When American Congressmen advocate permanent hostility to Communist China, even after the Korean fighting is ended, they force the Peking regime in the direction of Russia and make more difficult any negotiations to get Mao to withdraw his armies from Korea. The issue in Korea is not whether Congressmen dislike Chinese communism but how the U. N. can end the war and restore Korean independence.

*

COLOMBIA LIBRE, PUBLISHED IN PARIS IN Spanish and French, has as its slogan, "From Resistance to Democracy" and gives detailed information on the fascist development of Laureano Gomez's infamous dictatorship in Colombia. The latest issue contains a full description of the situation in the concentration camps and of the extermination of a considerable part of the population of Los Llanos, an atrocity mentioned some weeks ago by Mr. del Vayo in his article "Regimenting the Americas." Other reports of the terrorism in Colombia have appeared in the American press. Dr. Eduardo Santos, former President of Colombia and one of the most eminent liberal leaders of South America, has repeatedly tried to call the attention of people in this country to the "thousands of Colombians who have been killed or deprived of their property." *Colombia Libre* even quotes well-known conservatives and members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, such as Monsignor Concha Cordoba, Bishop of Manizales, who have felt unable to remain silent about the situation. Gomez is proving that he profited considerably from his eighteen months' visit in Franco Spain. The new Colombian Labor Code very closely resembles that of the Spanish Falangist state. We have often expressed our detestation of all kinds of concentration camps, whether in Eastern Europe or on this side of the Atlantic. The possibility of exercising influence behind the Iron Curtain is limited, but in Colombia, where according to official figures America's share of foreign investments is about 80 percent, a word in favor of the persecuted liberals surely would be heard.

*

THE UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO REGENTS have decided the case of David Hawkins in the tradition of freedom and justice. On May 11, in a four-to-one decision, they upheld a faculty-committee recommendation, cleared Dr. Hawkins, and affirmed his fitness to teach. The regents held in effect that his one-time membership in the Communist Party did not constitute a priori subversion in a political climate in which conformity is confused with the common good. Technically Dr. Hawkins was tried for having been a member of the party, for failing to disclose that fact when he joined the Colorado faculty, for "evasiveness" before the House Un-American Activities Committee, and for a "never clearly defined" withdrawal from the party. Actually the issue was whether or not he should be ousted from his job because he once held ideas now heretical and had failed to recant in the socially acceptable Budenz manner. The regents, who are popularly elected in Colorado, courageously kept their heads. Had their decision come when political top-blowing was less fashionable, it would have been encouraging but not particularly spectacular. In the current temper it sounds a thunderous appeal for a return to reason. America, the regents said, is not yet so decadent that it must have a whipping boy to coerce loyalty and terrorize conscience into that bleak and ter-

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 481
Aggression Rewarded *by Freda Kirchwey* 483
Reason and Moral Courage 485

ARTICLES

Turning-Point in France *by A. W.* 485
Confusion on the Potomac *by Willard Shelton* 486
Handicap to Negotiation *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 487
Lèse-Majesté in Los Angeles *by Hannah Bloom* 488
Italy Goes to the Polls *by Sylvia Sprigge* 490
Red Straits *by Prudencio De Pereda* 492

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

The Hidden Revolution *by Stephen W. Reed* 494
Many Ways and Means *by Ernest Jones* 495
Prophet in Eclipse *by Albert Guérard* 496
Books in Brief 496
Drama Note by *M. M.* 497
Films *by Manny Farber* 497
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 498

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 499

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 414 *by Frank W. Lewis* 500

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Caroline

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

rible unanimity from which there is no return short of fratricide. The handling of the case by President Robert L. Stearns deserves praise. Throughout the affair he insisted that the "air of judicial calm" essential to a fair trial be maintained. To a quite remarkable extent he succeeded in maintaining it by the force of his personality.

✶

EDWARD DMYTRYK, WHO WITH THE AID OF a scenario writer answered the question "What Makes a Hollywood Communist?" for readers of the *Saturday Evening Post*, has come up with an excellent idea—the formation of an Ex-Communists Anonymous, patterned after Alcoholics Anonymous. The ex-Communist certainly faces problems not unlike those faced by the ex-drunk or the ex-convict. It is impossible, for example, to witness Mr. Dymtryk's desperate efforts to reestablish the right to work in his profession despite his past beliefs without appreciating his problem if not admiring his method of solving it. Like many ex-Communists, Mr. Dmytryk seems to have "seen the light" only to have missed the point. Justly furious with the Communists because they would deny to others the liberties which they claim for themselves, he maintains an embarrassing silence on the crucial question of whether or not he accepts this same position. He seems to be saying that he should be permitted to assist in the making of motion pictures because he no longer holds all the beliefs he held in 1944 but that his former colleagues—now the Hollywood Nine—should be denied this right because they have not made a similar repudiation. Mr. Dmytryk has sworn off, which is fine, but like the ex-drunk, the ex-Communist finds it hard to distinguish between being a teetotaler and being a totalitarian—in reverse. If ex-Communists Anonymous were to be organized, its most important service might be to save its members from the need to justify their past by putting the finger on their former companions in sin.

✶

THE PLOT OF 225 CALIFORNIA LETTUCE growers to raise prices in the Salinas "salad bowl" by destroying 50 per cent of the crop was promptly enjoined by the Department of Justice. A purely private affair, unlike other crop control programs, this scheme was planned and administered without any type of government supervision and control. Salinas supplies nearly half the nation's lettuce and has long monopolized the off-season market, being one of the few areas where lettuce can be grown commercially for nine months of the year. A sudden rise in temperature can break prices by maturing the heads too rapidly. For lettuce cannot be stored; it must be packed, iced, and shipped as soon as it is cut. With prices tumbling from $3 to $2.25 a crate, growers feared a repetition of last year's price break which cost them between six and seven million dollars. Their current attempt to maintain prices by destroying

half the crop illustrates the difference between planned agricultural production and the cruder varieties of price-rigging. The Salinas growers do not want to plan production; they want to make the most money possible in the shortest time. Large-scale production of lettuce for distant off-season markets is inherently a form of gambling, but the Salinas growers would deny their customers a chance to win when the weather wheel suddenly favors them. As it works out in practice, the growers are "free enterprisers" when the crop is scarce and planners —or rather "crop-destroyers"—when the yield is abundant. Like most gamblers, they operate on the principle of never give a sucker a break.

*

TEXAS MILLIONAIRE GEORGE W. ARMSTRONG, in 1949 offered $50,000,000 to Jefferson Military College of Natchez, Mississippi, provided the school would bar students of "African and Asiatic" birth and agree to teach white-supremacy doctrines. The trustees, it will be recalled, finally decided to reject the grant. Some months ago Major General George Van Horn Moseley made a speech at Piedmont College, a small liberal-arts school in Demorest, Georgia, supported by the Congregational churches of New England, and later offered the college a grant from Armstrong's Texas Educational Association which was rather covertly accepted. When the faculty heard what had happened, a meeting was called in the chapel at which Hoyt E. Bowen, an instructor, protested against the acceptance of the grant and both faculty and students voted strong condemnation of Moseley. When this meeting was reported in the local press, the president of Piedmont asked A. R. Van Cleave, dean of the college, to "relocate," discharged Bowen for "insubordination," and some time later discharged David Eddy, the college treasurer, who had attempted to persuade the president not to accept the grant. None of the three discharged persons has been given a hearing. Without visiting the campus, the trustees voted to uphold the president despite strong appeals for an investigation from students, faculty, and alumni. Two of the trustees threatened "to close the school" if the students or faculty made further protests. The trustees will meet again on June 2 and will surely decide to reconsider their action and order a thorough investigation.



[For answer see page 485]

Aggression Rewarded

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE most puzzling aspect of the resolution on the Israeli-Syrian border dispute, adopted last Friday by the Security Council, is why it was introduced in the first place. Sponsored jointly by France, Turkey, Britain, and the United States, the resolution was actually initiated in Washington. The question is, why? What elements in the State Department were behind the move; what are their objectives? Coming at a moment when Arab nationalism is rising and tension in Iran threatens to break into open conflict, the resolution seemed a gratuitous contribution to the general unrest. The dispute itself was in abeyance; both sides had agreed to a cease-fire; for several days the border had been quiet. In pursuance of a Council resolution of May 8 calling for a cease-fire, the Israeli delegation had initiated talks with the Syrian delegation. By May 14, according to the report of Israel's Ambassador, Abba Eban, an agreement "was imminent." It would not only have confirmed the cease-fire but have provided for a general withdrawal of all military forces and equipment from the demilitarized zone and affirmed the authority of the U. N. Chairman of the Syrian-Israel Mixed Armistice Commission in supervising the carrying out of the armistice agreement. Once this basis was established, the conflict over the draining of the Huleh marshes in Israel's part of the zone, which had involved the displacement of the Arab owners of some seven acres of land, could have been settled peaceably.

In the words of Mr. Eban, this was surely "a situation in which all governments and U. N. agencies might well have shown absolute reticence." Instead, the joint resolution was suddenly introduced, ending any immediate hope of agreement and creating, in fact, the grave danger of renewed hostilities. The resolution condoned—for it did not even mention—Syria's original armed attack on Israel territory in the demilitarized zone; it rebuked Israel for the "aerial action" taken in response to that attack without mentioning the apology offered by the Israeli government; and it ordered Israel to "cease all operations in the demilitarized zone [that is, the draining of the marshes] until such time as an agreement is arranged through the Chairman of the Mixed Commission for continuing this project"—a prohibition which would put an indefinite halt to an urgently necessary work of reclamation and disease control by giving Syria

power to obstruct it. In short, the resolution, put through the Council at the instigation of the United States, gives the Syrians exactly what they hoped to gain by their original aggression—a rather wry comment on our life-and-death struggle against the same threat in Korea.

Viewed in global terms, the decision may be a minor one. But the principle involved is not minor, nor can the practical consequences be regarded as unimportant. Its immediate result was that Syria did not sign the cease-fire agreement Israel had signed on May 11, although the Syrian delegate had previously agreed in principle to do so. The atmosphere of the talks changed from one of conciliation to one of hostility. The Arab League Council, meeting in Damascus, announced its complete satisfaction with the Council resolution and at the same time its intention to reinforce Syria's efforts to resist Israel's "aggression." Meanwhile, Israel has ordered a military alert and reaffirmed its right to continue the drainage project at Lake Huleh. These were the first fruits of the Security Council's untimely and one-sided intervention.

The further consequences may be more serious. Any new incident might start the "second round" of fighting which the Arabs have so consistently promised. Instead of stabilizing the Middle East, the resolution may serve as the starting-point of new conflicts, which must inevitably undermine the security of the Western powers as well as of the countries directly involved.

Why on earth did the United States set off this disturbing chain of events? The only apparent answer is that the Palestine pattern of 1947 and 1948 is being repeated in the same futile hope that by appeasing the Arab states, by rewarding violence and knuckling under to threats, the West can buy the good-will it requires in order to protect its interests.

The situation is one which again calls for direct Presidential intervention. Ambassador Gross, after the resolution had been adopted, said that since the United States believed the Huleh project would promote the general welfare, we should like to see the work begin again as soon as possible. Whether this is more than lip service remains to be seen. President Truman can make sure that it is more by instructing the American representatives on the armistice commission to try their best to bring about early resumption of the drainage operations. If this effort should fail, precisely the same measures taken by the United States in the Security Council to push through the resolution should be used to undo its harmful effects.



FIRST JOB FOR SHAWCROSS

London *Daily Herald*

Reason and Moral Courage

THE American Friends Service Committee some eighteen months ago issued a report on "The United States and the Soviet Union." It has now issued a new report, "Steps to Peace," which in the dark unreason of the times must be hailed as a beacon of good sense and moral courage. We shall comment on the reports proposals at some length in a later issue, but for the moment we shall praise merely its spirit and method.

It is not only a model of lucidity but is presented without the slightest cant, self-righteousness, or political bombast. It does not discuss motives; it uncovers no plots; it speaks frankly but never bitterly. While everyone admires the Quakers, far too few non-Quakers take them seriously, and they are more often admired for the wrong than for the right reasons. The Quakers "mean well," it is said, but they are utopian idealists and moral perfectionists; they don't have their feet on the ground —as Senator Wherry does. Actually this latest report is completely realistic in its exposure of the self-defeating character of coercive militarism and the notion that we can negotiate only "from strength." It is realistic when it discusses methods of negotiation—a field in which the Quakers have long excelled. It is realistic in its quietly voiced, matter-of-fact insistence that "any sound program of development is part of the social revolution which is proceeding on a world scale."

The report does not call for peace at any price; it calls for peace at a very high price. With a fine appreciation of American intentions and aspirations, it warns, nevertheless, that "we are moving not toward peace but toward disaster." It will probably be brushed off as impractical by many of the regular contributors to the *Congressional Record*, but that will only show the extent to which ours has, indeed, become an age of paranoia.

Turning-Point in France?

Paris, May 17

NOW that the date of the French elections, after months of hairsplitting discussions, has been fixed for June 17, the French electorate is perhaps beginning to realize that this may be the election which will decide the whole future of the Republic. Will France take a sharp right-hand turn, and Europe, after a Tory victory in Britain, enter an era of uniform and undiluted political reaction? That would happen if De Gaulle won enough seats to dominate a rightist coalition in the new Assembly. The shell of the Fourth Republic would still be preserved; but what if De Gaulle won, say, 200 seats and with the help of the "classic" right undertook to transform the present constitutional set-up into something quite different, in accordance with some of the promises—or threats—made in his May Day speech in the Bois de Boulogne?

Carrefour, the Gaullist weekly, realizing that the General went rather too far and scared many voters, has been painstakingly explaining that his words were misinterpreted, that he does not intend to march on the Elysée Palace, depose President Auriol, and set up a fascist dictatorship—which is precisely the meaning that the Communists and others on the left have been reading into his speech. Just before the vote on the election law Duclos warned that civil war in France would follow any Gaullist attempt to establish a dictatorship. The Socialist and the other Third Force parties, he said, like the Weimar parties in Germany in 1933, were blind to the danger.

The analogy with Germany in 1933 is far-fetched; conditions are not the same. There is great discontent in France, but there are not seven million unemployed, and the French electorate is politically more mature than the German was. Old-time French Socialists will tell you that while Paris may vote for the extremes, the provinces will in the main vote for the moderate parties. There is also a hope that even if De Gaulle does get 200 or more seats in the new Assembly, at least half his representatives will go over to the Third Force rather than follow him into some wild adventure. It is also true that the Gaullists are finding it hard to keep aloof in the election and that in many constituencies they will undoubtedly join forces with Third Force candidates in order to benefit from the system of *apparentements*, or joint lists.

At the recent Socialist Congress in Paris far more anti-Communist than anti-Gaullist sentiment was expressed. One of the two truly emotional moments of the congress came when Barbara Castle, like an angel of purity descended from the Socialist heaven, spoke of England to the French Socialists, who are black with all the sins of coalition; the other was when a Spanish Socialist, discussing the heroic movement of working-class revolt now sweeping Spain, begged that Franco be given no more help by the Western powers. At this point part of the audience suddenly broke into the "Internationale" and was soon joined by the rest. However, when the song was over, the chairman thought it necessary to point out that if the heroic Spanish workers should ever join forces with the "Stalinist totalitarians," their efforts against Franco would be wasted. Popular Front ideas are not favored; they are, in fact, considered in any context the deadliest of poisons.

A. W.

Answer to Who's Who?—Generals George C. Marshall and Omar Bradley

Confusion on the Potomac

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, May 17

AFTER four and a half months of the Eighty-second Congress, Democratic leaders find themselves in the unenviable position of trying to defend a record notable only for its failure and futility. The session cannot possibly adjourn on July 31, as contemplated in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, and prospects for early action on vital legislation are dim. Not a single major appropriation bill has been passed, the new tax bill may not be finished before October, and the Administration is having little luck in its efforts to expedite revision and extension of the Defense Production Act.

The Defense Production Act is the key issue, for it states the terms of our remobilization and provides the framework for economic stabilization. Mr. Truman today appealed directly to the people for strong pressure on Congress. "The special interests and the lobbies" will wreck the stabilization program, he warned, "unless the main body of the citizens get busy and do something about it." The unfortunate fact is that at present, despite brave talk from Eric Johnston, the application of controls is confused and uncertain and on domestic policy Congress is still ruled by the conservative coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats.

Cotton Senators are attacking ceilings on cotton prices; livestock breeders are attacking meat controls; the real-estate lobby is trying to prevent the renewal of rent controls. The difficulties encountered in setting up a Wage Stabilization Board within the rigid restrictions imposed by Congress last year were almost insurmountable, and the President was finally forced to act without the formal labor-management conference required by the Defense Production Act. Dr. George W. Taylor, chairman of the board, is now carefully explaining to Congressional committees why flexible wage stabilization, rather than a statutory freeze, is necessary in a mobilization economy. But Senator Taft and other Republicans are quietly preparing an attack on the manner in which the President acted, and the ultimate effect may be to destroy what progress has been made toward orderly wage controls.

Charles E. Wilson, the mobilization chief, and Leon Keyserling, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, advocate increased production instead of stringent economic controls as the royal road to both military security and economic stability. The formula sounds easy: simply raise production and there will be plenty of goods for the military forces without taking any away from the civilian population. This has a dulcet sound to a Congressman, because it seems to save him from the necessity of alienating his constituents with "regimentation." And when the President urges stronger controls, he can reply, "Why bother with such measures? Wilson and Keyserling think production is the answer."

Unfortunately, production is not a complete answer. Nobody in the mobilization organization thinks that the present leveling-off of prices represents a long-term trend. On the contrary, the inflationary bite next year is likely to be more severe than it is at present, as higher purchasing power competes for a smaller volume of consumer goods. But no matter how vigorously the President presses for new controls, his appeal is weakened by the lack of unanimity in his Administration. Add to this difficulty the feebleness of the Democratic leadership in Congress, and it is obvious that Senator Taft's ideas, rather than Mr. Truman's, are likely to prevail.

THE weakness of the President's spokesmen on Capitol Hill was reflected in the Senate vote on the wheat-for-India bill. The State Department had belatedly decided to place the situation squarely before Congress and had told it that unless wheat began moving to India by April 1 of this year, starvation would be widespread. But when the bill was called up this week and Senators Ferguson and Bridges demanded an amendment requiring India to "pay" for the wheat with certain strategic materials which it produces, the Democratic leadership did not even participate in the debate. Senator McFarland of Arizona, titular floor leader, had nothing to say. Senator Gillette of Iowa, who was in charge of the bill, declined to oppose the amendment vigorously.

Prime Minister Nehru has not helped matters by repeatedly affirming his country's neutrality in the power struggle between the United States and Soviet Russia, but the Democratic Senators might have softened the effect of his speeches by recalling the fiery nationalism and self-assertiveness displayed by our own Republic in the first three years of its existence. Certainly strategic materials should not be bargained for in a bill offering relief from starvation. But the bill passed the Senate in that form, after a debate in which American Senators mocked the idea of pure humanitarianism.

ONLY in the investigation into the ouster of General MacArthur has the Administration held its lines. For three days this week the Senate committee hearings turned into a kind of circus sideshow as Republicans tried to force General Omar Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to repeat confidential conversations he had had with Mr. Truman before MacArthur was recalled. The Republicans, according to Senator Wiley of Wisconsin, wanted to discover who

"engineered" the ouster. But half the Republican committee members refused to support Wiley, and the intimation that unnamed sinister influences were brought to bear on the President was effectively answered by Mr. Truman himself in his press conference on Thursday.

The President's revelation that he had considered firing MacArthur last October, when the General tried to interfere with high policy in his letter to the Veterans of Foreign Wars, was accompanied by the further disclosure that Secretary of State Acheson had not instigated the dismissal but on the contrary had warned against its dangerous political effects. This will not alter the necessity of Acheson's early replacement, but it may make the Secretary's appearance before the Senate investigating committee less unpleasant than has been expected.

It is clear that Mr. Truman himself decided to fire MacArthur because the General's intrusions in policy left him no alternative. In his consultations with other military and diplomatic advisers nothing occurred to change the President's mind. Nothing has emerged in the Senate committee hearings to challenge successfully his assertion of his constitutional power to relieve an insubordinate field commander. The collapse of the hearings, from the Republican point of view, was signalized when Representative Halleck of Indiana, ordinarily an errand boy for House Republican Leader Joseph Martin, warned the G. O. P. National Committee at its meeting in Tulsa not to tie itself too firmly to MacArthur's kite. The warning may have come a little late.

Handicap to Negotiation

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

IN A fine speech broadcast by the United Nations as one of a series called "The Price of Peace," but given little attention in the metropolitan press, Ambassador Abba Eban, who heads the Israeli delegation, said, "The price of peace can never reach such dimensions as to equal the smallest fraction of war's deadly cost." He paid homage to the United Nations for having "organized and maintained its resistance to aggression in Korea without the extension of the conflict into a world war," but then pointed out that "after the original military objective for which the United Nations forces took up arms was achieved by clearing South Korean territory . . . United Nations diplomatic activity did not keep pace with these crucial military developments and thus could not take advantage of them."

After this speech was made, the General Assembly, on Friday, May 18, by a vote of 47 to 0, the Russian bloc abstaining, adopted a resolution recommending a selective embargo on war materials to Communist China. The "diplomatic activity" of the United Nations, whose sluggishness the Israeli Ambassador had deplored, was thus renewed, but in the opposite direction; so that the result was to double-lock the door to a future possible understanding with Peking. At the same time several statements in the press and on the air referred to the "increasing unanimity" in the U. N. on the question of Communist China's admission, and the whole subject was enveloped in new confusion.

In a letter printed in the New York *Times* on May 16, Professor Manley O. Hudson of Harvard, for ten years a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice, made the point that Secretary Acheson had no reason to modify his original position on the representation of China in the U. N. "The People's Republic of China," Professor Hudson wrote, "does not hold itself out to the world as a new state which has seceded from China. Nor has the government at Peiping applied for the admission of the People's Republic of China as a new state to membership in the United Nations. On the contrary, in its statement of July 6, 1950 (Document S/1583), the central people's government referred to the People's Republic of China as a permanent member of the Security Council."

Professor Hudson's approach is not only correct as an enunciation of international principles but is politically very wise. It leaves at least one important point —that of the representation of China in the United Nations—as a subject for eventual negotiation with Peking. Strangely enough, on the same day that the General Assembly voted overwhelmingly for an embargo on war materials for Communist China, Flushing Meadow was flooded with rumors of peace, and more precisely of a supposed conversation in London between the Soviet ambassador, Zarubin, and high British officials suggesting that a settlement of the Korean war on the basis of a division along the Thirty-eighth Parallel might now be arranged. Few of the delegates saw the inconsistency of speculating hopefully on chances of peace while adopting an attitude that, if Moscow should some day desire to act as intermediary, would leave it with nothing to offer Peking but "No return of Formosa," and "No seat in the United Nations," and as its only compensation two resolutions, one branding China an aggressor and the other declaring an embargo on war materials to China.

The question at issue is not the admission of a new state to membership in the United Nations but who is to represent China—Mao or Chiang. Secretary Acheson at first took this solid position, and if he had held to it, at least one door to negotiation would remain open. Whether or not he will support the position taken by Secretary Marshall, who has urged a United States veto of Peking's representation in the United Nations, Mr. Acheson has been put in a tight corner by his colleague

—as well as by his own statement of "absolute opposition" to Mao's admission. This negative attitude was further emphasized by the disturbing pronouncement of Dean Rusk, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, who last Saturday said that the Peking regime might be a "colonial Russian government" but "is not the government of China." It is hard to see what purpose such a comment can have other than to create an atmosphere hostile not only to the seating of Communist China in the U. N. but to any attempt to achieve a negotiated settlement in Korea.

The State Department's renunciation of a constructive diplomacy on Asia is due largely to its inability to make its views prevail. Dean Acheson has been forced to yield to the pressure of groups who have one fixed idea—to destroy the Chinese revolution; thirty-four years ago similar groups were making every effort to destroy the Russian revolution—with what success we have seen. And in destroying the Chinese revolution they intend to destroy Mr. Acheson also. The Secretary of State apparently cannot stand out against the prevailing mood in Congress. He cannot permit himself the luxury of a policy of his own. Nor can Great Britain or other Western nations permit themselves the luxury of pursuing their own policy when it differs from that of Washington.

Everybody today ought to have the strength of mind to see things as they are and not to deceive themselves or others. The plain fact is that no measures now being taken seem likely to bring an end to the Korean war. If anyone doubts this, he should read the May 16 broadcast of the Chinese Communists as transcribed by the Associated Press. "The United States," it declared, "has killed the last chance of reaching a peace in Korea by manipulating the United Nations into branding Red China an aggressor." When the aggressor resolution was being discussed in the United Nations, several delegates said openly in the Political Committee that it was one way of prolonging the war indefinitely. Many others who for obvious reasons did not dare to speak out in the Political Committee expressed the same opinion in the corridors. The embargo resolution, however logical or even inevitable in the context of the aggressor resolution, will tend to make Mao more intransigent than ever and weaken what hope remained of peace by negotiation.

Lèse-Majesté in Los Angeles

BY HANNAH BLOOM

Los Angeles, May 16

THE Board of Education in Los Angeles suffered a severe jolt recently when an audacious, fifty-three-year-old schoolmarm openly defied it and threatened to knock the props from under its "monarchy upheld by fear."

Mrs. Ione Swan, a crusading elementary-school principal, is an aggressive, militant educator who talks back to her superiors and impudently discards shop-worn practices which fail to work in her schoolroom "laboratory." When School Board officials refused to grant her request for sand pits under playground apparatus, saying that children got dirty playing in sand, she replied, "I'd rather clean them up than bury them," and continued her battle until she won the safety measure. When she complained that ice cream being sold to the children was not fit to eat, she was told that none of the other schools had objected. "That," she retorted, "is a reflection on the schools," and stopped the sale of ice cream at her school. In contrast to her docile colleagues she became such a nuisance that last month the Board of Education dismissed her, after twenty-six years' service as a principal, for "unprofessional conduct."

"Education is the tightest monarchy on the civic scene," Mrs. Swan declares. "They fired me to tighten up their fear control, to show what happens when you dare to criticize. In this monarchy, promotion and demotion are the coin of the realm."

She has now brought legal action for her reinstatement, maintaining that she was punished for exercising her right as a citizen to prefer charges against public officials. The school administrators have replied that she used her position to attack the school system, failed to produce evidence for her charges, and by her accusations destroyed confidence in public officials.

Mrs. Swan is admittedly not one to comply with protocol. Last fall, when the 1950 grand jury was hearing testimony on the "rigging" of examinations for telephone operators in the school system, she asked to appear before it. While the jurors were about it, she suggested, they might look into the graft, mismanagement, and inefficiency of the school system in three specific areas. She charged that two School Board members, with the consent of the entire board, had profited for many years from the insurance taken out by contractors serving the

HANNAH BLOOM is a free-lance journalist on the West Coast.

school district (Roy Becker, president of the School Board, and L. S. Rounsavelle, husband of a board member, have since admitted getting a cut of the commissions on $67,500,000 worth of policies covering school buses); that the board was criminally negligent in failing to provide proper safeguards for playground equipment; and that the school cafeteria served food of inferior quality, at high prices, and under unsanitary conditions. Subsequently, after the formation of a Return the Schools to the People Committee, additional charges were preferred—namely, that "through their own stupidity" the personnel administration had caused a shortage of teachers and reduced the system to using emergency, or non-certificated, teachers, and that the board deliberately maintained "a reign of terror" which exacted "loyalty not to the children and teachers but to itself and its administrative staff."

The School Board demanded that Mrs. Swan sustain her accusations with actual proof or face disciplinary action. Mrs. Swan chose to reveal her evidence in court instead of at a secret session of the board. Since when, she asked, is it "customary in law for the accuser to turn over the evidence to the accused?" The 1950 grand jury heard enough of her evidence before it expired to recommend "a detailed investigation of the activities of the Los Angeles city school district" in 1951.

THE school scandal is more than a backyard airing of dirty linen. By attacking the malpractices of school administrators with the weapon of the law, Mrs. Swan seeks a revaluation of the mechanics of education and its "phony code of ethics." Rumblings from the whole country reinforce her warning that the teaching profession is "hidebound by tradition and antiquated methods, unaware of its goals, pitifully indifferent to its responsibilities." In the Los Angeles school journal, of which she was formerly editor, and in a speech before the National Education Association in 1947, Mrs. Swan had declared that education "did not encourage, it penalized any disturbance of the status quo. It did not want analytical, laboratory methods—it demanded a staying within the framework. . . . Seeking blindly for an objective, it made of its tools and techniques both a goal and a medium," and feebly decided that "education is the three R's." Education's own contempt for itself, she said, is reflected in the number of teachers who are "overworked, underpaid, frustrated, confused, and nervously exhausted."

A group of parents and a few teachers are fighting for Mrs. Swan's reinstatement, but no civic, educational, labor, or other public-spirited body has come forward to support her challenge. Although the school scandal was Los Angeles table talk for three months, liberals cautiously took refuge behind their own confusion. It was rumored that Mrs. Swan had been grooming herself for a high position and that her thwarted ambition was the source of her wild accusations. Superintendent of Schools A. J. Stoddard labeled her criticism "ridiculous, fantastic, and weird." Others hinted of a subversive plot to take control of education. The formation of numerous "citizens' committees" which were difficult to identify by political or ideological criteria added to the public bewilderment.

The absence of substantial public support for this crusading teacher is something for Los Angeles and other communities to ponder. Emphasis on Mrs. Swan's alleged political ambitions has apparently diverted attention from the main issues. The philosophy of "Let him that is without sin cast the first stone" has been carried to a ridiculous extreme. In the wake of the Kefauver crime hearings and the investigations in Washington of "corruption in high places," Los Angeles has exhibited an alarming cynicism. While granting that the charges may be true, many ordinarily alert citizens have shrugged them off with a what-do-you-expect-of-politicians attitude. Or they have rationalized their inactivity by finding a likeness between the irresponsible accusations of Joe McCarthy and the charges of a school principal who risked her job to make them and offers solid evidence to support them. The public seems to have ignored the basic fact that Mrs. Swan was not only willing but eager to substantiate her charges under oath in a court of law.

In the past three months the three primary objects of Mrs. Swan's attacks have been dealt heavy blows. A grand-jury investigation which she instigated has upheld her charges of mismanagement in the school cafeterias. The school administrators vehemently denied that "hamburger was extended with suet and water . . . that meat containers were coated with dried blood and often left unwashed for months . . . that maggots were seen crawling in the meat containers," and by the time the jurors investigated in late March, the food center must have undergone a frantic clean-up. In recommending six corrections of food-center practices, the jury report stated: "Conditions at the meat center during 1950 and the first month of 1951 were subject to considerable criticism. These conditions appeared to be due to insufficient supervision and infrequent inspection. . . . The jury finds that most of the criticized conditions have been corrected."

MRS. SWAN is relying on test court cases to confirm her accusations of criminal negligence and corruption. The commissions on contracts received by the president of the School Board and the husband and son of another board member have long been common gossip. The School Board itself had doubted the legality and the ethics of such commissions and sought the advice of its legal counsel, who had assured it that the

contracts did not violate the section of the school code which states, "No member of the governing board of any school district shall be interested in any contract made by the board of which he is a member." If not illegal, Mrs. Swan maintains, surely such contracts are immoral, and in a taxpayer's suit she will attempt to show that the school system "has degenerated from a public institution into a private enterprise run by and for the board and its administrative staff."

Another lawsuit asserted that by refusing to carry out the recommendations of a safety engineer the board had jeopardized the health and safety of thousands of children. This suit was dismissed, but an appeal is planned. In 1948 a survey conducted by an accident-control consultant showed that "in recent years the pupil and employee accident rates in the Los Angeles city school system have steadily increased." Recommended for "immediate attention" was the replacement of blacktop surfacing with sand under climbing poles, double horizontal bars, and horizontal ladders; but the board took no action. After one boy was injured and another killed by falls Mrs. Swan succeeded in getting sand pits and rubber mats for her own school but not for others. Finally on May 11 a six-year-old boy fell from a school swing and died. Los Angeles parents then loosed a barrage of protests, and on May 15 the board discontinued indefinitely the use of apparatus on school playgrounds.

In the course of the campaign preceding the April primaries, in which four members of the Board of Education were up for reelection (two were elected and two face a run-off in May), evidence of skulduggery in the schools accumulated. It was revealed that the board had spent more than $1,000,000 of funds earmarked for school buildings for the construction of a garage for their official cars. School principals and parent-teacher groups were accused of serving as "extensions of the monarchy" by helping to keep the incumbents in office and distributing their campaign literature. Administrative hiring policy was said to exercise vicious discrimination against certain races and religions and against persons over thirty-five years of age. The cheating in civil-service examinations for telephone operators, which had been roundly condemned by the grand jury and later "whitewashed" by the Board of Education, remained an unresolved issue.

The brave gray-haired school principal whose "J'accuse" started it all believes that the highest purpose of education is to develop the "educated man"—a person with a "thinking mind, an understanding heart, and a fine sense of values." The question in Los Angeles now is whether its citizens have been "educated" well enough to refuse to condone malfeasance in public office.

Italy Goes to the Polls

BY SYLVIA SPRIGGE

Rome, May

IN ROME on May Day, toward noon, some ten thousand people assembled near the Coliseum, at the foot of the little green hill to the right of the Arch of Titus. Two or three hundred of them waved red and multicolored "peace" flags. The green mound bristled with banners and slogans, and from it a grave voice boomed out, magnified by a score of loudspeakers. The workers of Italy, the voice said, would never let Italy become a slave of American millionaire imperialists (cheers) or be led by Signor de Gasperi (long low whistles) and his gang into a new world war (groans and cries of "Pace, pace").

The art of treating a crowd like a motor car—pressing the accelerator to make it go fast, changing gear to make it climb, suddenly free-wheeling downhill, was developed to a nicety by Mussolini. The Communist orators of Italy are thoroughly trained in it today. Six "agitprop" schools in Emilia alone, that northeastern "red" province of which the capital is Bologna, conduct intensive courses lasting from two weeks to two months and turn out a constant stream of young organizers and speakers.

The Italian Communist Party has plenty of new blood but is beginning to lose members over thirty. Optimistic figures published recently in the United States by the State Department suggest that more than 700,000 of the 2,225,000 members of the party have resigned. An indication of the accuracy of this assumption will be afforded by the coming local elections, the first of which will be held in a large number of communes on May 27 and June 10.

The May Day meeting of the Communist-controlled General Confederation of Labor (C. G. I. L.) in the Coliseum was as enthusiastic as it had been in former years. Rome's factory workers, carrying big banners, were in the vanguard; the rest of the crowd consisted about equally of Communists, one-time Communists, and spectators who had come to see what sort of show

SYLVIA SPRIGGE is the Manchester Guardian's *correspondent in Italy.*

the party could put on. Some of Rome's idle and curious were attracted by a different meeting at the other end of the city. Across the Tiber, in the Teatro Adriano, the Free Confederation of Trade Unions (C. I. S. L.) was celebrating its first anniversary, and the speeches were broadcast to a thousand or so mildly interested citizens gathered in the Piazza Cavour. The theater itself was packed with three thousand trade unionists, mostly men who had either resigned from the Communist unions or had recently joined a union for the first time since Mussolini's day, when you had to belong to a government-controlled syndicate or risk losing your job.

The speeches here were a curious mixture of Marxist class-war slogans and generally moderate statements of the objectives which Italian trade unions must begin to achieve if they are to have any influence in the nation. I remembered that a leading Belgian Social Democratic trade-union leader said to me last year, "In Belgium the class war now bores the workers. They are interested in more immediate and practical aims. We use the old terminology only in the coal-mining districts, and even there the miners' committees haven't much time for it." In Italy after five years of class hatred preached in the Communist-led unions, the transition cannot be immediate. Hence the occasional passionate outbursts in the Teatro Adriano.

Not that many Italian employers do not deserve hearty condemnation for their delay in modernizing their plants or their loose spending of E. R. P. grants. And the treatment of domestic servants, of whom there are nearly two million in Italy, is really callous. But the Free Confederation was busy on May Day telling its followers to work and train for influence in factory committees, for standing for Parliament or local office, for negotiation, and for planning the kind of state they want to have. Behind their efforts, said one speaker, was a union which supported both the rights of the workers and the defense of the country (loud cheers) and took no orders from any party. "The press," he said, "can call us white, the Communists can call us church unions, but they are both wrong. We are determined to be free of all party or denominational dependence."

The Free Confederation has an uphill road ahead of it, accused as it is of being financed by the Vatican and by "American imperialists." One must visit the small villages in Emilia and the factories in Milan and Turin to appreciate the sheer moral courage which was needed to found a branch of these unions in the winter of 1949-50, and which is needed even today. The tiny offices were smashed again and again. The handful of members were beaten up, and still are in very "red" districts. In Genoa now the shipowners are only beginning to engage their cooks and stewards from the free unions. These unions are still hard up and working under difficult conditions, in cramped offices and mainly with unpaid officers, though they have received some financial help from the American trade-union movement.

The Teatro Adriano meeting with its attendance of 3,000 and the Coliseum meeting with its 10,000 just about represent the ratio of non-Communist and Communist organized workers in Italy today. However, far more Italian workers are outside the unions than in them. The General Confederation (Communist-controlled) claims to have five million paid-up members; the Free Confederation, 1,225,000; the Independent Socialist Unions, about 510,000. But there are at least 20,000,000 adult workers in Italy in a population of 47,000,000. Where were they on May Day?

IN TRASTEVERE, a working-class section of Rome, everyone was in the streets enjoying the holiday. Trastevere leads its own life, sings its own songs, and celebrates feast days with its own ardor. The *Festa di Noi Altri* in Trastevere is more fun than the labor federations have ever provided. One might argue that trade-union organizations do not exist to provide fun and festivals, but in Italy that is one thing they must do. And if they fail to do it at least once or twice a year, then they fail altogether. Mussolini's Fascist syndicates organized clubs and *dopolavoro* activities. Like Hitler's "Kraft durch Freude," they gave the people bread and circuses and then put them into uniform and made them march in parades and listen to speeches. The General Confederation would doubtless do the same if it were in power.

As things are, it organizes bicycle and motorcycle races and puts on games, dances, and competitions four and five times a year. The Free Confederation has not yet had time or money to organize anything except its own existence. In Trastevere, however, few workers of any affiliation would use a national holiday like May Day for anything except local merry-making. Farther north whole districts of many Italian cities remain impervious to propaganda of any kind, and workers pay dues to the local *camera del lavoro* only because membership may be advantageous when they are unemployed.

No picture of Rome on any day would be complete if it omitted the Via Veneto, that mixture of Broadway and Park Avenue down which the tourist feels he must stroll on his first morning in Rome. Every Italian city has its Via Veneto, its little parade ground where on Sunday mornings and evenings the youth and beauty of the town walk, chat, sit down for a drink or an ice. But Rome has so many idlers that the Via Veneto is crowded every day. Last week I found a well-known government official leaning against a house there at noon on a sunny day. I suggested to him that his opposite number in Washington or London would be slaving at his desk. "It is all a matter of how you look at life," he said, and

went on looking at life. He has since been promoted to one of the most important posts in the country. Thinking it over, I decided this was not necessarily a corrupt appointment. People who are stout and placid and even-tempered are at a premium in Italy.

The ability to command respect or even obedience here is rare. Years of practice are beginning to qualify the Christian Democratic Party for further years in office. Years of opposition are rotting the Communist Party but will not destroy it. Italy's national income is now 20 per cent higher than it was in 1938, thanks to E. R. P. aid, but there are 2,000,000 unemployed and the southern peasants are desperately poor and ill-housed. The unemployed and the southerners are not party members, but the party speaks for them, until the day when the free unions will speak for them.

IT IS easy to make fun of the Social Democrats in Italy. Even the name is scorned here, although many at Saragat's "Unification Congress" in April begged him to use it for the new united party. Romito and Silone of the leftist faction objected to it as "too German; we Latins like plain names." The merger of the two offshoots of Nenni's fellow-traveling Italian Socialist Party was announced on May Day, but they will campaign with separate lists in the local-government elections in Venice and Florence—both cities have had Communist mayors since 1946—and are opponents in a score of other areas. If the new party is successful anywhere, it will be a miracle. The spectacle of its internal strife is no inducement to vote for it. Away to the left is the growing number of ex-Communists led by the two young Emilian deputies Aldo Cucchi and Valdo Magnani. They formed their own movement at the end of April and have announced that "it will not take part in the local-government elections," which is as good as saying that ex-Communists will abstain from voting. So perhaps will many others.

The neo-Fascists, or Movimento Sociale Italiano (M. S. I.), are everywhere supporting joint lists with the Monarchists and are believed by one section of the neo-Fascist press to have greatly weakened themselves thereby. There was a time in December last year when this combination seemed so formidable that Minister of Interior Scelba actually forbade the congress in Bari at which the alliance was to be consummated. It might have rallied a host of supporters then, but now, without the preparatory publicity of a congress, seems likely to be disastrous for the M. S. I. The south, however, may rally to the strange joint lists.

These local elections have a European significance comparable to that of the Italian general election of April 18, 1948, when the world's biggest Communist Party outside Russia was defeated by a wide margin. At that time it was generally forgotten that the governments of Italy's big cities had been in Communist hands for two or three years and were likely to remain there until a new electoral law could be got through Parliament which would enable new local elections to be held. That law was passed just before Christmas, 1950. At present Genoa, Turin, Venice, Bologna, Florence, and more than 2,500 smaller communes have Communist mayors and Communist majority administrations. At various times during the coming summer and autumn local-government elections will be held in all of Italy's 7,000 communes. The law provides for affiliated party lists, and the government coalition will probably include the Christian Democrats, the Republicans, the not always united Independent Socialists, and in many places the Liberals.

In communes of fewer than 10,000 inhabitants, the winning list will at once get four-fifths of the seats on the local council. In larger communes three-fifths of the seats will go to the winning list, and the rest will be divided among the other lists according to their strength. The Christian Democrats have three years of national government to their credit, but anti-clericalism is strong in Italy, and in districts where the clergy interfere too much the Christian Democrats will suffer. It is difficult for the bishops to keep out of politics after having been local princes for so many centuries, at least in the former Papal States. The allies the Christian Democrats most need in the provinces are the free trade unionists, the small business men who have had a raw deal under the Communist administration, and the middle class which once hoped the M. S. I. would rehabilitate it but has largely lost that hope now.

Red Straits

By PRUDENCIO DE PEREDA

A Report on the Subversive Activities of Certain Contributors to Radio Not Covered by "Red Channels"

AROUET, FRANCOIS MARIE DE, also known as Voltaire: writer.

Contributor to University Theater of the Air, School of the Air, others; frequently quoted on America's Town Hall.

Chairman Calas Defense Committee; most active worker in this effort to free anti-religious murderer. *Cf.* pamphlets, letterhead.

Sent greetings and a contribution to dinner to honor J. J. Rousseau. *Cf.* list of contributors.

PRUDENCIO DE PEREDA is a New York writer whose work has appeared in the O'Brien and O. Henry memorial volumes and in the New Republic, Accent, *and other magazines.*

Made extended trip to Moscow, conferred with head of state. *Cf.* Catherine the Great's biography.

Has prison record.

BYRON, GEORGE GORDON, LORD: versifier.

Contributor to Poems That Touch the Heart, School of the Air, others.

Disclaims membership in League of the Godless but actively associates with P. B. Shelley, active, admitted member. (See Shelley.)

Delivered address in House of Lords opposing death penalty for wanton destruction of private industrial property by workingmen. *Cf. Times* (London), 2/7/10.

Active participant in Greek guerrilla actions, Missolonghi; these later necessitated imposition of Truman Doctrine. *Cf.* Byron's biography.

BEETHOVEN, LUDWIG VAN: composer.

Contributor to New York Philharmonic, NBC Symphony, others.

Member Committee of Welcome, Jacobin (French Communist) army, Vienna; later composed symphony honoring leader, Bonaparte, N. Made half-hearted withdrawal of dedication at a later date. *Cf.* Congress of Vienna, Report No. 2260.

Praised by Lenin in conversation with M. Gorki, Capri. *Cf.* Memoirs of M. Gorki.

CERVANTES, MIGUEL DE: writer.

Contributor to University Theater of the Air, School of the Air, others.

Aided Spanish Loyalists. Statues of his two characters, Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, utilized by pro-Communist Loyalists' army in delaying freeing of Madrid by General Franco. *Cf.* "History of the Spanish Civil War," illustrated.

Published "La Numancia," slated to become best-seller in Soviet Union. *Cf. Pravda*, file No. 22440.

Has prison record.

CLEMENS, SAMUEL L., also known as Mark Twain: writer.

Contributor to Children's Story Hour, Radio Playhouse, others.

Sponsored admission to United States of M. Gorki, admitted Soviet propagandist. *Cf.* New York *Times*.

Published at own expense memoirs of U. S. Grant, General, containing copious anti-war propaganda, cited by Partisans for Peace. *Cf.* Un-American Committee's List of Subversive Organizations.

JEFFERSON, THOMAS: writer.

Contributor to Pursuit of Happiness, Norman Corwin Presents, Jefferson Day Dinner broadcasts, others.

Contributed name to Jefferson School of Social Science. *Cf.* Attorney General's List of Subversive Organizations.

Opinions often cited by Civil Rights Congress—see Attorney General's List of Subversive Organizations. Set pattern for their actions by sabotaging Alien and Sedition Laws. *Cf.* History of the United States, any.

Disclaims membership in the Jacobins but follows Paris line faithfully. *Cf.* writings, pamphlets.

Communist Party membership card No. 23440 made out to individual of this name, July 4, 1936. Address: 2800 East Twenty-fourth Street, New York.

LINCOLN, ABRAHAM, President, Union States; propagandist.

Contributor to Gettysburg Memorials, School of the Air, Lincoln Day Dinner broadcasts, others.

Corresponded with Karl Marx, addressed him as "Dear Mr. Marx," signed himself, "Sincerely." *Cf.* Letters of Karl Marx.

Committee to End Jim Crow in Baseball cited his speeches, opinions. *Cf.* Attorney General's List of Subversive Organizations.

LONGFELLOW, HENRY WADSWORTH: versifier.

Contributor to Poetry Hour, Poems That Touch the Heart, others.

Sponsor of Dred Scott Defense Committee. *Cf.* letterhead. Active supporter this and other anti-slavery movements. *Cf. Congressional Record*, Calhoun, p. 2336.

Contributed name "The Children's Hour" to play by Lillian Hellman, author of the script, "North Star," Soviet propaganda film. *Cf.* "Collected Poems."

RIMSKY-KORSAKOFF, NICOLAI: composer.

Contributor to Boston Symphony, Masterwork Hour, others.

Winner of composer-popularity poll, New York City, said to be inhabited by 20,000 membership-card Communists. *Cf.* Testimony, J. E. Hoover, Un-American Activities Committee.

Left Russian ship, vicinity of Schenectady, site of advanced electrical experimental stations, pretense, view Niagara Falls. *Cf.* "My Musical Life." N. Rimsky-Korsakoff.

Born, Moscow.

SHELLEY, PERCY BYSSHE: versifier.

Contributor to Poetry Hour, Romantic Nights, others.

Sponsor and active member of League of the Godless. *Cf.* pamphlet, "The Necessity of Atheism." Consorted with Mary Godwin, daughter of W. Godwin, atheist leader. *Cf.* "Ariel," A. Maurois.

Associated with G. G. Byron at Ravenna, Italy, preparatory to Byron's sailing to Greece to aid Greek guerrillas. *Cf.* "Ariel," A. Maurois. Abetted in this action by J. Keats also a versifier.*

Praised as "thoroughgoing revolutionary" by Karl Marx. *Cf.* E. M. Aveling, "Shelley as a Socialist."

* The works of J. Keats are now under study by this organization. Particular attention is being given to his piece, "Ode to a Grecian Urn," with a view to discovering what connection, if any, it bears to the Free Greece Movement activities of his associates, G. G. Byron and P. B. Shelley.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Hidden Revolution

HUMAN FERTILITY: THE MODERN DILEMMA. By Robert C. Cook. William Sloane Associates. $4.50.

IN THE ninety-odd years since Darwin shattered and reshaped the world of thought about man's place in nature, the biological and social sciences have advanced along tangential paths alternately wooing and spurning one another. The misguided zeal of Social Darwinists to effect a legal match ended in their degradation as mere camp-followers; and perverted attempts of racialists, earlier eugenists, and others to deduce laws of human history and behavior from single physical factors have likewise been relegated to the lumber-room of human folly. But the central notion of the wholeness of man—as both a biological organism and a social being—has never quite been lost to sight; and it becomes ever more apparent that a scientific view of the matter cannot be the exclusive property of any specific discipline. Recent works of men like Julian Huxley, who introduces the present volume, Lancelot Hogben, Fraser Darling, Dunn and Dobzhansky, Caryl Haskins, Ashley Montagu, and Amram Scheinfeld clearly demonstrate how effective mutual aid can be among the life and humanistic sciences when they join to attack basic problems common to all mankind. Such writings, buttressed by quantities and kinds of evidence scarcely visualized by Darwin, are yet in the great holistic tradition of his "Descent of Man."

This latest attempt to bring home to a wide lay audience some of the vital facts unearthed by modern bio-social research uses the shock treatment and scare-head tactics so typical of American popular science to alert us to a hidden but portentous revolution. Like Vogt's impassioned defense of topsoil and organic conservation in "Road to Survival" (also published by Sloane), which caused thousands of sober citizens to wince whenever they flushed a toilet, Cook's book heralds a world-wide deterioration of levels of living consequent on overpopulation and an accelerating erosion of our biological and cultural heritage. Drawing extensively but selectively upon authoritative recent findings in the study of population growth and human genetics, he cuts through the veneer of headline discontents to wrestle with what a handful of men from Malthus to Huxley have regarded as the gravest problem in the modern world—the uncontrolled growth of human populations. Two theses run like red threads through his pages: (1) the vital revolution, which has given man his most effective control of death since he descended from the trees, has not yet proceeded far enough to insure equal success in checking his ebullient fertility; and (2) the uneven decline in family size both within and between contemporary societies, a condition technically known as differential fertility, is fraught with the alarming consequence of a progressive deterioration in man's genetic constitution.

Cook provides a broad array of interesting facts to illustrate the nature and consequences of restricted mortality coupled with heedless fertility. The main lines of mankind's explosive growth since 1650 are sketched convincingly, and glimpses of demographic history in Ireland, Puerto Rico, Japan, Sweden, and this country help to underline the magnitude of socio-economic problems of overpopulation in underdeveloped areas which at present contain about two-thirds of the human race. This is a Euro-American problem only to the extent that we have become our brothers' keepers. Cook's solution for this phase of the dilemma is that of a liberal, non-Catholic humanist: more education, more planning, more family limitation, and the invention of "a simple, foolproof contraceptive tablet no more expensive than aspirin." He ridicules the argument of social scientists—and the working assumptions of the governments of most of the world's backward peoples—which says that raising levels of living is the only ultimate means whereby births can be brought into balance with death. He states flatly that "it is utterly impossible to raise living standards fast enough to achieve a balance with the pressure of numbers as severe as it is today in many countries." This is opinion, of course, and should be labeled as such. Perhaps future catastrophes will prove it correct in some of the massed societies of the Far East; but there is other opinion which regards the chances as fair to good that many of the most backward, sparsely settled areas can yet learn to curb unfettered births and to stabilize rational patterns of growth before their substance is exhausted. It can also be said that no all-out program of modernization, a program which would use all our current knowledge, skills, and resources, has yet been tried out anywhere.

Western problems of population, by contrast, are essentially those of quality rather than quantity. Cook, who is a biologist at George Washington University and editor of the *Journal of Heredity*, traces the perpetually fascinating development of human genetics in a lively fashion—from Mendel's peas through Morgan's *Drosophila* to the school children of I. Q. testers and the fruitful study of human twins. This serves as background to his interpretation of the meaning of differential fertility. It is a fact that about one-sixth of the United States population, largely rural, impoverished, and semi-educated, is supplying more than one-half of our next generation of citizens. Despite caveats about contradictions among the data, the labile character of "intelligence," and the difficulties inherent in its accurate measurement, Cook leans heavily upon selected (mainly British) investigations for his conclusion that "today's differential birth rate makes a decline in intelligence inevitable." Perhaps it does, but this is a bold inference to draw from the shreds and patches of our present knowledge. Such an argument would be convincing only if we were to ignore past changes in differential fertility and to predicate a specific static pattern in it from this time forward.

Any book which covers so much ground, ignores traditional boundaries,

and draws upon so many sources—238 items are cited in its bibliography—is bound to invite professional criticism. Scholars will cavil at its misspellings and pounce upon some misstatements of fact; prose purists who deprecate the exclamatory style of American popularization of science may feel that they have lost another round; and specialists will envy its air of assurance on many moot points. But the book's general message has an import for free peoples which should override such reservations. It needs to be widely read and understood, for it can add a cubit to the layman's knowledge of himself.

STEPHEN W. REED

Many Ways and Means

THE MAN WHO WAS LOVED. By James Stern. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.

LIKE Paul Bowles in "The Delicate Prey," James Stern writes about far-flung places—Africa, Germany, Ireland, Hawaii, England, the United States. But with a great difference. He is not fascinated by variety for its own sake—one reason, certainly, why his prose is better than the somewhat distilled "atmosphere" of Mr. Bowles. Variety has merely been central to his experience.

He is preoccupied with physical strength and athletic skills; a great deal of riding, swimming, and killing is accomplished in this book. This strength and these skills are agents for good and evil. The fact that the man who was loved could snap off the head of a deadly snake with one deft crack is the pivot on which everything else in that fine narrative turns. The powerful physique of the lover gives the sexual imbroglio in Our Father its meaning. When perverted, as in The Broken Leg, a concern with physical prowess can be entirely destructive. Physical strength makes the fearsome battle between the vixen and the swan in Under the Beech Tree an immediate moral experience. Mr. Stern has also a profound feeling for ritual and observance. It is most evident in the not entirely successful Next Door to Death, an account of a long illness in a tropical hospital where each day's pain becomes a ceremony; the sense of ritual is plain in The Broken Leg, which is, on one level, the account of a puberty rite, though the occasion is an English hunt meeting; in Travellers' Tears the traditional sentimental tourist farewell to the Hawaiian Islands is turned into fine comedy.

Life in "The Man Who Was Loved" is fraught with violent and always meaningful climaxes which compose themselves into a series of subtle parables, for Mr. Stern's is largely a moral imagination. In a situation so marked by ceremony as an English hunt meeting, the inexpert boy rider, terrified by his role as an acolyte of fox-hunting, attains a wild courage which is dissipated in final catastrophe. Or climax may simply happen: in the dawn a flight of ducks appears to two desperate minor proconsuls of empire surveying the African waste, and they fall to mad slaughter. Most startingly, climax may be the collapse into tears of a tearless aunt, consecrated to hunting, when she sees the vixen that has been killed by the swan.

These stories fail in what they attempt to do only on one important level: they do not create any sense of close relationships between human beings. Solitaire, the least successful among them, is one of two which depend almost entirely on such relationships. Otherwise one reads on with the sense that many ways and means are being tried out, that most of them succeed brilliantly, and that the act of writing has been always a pleasurable experiment. Travellers' Tears, for example, details with irony and skill the beginnings of three most irregular love affairs; it is neither entirely serious nor entirely frivolous, but a successful mingling—so far as such minglings *can* be successful—of both tones. It is far removed in feeling from the sudden bloodlettings of Two Men, or from the feeling of the title story, in which the funeral of the man who was loved, the idol of club and bar in the dull South African town, is abruptly taken over—with the fine sense for ritual I have mentioned—by the Negroes who have really loved him. It is almost as if each story demanded, in order to be written, an entirely different set of sensibilities and moral judgments. And this is no matter of virtuosity, though Mr. Stern is, of course, a virtuoso, but of a rich experience deeply felt and carefully re-created.

ERNEST JONES

Red and Black: Unblending Colors

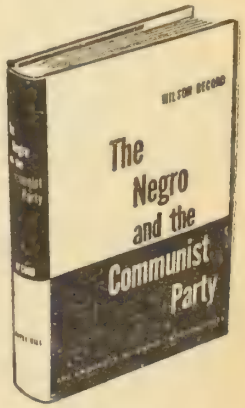
The Negro and the Communist Party

By WILSON RECORD

HERE is the whole story of the dazzling joyride promised the American Negro by eager Communists—and of the patriotism and wisdom of the Negro's resistance.

For thirty years the Negro has been a major target in the Communist recruiting campaign. But the inconsistent, self-promoting Red strategists missed the bull's-eye time and again. Wilson Record's study—of the constantly changing theories from the Kremlin, the sudden switches of the party line in this country, the slogans and campaigns, soft-pedalling and compromise, and the incredible network of Communist-inspired organizations — shows exactly why.

Not since the Civil War has the Negro question been so important in national affairs. Honest and carefully documented, *The Negro and the Communist Party* is vital, timely reading. In the words of Walter White—"It is a magnificent job."



$3.50 at all bookstores, or order directly from

The University of North Carolina Press
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Prophet in Eclipse

H. G. WELLS: A BIOGRAPHY. By Vincent Brome. Longmans, Green and Company. $3.75.

SIR DESMOND MACCARTHY, we are informed by the publishers, damned this biography as "flashy, credulous, untidy." I cannot understand this outburst of peevishness. The book is neither idolatry nor debunking. It is Wellsian in its honesty and in its gusto. Wells was a gifted romancer, an able novelist, a little more than an amateur in science, a commoner bitterly resentful of Victorian snobbery, a popular encyclopedist, a prophet of free thought, world organization, planned economy, and, with fitful consistency, an eternal Don Juan—in the romantic, not in the frivolous interpretation of the myth. No doubt these currents clashed within him and prevented formal perfection, but Wells's uniqueness was the result of the very conflict. On an ampler scale there were also many men in Dante, Milton, Goethe, Hugo, Tolstoy, and even Karl Marx. The formulae of psychology are far more complex than those of organic chemistry.

I discovered Wells about 1900, through "The War of the Worlds," picked up on the banks of the Seine. I had just graduated from a stiff course in citizenship, the Dreyfus Affair. Wells was in harmony with the spirit of Jaurès, Zola, Anatole France. He brought romance into the rather drab ideology of the progressivists, and he brought realism, in thought and style, into the shimmering realm of Utopia. He wrote, of course, infinitely too much. Most of his romances and novels read like second-rate pastiches of H. G. Wells. Many of his non-fiction books are hasty pamphlets or loose bundles of articles. His encyclopedias were doomed by their very nature to rapid obsolescence. As an artist he reached creditable heights. "Ann Veronica," once so daring, joined "A Doll's House" in the cemetery of books killed by their very success. But "Tono-Bungay" has a Dickensian richness. I agree with Brome that the earliest of his romances, "The Time Machine," has retained its freshness. "The Island of Dr. Moreau," a Gothic tale, stirs greater depths than "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde," and, as a tragic allegory, is rivaled only by Kafka's.

Wells was a journalist. Hard as he strove to create a perspective, backward and forward, he lived in his day and for his day. But he was none the less a *philosophe.* He and Shaw were the Voltaires of their generation. (Neither Wells nor Brome, by the way, seems aware of the fact that Voltaire wrote a better "Outline of History" nearly two hundred years before.) Both were left stranded: but not because they were false prophets. I firmly believe that the Enlightenment—the faith of our Founders—represents the main stream of our civilization. And, within the Enlightenment, the British tradition, Hume and Gibbon, Godwin and Paine, Shelley, Owen, the Chartists, Huxley, Morley, seems to me the spirit which best combines sanity with generous promise.

To this tradition Shaw and Wells belonged. Shaw had the keener, not the richer mind. Above all, he had the surer dramatic sense; he composed his *persona more brilliantly.* And he retained his health and vitality almost to the end. So he died in glory, and Wells in eclipse. Brome's biography accounts both for Wells's tremendous success and for his partial failure. Irony and pity are properly blended, without any suspicion of superciliousness. The closing chapter is melancholy but not despairing. There are men who help and men who hinder mankind's eternal quest; and Wells was among the pathfinders.

ALBERT GUERARD

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS from the U S S R
Just Arrived! MIKHAIL BUBENOV
"WHITE BIRCH" PRIZE WINNER NOVEL
In English — 578 pp. — $1.50
Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
1951 SUBSCRIPTIONS OPEN FOR ALL
SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES
Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 42 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

THE NOVEL IN FRANCE
by Martin Turnell
One of the richest periods of all literature—the modern French novel—is brought into new and brilliant focus in this scholarly yet very readable study of Proust, Balzac, Flaubert, Stendhal, Constant, Madame de Lafayette and Choderlos de Laclos. Illustrated. $4.25

THE PRINCESS OF CLEVES
by Madame de Lafayette
This classic love story of the fatal passion of the dashing Duc de Nemours for the wife of his best friend at the Sixteenth Century court of Henri II in Paris has often been called "the first modern novel" and is one of the glories of French literature. $1.50

NEW DIRECTIONS, 333 SIXTH AVENUE, N. Y. C.

Books in Brief

OF SOCIETIES AND MEN. By Caryl P. Haskins. With an Introduction by Vannevar Bush. Norton. $4.50. One of the outstanding phenomena of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is the increasing conviction that the future of mankind must be predictable. Though prophecy has tended to grow gloomier and gloomier, the pseudo-Darwinian evolution, the Marxian dialectic, the Spenglerian and even the Toynbeean philosophy of history have in common the assumption that the development of human society represents the working out of some understandable biological, economic, or historical "law." The present volume by a competent biochemist

examines the question whether our present knowledge justifies the belief that living organisms have been consistently evolving from single cell to social insect and that the society of human beings is following a parallel line. His answer is no, and he predicts for us a social organization very different from the totalitarianism of either the ant hill or the Stalinist state. What makes his book extremely interesting is not this very tentative, possibly wish-directed guess but a wealth of data calculated to baffle those who make easy generalizations, a generally skeptical attitude toward the analogies which many scientists are prone to accept as confirmations strong as Holy Writ, and a gift for explanations neither oversimplified nor difficult to follow. Readers will get a lot of biology and learn at the same time not to draw conclusions too readily.

JAMES HARROD OF KENTUCKY. By Kathryn Harrod Mason. Louisiana State University. $4. An excellent biography of a famous frontiersman, founder of the first settlement in Kentucky, and an exciting history of the long and savage warfare with the Indians in which he participated and which earned for that region the name of "the dark and bloody ground."

Drama Note

FLAHOOLEY" (Broadhurst Theater) is a fantasy with contemporary references which flies fairly high in the first act and then has a laborious time getting down again. It is also packed with oddly assorted ideas, devices, and performers, some of them ingenious and amusing, others merely tiresome; and the total effect is very mixed. The Bil Baird Marionettes—a whole troupe of them—are the best feature of the show, and they are quite extraordinary, both in their design and their manipulation. Yma Sumac, the fabulous Peruvian whose voice has a range of four octaves, can't sing, unfortunately—or at least doesn't in this case—and one's interest in hearing her varieties of pitch is strictly limited. The music as a whole is not distinguished, though there are some pleasant songs, and the gusto of the company makes them sound better than they are. Barbara Cook and Jerome Courtland as the young lovers look their parts and act and sing them rather well. Ernest Truex seems to me overrated as a comic. Irwin Corey as the genie has some funny sequences but is often defeated by his material. The quality of the humor, like Yma Sumac's voice, has a remarkable range from fairly good to abysmally bad. M. M.

Films

MANNY FARBER

THE THING (from Another World)" is a slick item thriftily combining a heavy science story with a pure adventure yarn for better than ordinary entertainment. This story of an intellectual carrot who delivers a flying saucer from Mars might have taken years and millions to make; instead, the problem was solved by setting the film at the uncomplicated North Pole, hiding the saucer under ice, and keeping the ferocious vegetable for an hour from the audience's eyes. Before its appearance there is little more than imaginative science talk and off-screen howling from the Thing, but the dialogue is a flashy, interesting, erratic jumble reminiscent of disc-jockey chatter. Despite its indulgence in the cliché of the Mad Scientist—a vaguely Russian-type "Nobel Prize winner"—and the final letdown when the Thing turns out to be merely the familiar Frankenstein monster *fines herbes*, the film almost convinces you that its imaginative predictions may some day all come true.

"The Brave Bulls"—concerning a frightened *torero* who mysteriously loses his fear in the last five minutes—is an exercise in powerful photography if not in lucid story-telling. Its first scenes in the Plaza Mexico—an ancient *paso doble* blasted forth out of battered trumpets—provide the year's most spine-tingling footage. The rest is an arty, confused attempt to show what's so special about "da bools, da muzik, da beeg crowds in da hot afternoon." Robert Rossen, its producer-director, is an ex-pugilist with proletarian proclivities who uses newsreel and editing devices with a pummeling effect. Rossen breaks his story into three plots so that he can admire the quaint nobility of small-town Mexican breeders, impresarios, and other walk-on figures. Somehow, the incidental crowd has always had a great

Are totalitarian Churches as dangerous to freedom as totalitarian Communism?

● This book is an objective and scholarly study of a hotly-debated topic — what the Churches, both Protestant and Catholic, have done to advance or hamper the growth of democracy. "More timely than this morning's newspaper."—*Halford E. Luccock,* YALE DIVINITY SCHOOL

DEMOCRACY and the CHURCHES

By James Hastings Nichols

$4.50 at all bookstores
THE WESTMINSTER PRESS

The Road to War Is Paved With Good Intentions . . .



AMERICANS WANT

VICTORY without WAR

by James P. Warburg

AMERICANS are beginning to realize that our present foreign policy will bring *neither* victory *nor* peace. They are finding out that—in spite of good intentions, casualties and our sacrifices—we are *losing* rather than gaining friends; that in spite of our efforts toward peace, we are drifting toward war.

If you agree with James P. Warburg that it is not too late to develop a positive, creative, American policy, and that only such a policy can lead to peace—*then let us* send you, at our risk, a copy of Mr. Warburg's new book, VICTORY WITHOUT WAR.

Mr. Warburg shows not only what is wrong with our present policy—why it leads either "to a war which no one can win and after which there can be no just and lasting peace, or to the slow engulfment of the free world without a Russian soldier ever firing a shot"—he also presents a clear-cut alternative "more worthy of this nation and far more likely to achieve enduring peace."

VICTORY without WAR

Send $1 for special half-price mail edition (reg. ed. $2). Full refund if you don't agree it offers a program "more likely to achieve peace." There is no time limit and you don't have to return the book. Current Affairs Press, Dept. N, 25 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y. 17.

Importance for Rossen, and in this film he has loaded his stations, streets, and patios with the same "little people" who jittered in the foreground and background of "All the King's Men"—only now they are *paisanos*. For all this, "The Brave Bulls" turns up an endless thread of visual treats, and it is probably less un-Mexican than some of its lines.

The under-dogs have their day again in "The Scarf," a disjointed, monstrously affected psycho-mystery freak show. This time the producer-directors are Dupont and Goldsmith, two European aesthetes who have been snarling at the rich and drooling over the poor ever since the days of Emil Jannings. Here they glamorize a singing waitress, a turkey-raising hermit, a jaundiced metaphysical barkeep, and a morose amnesiac fugitive from a desert asylum. These types are set up against a Berlin's-eye-view of the American scene: Greyhound buses, hitchhikers, cactus, flourishing analysts, prison breaks. Dupont and Goldsmith turn their tinny proletarians into sententious talkers, dubbing them with names like "Level Louie" and "Cash-and-Carry Connie" and having them oscillate their eyeballs in a sophisticated version of Griffith's pantomime. It sounds awful but it's kind of interesting.

Back to bulls. "The Bullfighter and the Lady" is produced by actor John Wayne and suggests his own personality and career by its simplicity, its spaciousness, its complacent trust in cagy brawn. A Yankee skeet-shooter (Robert Stack) quickly learns the matador's trade—*faena, veronica, et al.*—from Mexico's head bull-slayer, thus reminding us of Wayne's quick rise to stardom after a mediocre discus-throwing career at the University of Southern California and his close student-master relationship with John Ford. Ford's inclination to glorify rugged masculine fellowship also comes through—but in a surprising and sticky way. The audience is besieged with handsome male anatomy—nearly nude matadors flexing their muscles in a steam room, matadors bulging out of their skin-tight pants, endless close shots of Stack's platinum curls and toothy grin. However, Wayne makes bullfighting clearer than Rossen does.

"Appointment with Danger" is a fascinating textbook on the Average American Flop—his speech, mien, sag, misanthropy, doubt. It is also a well-done report on the geography of Gary, Indiana, a place that seems crowded with failures. There are only two really weak actors in it: Alan Ladd and his co-star, Phyllis Calvert, who like many English players always looks ready to keel over from lack of orange juice, exercise, and sunshine. Still, it's about time the critics stopped jumping on Ladd. This emotionless splinter has one real virtue: his incessant numb bravery often inspires the rest of the cast to outdo themselves in the opposite direction. So in this mail-robbery movie, the more Ladd outguns and outslugs a gang of white-collar thugs—most of whom seem instinctively sure their fool-proof scheme will backfire—the more Henry Morgan, Jack Webb, and the other thieves inject subtle trouble into their traditionally tough characterizations. These understated shades of dejection are so perfectly articulated that Ladd fans are growing restive—not from the monotony of his heroics but from seeing their own pessimism revealed in grainy, gloomy honesty.

JUST ISSUED
GUILLAUME DUFAY
13 Secular Songs
Instrumental and Vocal
Performed by Pro Musica Antiqua
E. M. S. 206 12" L. P. $5.95
ELAINE MUSIC SHOP
9 EAST 44th STREET NEW YORK CITY 17
bet. Fifth & Madison MUrray Hill 2-6154

SELECTED LIST OF L. P.'s
33 1/3% OFF
Catalog available on request
DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB
Dept. N-23
Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.
Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges
(50¢ minimum) SAME-DAY SHIPMENT

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN
MARY MARTIN
RAY MIDDLETON
IN
South Pacific
Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with MYRON McCORMICK
MAJESTIC Thea., 44 St. W. of B'way
Evenings 8:30 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

NEITHER Couperin's charming pieces for harpsichord nor the one vocal work of his I had heard previously—the Third Tenebrae Service, which I found uninteresting when Victor issued it fifteen years ago—prepared me for the First Tenebrae Service now issued by Allegro, an extended piece of vocal declamation whose unique style and expressive force make it one of the most remarkable and wonderful pieces of music I have ever heard (and the only piece I have encountered which might have been an antecedent of the melody of Berlioz that doesn't fill out symmetries with predictable repetitions but moves on always to what is new, unforeseen, yet continuous). Its force is enhanced by the singing of the tenor Hugues Cuenod—the long phrases, powerfully sustained and inflected by a voice with little sensuous beauty but extraordinary expressive color. On the same record are Couperin's Motet "Audite Omnes," less unusual in style but very impressive also, and three fine secular songs. Instrumental support for the singing is provided chiefly by Daniel Pinkham at the harpsichord, with Robert Brink and William Waterhouse playing violins, and Alfred Zighera a viola da gamba without frets that might just as well be a cello. Only English texts are given.

The superb Mass for four voices of Byrd is sung by the Fleet Street Choir under the direction of T. B. Lawrence with vocal sound whose extraordinary beauty is increased by its ability to expand in the space provided by the superlative London recording. The same work and Byrd's Mass for three voices are sung with less beauty of sound by the Choral Society of London under the direction of John Bath on an Allegro record.

Capitol offers beautiful singing by the Roger Wagner Chorale in the lovely polyphony of Palestrina's Missa Papae Marcelli (the Welch Chorale's singing of Palestrina's Missa Brevis and Missa "Ascendo ad Patrem" on Allegro records I now do not find good).

From Westminster we get at last a good performance of Bach's B minor

Mass, with Scherchen conducting the Vienna Akademie Kammerchor, vocal soloists, and the Vienna Symphony. In one important matter—tempo—the performance is first-rate: there is not a section in which Scherchen's pace is not in varying degree slower or faster than Shaw's in the Victor performance, and only one, the *Sanctus*, in which Scherchen's is not in varying degree more effective, or even—in the *Qui tollis* and the *Et incarnatus*—right where Shaw's is impossibly wrong. This is an excellence which outweighs defects like the chorus singing with too much vibrato, or the soloists singing too close to the microphone—this being a defect even when the soloist happens to be the magnificent bass Alfred Poell or an excellent contralto named Gertrud Burgsthaler-Schuster or the tenor Anton Dermota (the sopranos are undistinguished). In addition the singing of the chorus is more relaxed and sensitive than in the Shaw performance; and texture is clearer. Surfaces are a little gritty.

The Haydn Society gives us a complete performance in German of "The Seasons," a work with many charming and lovely pages, and some powerfully expressive ones in the *Winter* section. The soloists are Trude Eipperle, a soprano with a strong tremolo, the tenor Julius Patzak, whose voice no longer has the beauty and ease of youth, Georg Hann, whose sonorous bass is overpowering much of the time; moreover the sound of the orchestra and chorus of the Vienna State Opera conducted by Krauss is made unpleasantly harsh by the reverberant Musikvereinsaal in which it was recorded. The older Cetra-Soria recording offers only part of the work (but some of the best parts) and orchestral and choral sound which hasn't present-day brightness and liveness; but the beautiful singing of the Italian soloists is ravishing to the ear, and the less bright and live sound is something one is willing to accept, after all the coarse singing and harsh sound of the new version.

Among works of lesser stature, Haydn's "Paukenmesse" or "Mass in Time of War" (Haydn Society), which has powerful moments, is well sung by Viennese soloists, the Akademie Chorus, and the State Opera Orchestra under Gillesberger. Bass and treble need to be stepped up. Also, Bach's Cantata No. 78 "Jesu, der Du meine Seele" (Mercury), with fine opening and closing choruses and poignant recitatives, is well performed by the Bavarian Radio Chorus and Chamber Orchestra and soloists under Josef Kugler. And the same chorus, orchestra, and conductor perform Verdi's Stabat Mater (Mercury), one of the Four Sacred Pieces—one that has lovely passages but is rather diffuse and not as fine as the more familiar Te Deum. The sound is distorted in loud passages, and loses brightness and volume near the center of the record; and there are surface defects.

Rameau's secular cantatas "Diane et Actéon" and "L'Impatience" (Allegro), excellently sung by Cuenod with the instrumental group of the Couperin performances, are pleasant music I don't care much about. And listeners with the special taste for the music will be more excited than I over the secular vocal and instrumental pieces by Josquin and Dufay performed by the Pro Musica Antiqua under Safford Cape (EMS Recordings).

The fine singing of Gregorian chant by the Trappist Monks of the Abbey of Gethsemani (Columbia) is repeatedly broken into by a voice which gives English translations of the Latin words, making the record one to avoid.

Works I have found uninteresting are Bach's Cantata No. 131 "Aus der Tiefe" (Victor), his Cantatas No. 65 "Sie werden aus Saba alle kommen" and No. 106 "Gottes Zeit is die allerbeste Zeit" (Allegro), his Peasant Cantata (Allegro), Alessandro Scarlatti's Motetto da Requiem and Porpora's Salve Regina (Allegro), Mozart's Vesperae Solennes de Confessore K.339 (Mercury), Brahms's Choral Songs (Allegro), Debussy's music for "Le Martyre de St. Sébastien" (Allegro), Poulenc's Mass in G (Victor), Lambert's "The Rio Grande" (Columbia).

CONTRIBUTORS

STEPHEN W. REED, a member of the Department of Sociology at Yale University, specializes in problems of population.

ALBERT GUERARD, professor emeritus of comparative and general literature at Stanford University, is now lecturing at Brandeis University.

Letters to the Editors

Defense of Dr. Pauling

Dear Sirs: Your defense of Dr. Linus Pauling in *The Nation* of April 14 was utterly absurd. Perhaps the California Tenney committee is a "witch-hunting" body which has at times been guilty of "weird inaccuracies" and perhaps not. That seems to me quite irrelevant, for in this case the facts are clear. Dr. Pauling has participated—has, indeed, been a prime mover—in every stage of the giant Communist "peace" hoax from the 1949 Waldorf conference to the 1950 Stockholm Appeal drive and this year's "Peace Crusade." He was an ardent Wallace backer and is now an officer of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, a group listed as subversive and the United States Communist Party's leading cultural sucker-trap at the present time.

Isn't it time for *The Nation* to face the simple fact that, all the Tenney committees aside, fellow-travelers *do* exist; that they serve the cause, not of liberalism and free inquiry, but of Soviet totalitarianism; and that Dr. Linus Pauling is one? LOUIS SHERMAN
New York, April 20

[The regents of the University of Hawaii knew all about Dr. Linus Pauling's political views when they invited him to dedicate a new chemistry building on the campus. *The Nation* was defending neither Dr. Pauling nor his views; he is quite capable of defending himself. Our editorial was addressed to the manner in which the regents publicly withdrew the invitation in response to political pressure without first hearing from Dr. Pauling. The regents doubtless invited Dr. Pauling to participate in the dedication ceremonies because he is one of the world's great chemists and not because they approved or disapproved of his political views. To cite his views as the reason for withdrawing the invitation was a rather crude way of avoiding a statement of the real reason—namely, political pressure exerted by discredited investigating agencies.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Writers' Peace Pledge

Dear Sirs: We writers believe that our civilization is unlikely to survive another world war. We believe that differing political and economic systems in the world today can exist side by side on

SUMMER RENTAL

PROFESSORS, WRITERS, ARTISTS, special summer rates: $99-180 per month, completely equipped 1- or 2-bedroom apartments, all utilities, janitor service, garage included. THE FOUR SEASONS APARTMENTS, on its own Gulf beach, Lido Beach, Sarasota, Florida.

WHITE MOUNTAIN village; Apartment; one or two bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom, utilities, garage, lawn; fishing, swimming. $99 to $139 monthly. Mrs. Robert Miller, Campton, N. H.

FURNISHED BUNGALOW on private waterfront. Parklike setting. Modern facilities, boat, utilities, kitchen utensils provided. $450. JErome 7-0684 evenings.

CATSKILL MTS. at Oliverea, N. Y. (near Phoenicia)—New 4-room, furnished cottage for summer rental; fireplace, large living room with dining nook, modern kitchen, bath; privacy, trout fishing. Call BL 2-4730 J (N. J.) Mon. thru Thurs. 6:30 to 9 P.M. See it any week-end.

FOR SALE OR RENT

SAYVILLE, L. I. FARM. 55 miles New York, approximately 2½ acres. 7-room modernized house, terrace, double garage, outbuildings. No heat. $8500. Summer rental, lovely antique furnishings, $850. Box 229, c/o The Nation.

FOR SALE

CORNWALL, N. Y., Mountain cabin, 3 rooms, bath, 2 acres, 1500-ft. elevation, exceptional 50-mile view, drilled well, new refrigerator, fireplace, garage, 50 miles from city, $10,500. CH 2-2251.

CONNECTICUT RIVER studio–home, 2 baths, 2 fireplaces, 3-bedrooms, plus 2 unfinished, ideal for writer or artist. Peace, seclusion, 4 acres, private road and beach, swimming, fishing. Take best offer before June 30. Phone PIermont 2-1428, N. Y., or call agent R. G. Pond, Essex, Conn.

FARMS & ACREAGE

AUTHENTIC 8-room central hallway colonial; excellent cellar to attic; 4 original fireplaces, Dutch Oven; modern kitchen; bath; heat. Basement barn, new garage, stables and shop. 50 acres, 2 rivers, old mill dam. View. Splendid shade. $14,500. **Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, New York.**

OFFICES FOR RENT—NEW JERSEY

JOURNAL SQUARE, 24 Concourse E Bldg., Hudson Tube Station. Desirable offices; single or suites; also store, low rent. Supt. or owner, AL 4-1080 (N.Y.C.).

PUBLISHING SERVICE

WRITERS!—Book mss. wanted for publication, fiction, non-fiction. Free booklet. Write today! **Daniel S. Mead Literary Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. C. 16.**

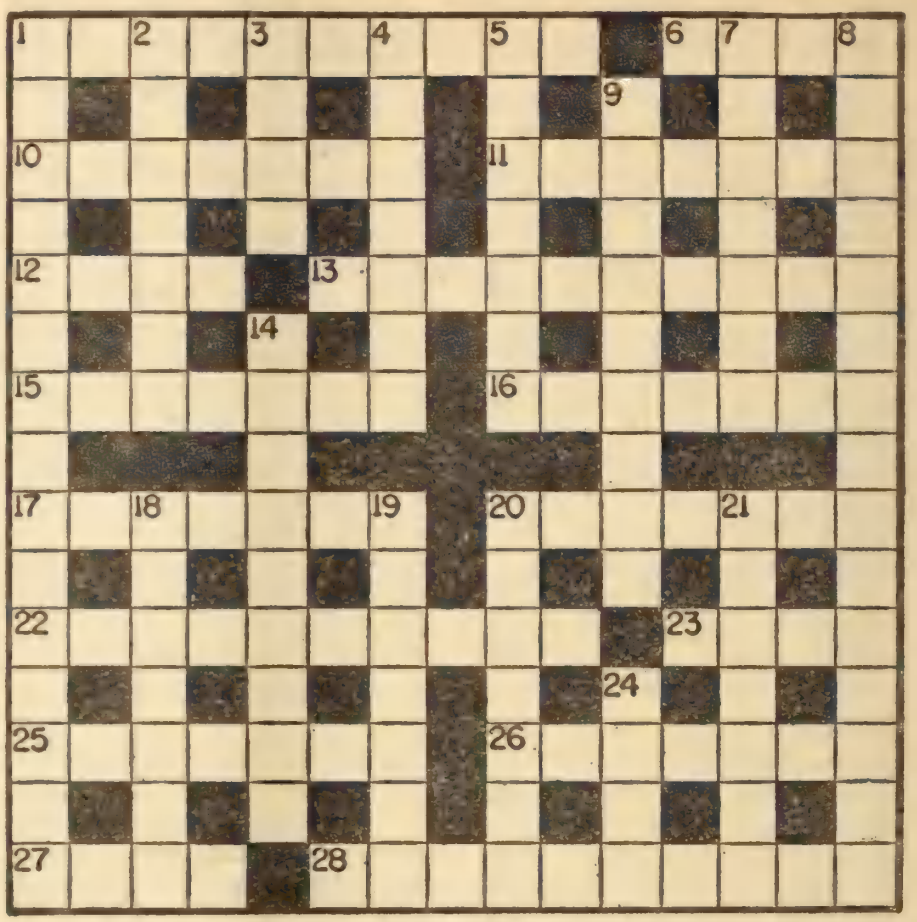
WE print, publish and distribute your manuscript in pamphlet or book form. *Send for free folder.* WILLIAM-FREDERICK PRESS; Pamphlet Distributing Company, 313 West 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, $5.00.

Crossword Puzzle No. 414

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 She may be a sweet young thing, but it sounds as though the policeman punishes her for it! (10)
6 A Yale man should never appear in *Fidelio.* (4)
10 Cry on sight of the coach! (5-2)
11 Soft child's toy, in ■ manner of speaking. (7)
12 Borodin's Prince. (4)
13 How the moocher pays for his meal? (3, 2, 5)
15 Is the bunch of posies like a fish out of water? (7)
16 Traumas take place in it. (7)
17 Old Dominion shaft for the curtain? (7)
20 Act odiously (or odorously)? (7)
22 Such behavior implies ■ management problem. (10)
23 Hold in the tower? (4)
25 Goes after coffee, meat, and scissors. (7)
26 One of Tschaikovsky's caprices. (7)
27 The season of the wise man. (4)
28 The declarer does. (10)

DOWN

1 Cotton means important standards to the diamond expert. (7, 8)
■ A doubled letter might enable this statesman to walk. (7)
3 The end of ■ long line of children? (4)
4 From round to full. (7)
5 Applies. (7)
7 How we might 23 things faithfully with the sound of "charge." (2, 5)
8 Ceiling price? (8, 7)
9 Pot to imitate in play, perhaps. (9)
14 Stable measurements? (9)
18 Gross emotion, by the sound of it, for what the sailor might be doing. (7)
19 Charges excessively for previous wrongs. (7)
20 Stay under the auto, and with water you'll have gas. (7)
21 Strangely enough, you never mention its name when you sing it! (7)
24 Well, he was a patriot!

• • ● • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 413

ACROSS:—1 CARBON DIOXIDE; 10 RABBI; 11 ABSOLVING; 12 BLOODSHOT; 13 MABEL; 14 SPIRIT LEVELS; 19 HEARTHSTONES; 22 INTER; 24 STAIRCASE; 25 PARAMOUNT; 26 GUTTA; 27 PEANUT BRITTLE.

DOWN:—2 ALBION; ■ BLIND SPOT; 4 NEATHERDS; 5 INSET; 6 XYLEM; 7 DRIBBLED; 8 GRUBS; 9 AGELESS; 15 TWO-MASTER; 16 EYES RIGHT; 17 SHRIMPS; 18 PARTERRE; 20 PASTEL; 21 PETAL; 23 ROMAN; 24 SHUNT.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

Island Point Lodge
NORTH BRIDGTON, MAINE
The Ultimate in Recreation and Relaxation
Lodge and cottages on the shore of Long Lake. Fishing, boating, swimming, fine beach. Golf course and theaters nearby. Excellent home-cooked meals. Opening date June 15. Folder and rates on request.
P. O. Box 97, North Bridgton, Maine
Oman Goldie, Proprietor

Timberland
POTTERSVILLE, N. Y.
AN ADULT CAMP IN THE ADIRONDACKS
SPECIAL SPRING RATES NOW!
Limited to 100 • Dancing • All Sports
New York office: 33 W. 42 St. LO 5-3674
The Rare Charm of an Intimate Congenial Group

FOR 8 FAMILIES ONLY
Artist's Colonial Home, on 100-acre farm, just 55 miles from New York. 15-mile mountain view, acres of lawn, private lake, sports, counselor. Gourmet meals, informal fun, art classes. Low seasonal rates.
PODY'S Sylvan Lake, Hopewell Junction, N.Y. Phone: Poderson, PLaza 8-2488

Stonegate LODGE
ON LONG LAKE, N. Y.
Informal Resort Estate in the Adirondacks
Limited to 90 • 14-mile Lake • Pollen-Free
Tennis • Fishing • Golf • Motor Boating
Folk-Sq. Dances • Concert Trio • Dance Band
Bachelor Club Rate $60-$65
N. Y. Office: 250 West 57th St. Circle 6-6386
• 10% less to July 10—Louis A. Roth, Dir. •

A BERKSHIRE LAKE RESORT FOR ADULTS
Swimming, boating, fishing from our private beach. Excellent tennis.
Golf and Saddle-horses within half a mile.
Library of classical LP recordings.
Tanglewood: 4 miles away.
Jacob's Pillow: 10 miles away.
HOLIDAY INN on LAUREL LAKE
LEE, MASS. Rates: $50 to $75 weekly

"IN THE HILLS OF THE SKY"
Hathaway Lodge
OPEN ALL YEAR — FOR ADULTS
Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate. Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Walking, hiking—magnificent mountain trails. Horseback riding. Recordings, ping-pong, library, informal dancing. Delicious food, American-Jewish cooking. Easy transportation. Attractive Spring Rates. *Reservations or booklet:*
HATHAWAY LODGE
Haines Falls, N. Y. Phone Tannersville 299

CIRCLE PINES CENTER
A Cooperative Camp which welcomes all people regardless of race, age, creed or politics. A family Camp.
$30, 1st week $25, 3rd week
$27, 2nd week $24, thereafter
Farm—Folk Dancing—Swimming, etc.
Write for folder to
William Knox, Circle Pines Center, Cloverdale, Mich.

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK

MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
RIDGEFIELD, CONN.
Phone 820
A beautiful country estate converted into a delightful retreat for vacations and weekends. All outdoor activities. Mile-long lake. Tennis. Golf nearby. Informal, congenial atmosphere. Television, recordings. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates.

WRITE MUSIC INN, Lenox, Mass., for Tanglewood program and Jazz Roundtable. Swimming, tennis, fishing, loafing. Walking distance Tanglewood.

the basis of peacefully negotiated settlements. As writers we want peace and, through our work, will try to get it; and we pledge ourselves to encourage an international settlement through peaceful negotiation. We condemn writing likely to sharpen existing dangers and hatreds.

As signatories we are associated with no political movement, party, or religious belief but are solely concerned with trying to stop the drift to war. We invite all writers to support this declaration and to tell us of their support by sending their names to A. E. Coppard, "Hillside," Duton Hill, Dunmow, Essex, England.

A. E. COPPARD, ALEX COMFORT, SEAN O'CASEY, CHRISTOPHER FRY, LAURENCE HOUSMAN, ROGER MACDOUGALL, COMPTON MACKENZIE, HERBERT READ, SIEGFRIED SASSOON, SHEILA KAYE-SMITH, L. A. G. STRONG, FRANK SWINNERTON

Dunmow, England, May 1

Millions for Destruction

Dear Sirs: President Truman has asked Congress for another $60 billion for war preparations, which will bring to over $108 billion our authorizations since the beginning of the "police action" in Korea. Donald Kingsley of the U. N. Korean Reconstruction Agency says that the U. N. has earmarked only $250 million for Korean aid. Untold billions for destruction! As little as possible for construction! What does American leadership offer the world today? HELEN MEARS

New York, May 15

BUY AND SAVE U. S. BONDS

Butcher... Baker... Candlestick Maker ?
Where will they spend their vacations this year?
Why not tell them about your resort in the pages of
THE *Nation*
RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch, one insertion
Generous discounts for multiple insertions.
Write or phone today for further information.
ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT
The NATION
20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.
BArclay 7-1066

RESORTS

MERRIEWOODE
A CAMP FOR ADULTS
HIGHLAND LAKE • STODDARD, N. H.
Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation. Enjoy beautiful 10-mile lake. All Land and Water Sports. Interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails. Arts and Crafts, Square and Folk Dancing Instruction. 4 hours by train from N. Y. $50 for Opening Week June 23-30.
OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
Write Dept. N for literature. Tel: Hancock 98-Ring 13

• **SACKS LODGE** •
(Formerly Sacks Farm)
SAUGERTIES, N. Y. • Tel: 555
Nearly all rooms with private or semi-private bath. Unusual new dining room and lounge. Superior food. Every recreational facility. Day camp for limited number of children. Truly outstanding vacation value.
INSPECTION VISITS WELCOMED

OPENING MAY 25TH
All Sports • Entertainment
Arts & Crafts • TV Room
Easy to Reach! Send for Vacation Guide
Chesters' ZUNBARG
Woodbourne, N. Y. Phone Woodbourne 1150

THIS ADULT CAMP
in Picturesque Gloucester
CAMP ANNISQUAM — a bit of rugged land and seashore — swimming, sailing, boating and fishing on premises. Dancing, tennis, planned trips and all sports. Write for booklet and rates to Abram Resnick, Dir. Gloucester, Mass.. N. Y. Office Phone: RE 2-9640.

WINDY HILL
ON ORANGE LAKE
A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Books, Records, Ping-pong, a two-mile lake for boating, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity.
Opens May 11 • Pre-Season: $45 weekly, $9 daily
65 miles from N. Y. C.
JANE C. ARENZ, R. D. No. 1, Walden, New York
Phone: Newburgh 115W2

the dream resort you've been looking for and looking for and looking for!
THE NEW **Glenmere**
PRIVATE GOLF COURSE
Chester, N. Y. in the beautiful Ramapos
Phones: Chester 2151 — N. Y. REctor 2-5407

50 MILES TO *FOREST HOUSE*
Your Spring vacation will be truly an unforgettable one, in this gay resort-paradise. Forest House achieves new levels of relaxation, rest and happiness. Superb food, fine quarters, congenial hospitality. Two grand lakes, all sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449

BREEZEMONT PARK
ARMONK N.Y.
We Proudly Celebrate
our 15th birthday — Breezemont Park and Camp Alyssum. In 1936 we organized a unique combination of gracious hotel accommodations for parents together with an outstanding camp for children 4–11 in age. Today we are a renowned institution popular with the intelligent parent interested in his child's growth and happiness and who wants to partake in this adventure. Camp is a progressive summer's experience. We invite every interested reader to inspect our facilities. We are only 35 miles from the city.
Opening for Decoration Day Week-End
Phone Armonk Village 3-3162, 3-8155

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE *Nation* with

☐ Harper's Magazine..$9.50
You Save $2.50

☐ Consumer Reports..$10.75
You Save $1.25

These club combinations are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE *Nation by itself:*

☐ One Year $7 ☐ Two Years $12

☐ Three Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR
Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra

The NATION
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
  ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

_____

_____

_____

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE____ STATE_____

5/26/51

SPECIAL NOTICE TO NATION READERS:

To Subscribers:

We are asking subscribers who wish to change their address to give us at least three weeks' notice, indicating the old as well as the new address.

If you will renew your subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration, your cooperation will be much appreciated. It will help us simplify our record-keeping, saving us time and expense, and shield you from further renewal letters. At the same time you will avoid interruption in receiving *The Nation*

To Newsstand Readers:

Since *The Nation* is distributed on key newsstands only, you may have difficulty in obtaining your copy. Therefore, the only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only be sure of receiving your copy promptly every week but save considerable money.

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JUNE 2, 1951 NUMBER 22

The Shape of Things

SENATOR WILEY OF WISCONSIN CONTINUES to pretend that neither he nor any other Republican had a political motive in investigating General MacArthur's recall. Considering the genuine danger to national security offered by the Russell hearings, this disclaimer is peculiarly unconvincing. Day after day high officers are being forced to disclose facts about our intelligence operations, our estimates of Soviet strength, and decisions of the National Security Council on how we would react to various contingencies. Day after day the mildly censored transcript of testimony is being filed to all the capitals of the world. We are not only washing our linen in public; we are stripping ourselves bare, exposing our ugliest domestic political quarrels, and turning over to everyone—friend or foe—detailed information regarding our intentions, strengths, and weaknesses. As Wiley disclaims political motives, Senator McCarthy charges that the ouster of MacArthur originated as a Communist plot, and other Republicans talk about "Truman's war" in Korea. Eventually the Republicans are determined to do a job on Secretary of State Acheson. Surely never in the history of free governments has there been such a spectacle. Congressmen who dwell at length on the casualties we have already suffered in Korea should examine their consciences to determine whether, in prolonging the Russell hearings, they are not inviting more casualties.

*

FOREIGN SECRETARY MORRISON OF GREAT Britain has been extremely reticent about his visit to Germany, and Chancellor Adenauer has been no more explicit. But comments in the British and the German press suggest that German hopes were rather dashed by Morrison's attitude toward the Bonn administration. There are rumors that he did not mince his words in condemning recent evidences of Nazi tendencies. Since the elections in Lower Saxony the entire European press, especially, of course, the French press, has been full of warnings about the rapid revival of Nazism. American correspondents have also reported the facts but more casually; the emotion in this country seems to be infinitely less intense than on the other side of the Atlantic —presumably because we are now ready to accept any kind of ally against the Russians. The Lower Saxony vote confirmed a process apparent in previous post-war elections in West Germany: the shift toward the right does not stop at the line held by the old German conservatives but automatically goes a step beyond to take in the remnants of the former Hitler party. American experts console themselves with the fact that the S. R. P. (Socialist Reichs Party) obtained no more than 11 per cent of the vote and that it gained more in publicity than in real followers. But one has only to recall that during Hitler's early days publicity was his strongest weapon and that his vote in the early elections was ridiculously meager. The picture is still darker if one realizes that the heirs of Hitler are to be found not so much in the leadership of the S. R. P. or any other party as in the government departments, banks, and the great industries. This is a direct consequence of the peculiar way in which the denazification program has been conducted.

*

THE LONG STRUGGLE AGAINST RACIAL discrimination in Stuyvesant Town (see the article by Joseph B. Robison on another page of this issue) appeared won when the Isaacs-Brown ordinance was adopted on March 14. But that very week the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company notified thirty-one families living in the project that they would face eviction on September 10. The heads of these families were leaders of the Town and Village Tenants' Committee to End Discrimination in Stuyvesant Town—people who believed in civil rights. The eviction notices are clearly reprisals against these tenants for their opposition to Jim Crowism in public housing. Originally the company tried to exclude tenants because of their race; it now proposes to exclude them for their social beliefs. The tenants who have undertaken the defense of the civil liberties of the thirty-one families facing eviction will doubtless be attacked next. The eviction notices have been sent to Protestants, Catholics, and Jews; Northerners and Southerners; men and women of the most varied callings and professions. Here is an issue for the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing to consider when it holds its second annual meeting in New York on June 6.

*

HEARINGS HAVE STARTED IN CHARLESTON, South Carolina, before a three-judge federal court on a petition which seeks to force the school authorities of Clarendon County to admit sixty-seven Negro children to the "white" public elementary and secondary schools.

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 501
Genocide and Morality 503
Why *The Nation* Sued 504
Peace: Rumor and Reality *by Freda Kirchwey* 505

ARTICLES

Notes from Capitol Hill *by Willard Shelton* 507
Franco's "Last Days" *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 508
Japan's Peace Treaty *by Hessell Tiltman* 509
The "Fair Trade" Wall Crumbles *by Carey McWilliams* 512
The Story of Stuyvesant Town *by Joseph B. Robison* 514
German Labor Wins a Round *by Carolus* 516

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Essays and Asides: The Secret Life of Edward Windsor *by F. W. Dupee* 519
The First Freedom *by Patrick Murphy Malin* 520
PR and Democracy *by J. Salwyn Schapiro* 522
Poule de Luxe *by Eugene J. Sheffer* 522
A Musician in Russia by Hubert Creekmore 523
Public Poems *by Hayden Carruth* 524
Books in Brief 525
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 525

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 527

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 415 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 528

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

First raised at the graduate level in 1938, the contention that segregated schools are discriminatory was bound to be raised sooner or later with regard to elementary and secondary schools. Clarendon is a typical black-belt rural county, in which Negroes make up about 70 per cent of the population. The three judges are all Southern born and educated, and two of them—Judge John J. Parker and Judge J. Waites Waring—have consistently upheld the citizenship rights of Negroes; the third judge has had little experience with such cases. In a frantic effort to avert a test of this kind, South Carolina and Georgia have imposed a general 3 per cent sales tax to raise large sums for rural schools. Other Southern states will doubtless make a similar effort to provide "separate but equal" schools for Negroes. The bourbons gave the "poor whites" their present public-school system at the expense of Negroes, who were taxed to support schools from which their children were excluded. A sales tax to support a dual school system which pretends to equality can make segregation an extremely expensive luxury. Should the Supreme Court finally decide that Negro children must be admitted, state governments may carry out their threat to abolish the public school system. But the "poor whites" would then have to pay special fees to support white private schools while still being taxed for the support of Negro public schools. In either case, the bourbons' ability to manipulate the poor whites now faces a severe test in the Charleston trial, the outcome of which will be reported in *The Nation.*

*

WE LEARN WITH PLEASURE THAT JAMES Schuetz, whose dismissal by the Bell Aircraft Company for "security reasons" was strongly protested in *The Nation* of May 5, has been cleared of all charges by the Industrial Employment Review Board which ordered him reinstated with full back pay. Since the charges against Mr. Schuetz amounted merely to variations on the theme that a militant union man was necessarily a security risk, this decision should be of great help in improving the morale of countless union members now at work in defense establishments.

*

THERE HAVE BEEN FEW TIMES IN THE PAST when the young people of a democratic nation have been challenged by so many obstacles to the achievement of social and political maturity. In their schools and at their jobs, from numerous agencies of thought control, they are under constant pressure to conform their ideas to "safe" patterns. Last year a civic-minded Chicago manufacturer wished to honor the valedictorians of his city's high schools and to encourage the intellectual curiosity which had won them academic honors. He decided to give each of them a year's subscription to *The*

Nation, and announced his intention of continuing the practice in the years to come. For its part, *The Nation* will present recipients of the award with a Certificate of Merit "in recognition of scholarly achievement and to encourage progressive thinking." Believing that the gesture was one of social vision and generosity, *The Nation* hopes that individuals and organizations elsewhere may wish to follow this example. We accordingly offer a special gift subscription rate of $3.50 a year to those who desire similarly to honor the class valedictorians of their communities.

✶

UTAH LIBERALS WHO RESENTED THE "SMEAR" tactics which were a factor in the defeat of Senator Elbert D. Thomas and Representative Walter K. Granger in the last election will be interested to learn that a federal District Court jury has returned a verdict of $25,000 against the Utah State Farm Bureau Federation in a libel action brought by the National Farmers' Union. The case arose out of a statement issued in the 1950 campaign that the Farmers' Union was "Communist-dominated." Brought to Salt Lake City by the Farm Bureau were such indefatigable ex-Communist witnesses as Paul Crouch, Manning Johnson, and Howard Rushmore. These and other witnesses for the defense finally managed to identify four of the nearly 300,000 voting members of the Farmers' Union as Communists. Those interested in the background of the suit and in the new-fangled techniques used against political opponents should glance at a speech by Senator Styles Bridges on the Communist Invasion of Agriculture in the *Congressional Record* of September 7, 1950. Enjoying immunity from the libel laws, this speech encouraged if it did not inspire the attack on the Farmers' Union.

✶

A TEACHERS' STRIKE IN PAWTUCKET CALLED by the Teachers Alliance (A. F. of L.) has closed the schools in the second largest city in Rhode Island and given 8,500 school children an unexpected vacation. Although the cost of living has increased 40 per cent in the last five years, no salary increases have been granted Pawtucket teachers, who now demand a $410 cost-of-living bonus. The school authorities refuse to consider living costs in passing on wage demands, gravely insisting that any discussion of this item would be a step in the direction of "socialism." The strikers doubtless have as much relish for this overworked word as for the action of the authorities in discharging nine principals and eighteen assistants who refused to cross picket lines. The Pawtucket strike is merely one of many current manifestations of unrest and resentment among the nation's teachers. In New York the Board of Education has issued an ultimatum that a thirteen months' campaign of "passive resistance" to unpaid extra-curricular work must end. Teachers who refuse to comply with extra-work assignments will be discharged for "insubordination," and, if necessary, the Condon-Wadlin "anti-strike" law will be invoked. Apart from the merits of the strikers' demands it should be apparent that communities can no longer deal with teachers in this high-handed manner. School boards are not elected to "fight" teachers, nor are they expected to solve the basic problems of the economy; their function is to provide for, safeguard, and improve the schools.

Genocide and Morality

AMERICAN failure to match the political leadership we are seeking to give the world with a moral effort of similar magnitude nowhere emerges more clearly and disturbingly than in the fact that we are not yet among the nations which have ratified the United Nations Convention against Genocide. The convention to prevent and punish the wilful destruction of racial, religious, national, and ethnic groups was adopted unanimously by the U. N. General Assembly in 1948. A multilateral treaty, it could acquire the status of international law for the nations adhering to it when ratified by twenty governments. Although President Truman urged its ratification by the Senate in June, 1949, its opponents succeeded in delaying hearings until January, 1950. On April 12 of that year the special sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations recommended its ratification with certain clarifying "understandings." Despite several requests by the President for Senate action nothing further has been done.

The delay unquestionably served to deter several countries from adhering to the convention. Fortunately, enough nations refused to take their cue from our government. By October, 1950, the required minimum of twenty states had approved the treaty, and when the convention went into effect ninety days later, on January 12, eight other countries had deposited their ratifications with the U. N. Six months after the effective enactment of the convention, however, its moral and symbolical significance is being seriously jeopardized by continued American failure to take favorable action.

When the convention was adopted by the General Assembly in 1948, it was hailed as one of the most significant achievements of the United Nations. To a world which had just witnessed the decimation and destruction of peoples, the convention seemed most expressive of mankind's aspirations for security, survival, and the banishment of human slaughter. Its adoption marked a major development in the imposition of law and order through international agreement and in the formulation of a code of international justice and morality. It gave impetus to those forces attempting to extend the opera-

tion of law to other vital aspects of the relationships between nations. American inaction today threatens to wipe out those gains.

No convincing or acceptable explanation has yet been offered for that delay, although certain excuses have been invoked. Some states ratified the convention with reservations as to various provisions. Several months ago the International Court of Justice was asked for an advisory opinion as to the effect of these reservations on the contracting parties. American ratification, it has been reported, is being withheld pending such clarification.

There is ample reason, however, to suspect that such an explanation is merely a façade behind which opponents of the convention in this country and in Britain—whose government has not even submitted the treaty to Parliament for approval—are seeking refuge and time. Indeed, they may well have been responsible for the submission of the convention to the International Court as a delaying tactic. During the 1950 General Assembly there were persistent reports that members of the American delegation were privately declaring that the United States would not ratify the convention; this clandestine opposition aroused several Senators and Congressmen, and a number of organizations, among them the C. I. O., to voice their protests against the American delay.

Stripped of all legal and procedural camouflage, the issue is clear. The opposition to American ratification is rooted in the alliance of our racists and isolationists. The former are concerned lest the federal government's treaty-making powers should in some remote way be used to undermine the white-supremacy statutes in the South. The latter tremble at the thought of any qualification of American sovereignty by a multilateral treaty, whatever its objective. And both fear that Senate approval of the Genocide Convention may pave the way for other instruments of international law, such as the covenant on human rights.

But the situation is far from hopeless, precisely because the issues are so stark. The enactment of the Genocide Convention by the U. N. was the result much more of the pressure of public opinion than of the initiative of governments. Continued pressure can force favorable Senate action on ratification before the damage already caused by our inaction is irreparable. The President should be encouraged by a flood of communications to repeat his demand for ratification in order to strengthen the moral leadership we seek to exercise. Secretary Acheson should be urged to place the full weight of the State Department behind that request. And members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and particularly its chairman, Tom Connally, should be firmly told that, whatever their views on military strategy, this country can afford nothing less than a full-scale offensive on the moral front. We must press that offensive through immediate ratification of the Genocide Convention.

Why The Nation *Sued*

ON MARCH 31 *The Nation* announced that it had initiated a libel suit against Clement Greenberg and the *New Leader*, a political weekly published in New York. The suit resulted from the appearance in the *New Leader* of a letter by Greenberg making false and extremely vicious charges against *The Nation* and its foreign editor, J. Alvarez del Vayo. The letter had previously been submitted to *The Nation* in two versions and had been rejected as untrue and libelous, with the statement that its publication elsewhere would be actionable. We repeated this to the *New Leader* when it notified us that it was printing the second version of the Greenberg letter. As soon as the issue containing the letter appeared we started suit against the magazine, Mr. Greenberg, and those concerned with the printing and distribution of the letter.

We have since received a number of communications, both friendly and critical, most of them asking our reasons for refusing to print Greenberg's letter and then taking legal action against him and the *New Leader*. The assumption of several writers, based on that journal's presentation of the Greenberg attack—featured under the heading, "*The Nation* Censors a Letter of Criticism," and accompanied by an editorial enlarging on the theme of censorship—was that we had deliberately suppressed criticism of our policies relating to Russia and communism. In effect they accused us of dodging a fight on the central and most controversial issue now facing this country and the world.

These correspondents obviously did not realize that until the complaint had been filed we were inhibited from discussing the suit in the columns of *The Nation* or in correspondence; to have done so, in fact, would have jeopardized the suit itself. Meanwhile, the *New Leader*, aware of this temporary disadvantage, has devoted several columns of each issue to "letters *The Nation* will not print," together with editorial comment to the effect that we had added to our original sin of "censorship" by resorting to a libel suit and then "censoring" protests against both. Now that the complaint has been filed, we are for the first time free to make a clear statement of our position. We are glad to publish this statement if only to relieve the minds of those readers whose letters suggest that they were genuinely concerned or puzzled. However, we have no intention of trying the case in the columns of *The Nation*. Had we thought the issue was one that could be debated in print, we would not have taken it to the courts. Every journal with a sense of editorial responsibility exercises discretion in accepting and rejecting letters for publication. Custom and common sense dictate certain criteria which are used in passing on letters as well as articles, and among these none is

more universally recognized than the condition that such material must not be libelous or defamatory. Yet several of our critics seem to feel that *The Nation* was under a moral obligation to publish a libelous letter simply because the libel was directed against this journal and a member of its staff. This seems to us absurd.

In instituting this suit we are fighting for a principle that includes, but greatly transcends, our own interest. The Greenberg attack was not directed against the views of either Mr. del Vayo or *The Nation* as such; had it been we would obviously have printed and answered it. But Mr. Greenberg explicitly disclaimed any such intention. The single point of his letter, as he was frank enough to admit, was to accuse this journal and its foreign editor of acting in behalf of a foreign power—in still plainer words, of being "committed" to the service of the Soviet government.

This accusation is unquestionably the most damaging that could be leveled, in a time like the present, against any institution or person. Under the terms of recent federal and state legislation and court decisions it constitutes a criminal charge, carrying with it the threat of drastic legal penalties and endangering the reputation and earning capacity of those attacked. Such a charge is literally unarguable. Even to publish and deny it would have the effect of condoning and spreading abroad a libel which was at the same time a false denunciation. To give the name of "censorship" to our refusal to print the Greenberg letter is to distort the entire meaning and purpose of that document.

No one who has read the pages of abuse and criticism of this journal which we have published through the years will honestly accuse *The Nation* or its editors of suppressing criticism or avoiding debate on political issues. But we propose by this action to establish the right of a journal or an individual to discuss in the freest terms any issue of public interest, including the most controversial, without being subjected to the threat implicit in the Greenberg libel.

Liberals were disgusted by the tactics of Senator McCarthy; disgusted by the spectacle of conviction through vilification. But McCarthy's success is registered every day—in the campaign against Secretary Acheson, the slurring references to Owen Lattimore in the Senate inquiry, the timidity and silence of college students and professors, the disappearance from radio and screen of liberal commentators or actors whose names have appeared on unofficial "lists." This is the legacy of McCarthyism, and it continues to pile up.

One can expect, if not condone, reckless denunciation from a demagogue who has made witch-hunting his Congressional stock in trade; McCarthy and his kind are known for what they are. Is the McCarthy technique less deplorable when applied by a man or a journal that calls itself liberal? Certainly Greenberg and the *New Leader* are not McCarthys; yet the very fact that they act under the banner of liberalism gives their charges a certain acceptability. They can even venture a note of sorrow over the necessity of assailing those they would prefer to love! Greenberg went so far as to cite his seven years as art critic for *The Nation*—1942 to 1949—as evidence of his right to expose our sins. Apparently it did not occur to him that readers would wonder how he had managed to endure in silence his long relationship with a paper whose policy was then what it is now and whose foreign editor was the same man.

A time is upon us when frightened men turn with venom to crush those whose views they hate. Victims of the witch-hunt multiply, and few are in a position to fight back. *The Nation*, we need not say, is going to continue to print what it believes without asking permission of Greenberg and the *New Leader*—or of the Russians either. And when attacked in this manner, it is going to fight back—for itself, for those who cannot risk a fight, and for the freedom its opponents seem bent upon destroying.

Peace: Rumor and Reality

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE turn of the wheel in Korea has brought about a flurry of peace rumors in Washington and the United Nations. They appear, suddenly evaporate in the face of official denials, and new ones are born. The State Department says explicitly that no Russian or Chinese overtures have been received; Ambassador Kirk, on his way home from Moscow insists that no hint of a Russian démarche has reached his ears. Still the stories flourish and the best information available supports the belief that Moscow has been sending out half-official feelers none of which has reached the stage of negotiation. Whether the Chinese are a party to these tentative moves or even approve them is not known. Whether the United States, behind a smoke screen of anti-Red pronouncements in Washington, is prepared to initiate talks, is equally uncertain. But one fact shines through the diplomatic fog: if the "limited war" in Korea is to end without burgeoning into an unlimited war, the moment to try to end it is now.

As these lines are written the United Nations forces are driving the Chinese-North Korean armies back for the third time across the Thirty-eighth Parallel. The Communists seem in full retreat and the dispatches report a terrible slaughter of Red troops. Once more the chance of a cease-fire depends on American initiative. Either we decide to hold back our forces, permitting a no man's land to widen between the contending armies, and then move quickly to try to establish a truce; or we choose the MacArthur strategy, maintaining the mo-

mentum of our advance and driving on toward the Manchurian-Russian frontier with all the threatening consequences such a move implies. The first choice is not only the sane one; it coincides with the strategy set forth in the testimony of Generals Marshall, Bradley, and Collins. In fact the single solid point of military difference between the Administration chiefs and MacArthur is on the question of directly attacking or threatening Chinese and Russian territory. Since the President's team is also on record as favoring attempts to end the fighting, one should be able to hope that General Ridgway—who first proclaimed the doctrine that a return to the Thirty-eighth Parallel should be accounted a full-fledged victory—would be instructed to try for a quick cease-fire. After all an early end to the slaughter is the single thing that can rally popular support to Truman's course over the course advocated by MacArthur. Immense political as well as moral and strategic stakes would be garnered by the Administration if an honorable peace were made now.

DO WE dare believe that this sort of wisdom will determine the government's decision? To say yes, without question, would be to ignore a good part of the extraordinary revelations that have been poured out in the open confessional of the Senate hearings; it would also be to ignore the speech of Assistant Secretary of State Rusk. If the President's witnesses have opposed a strategy that might enlarge the war and force Russia to come to the support of China, they have also, and even more emphatically, rejected the suggestion that Peking should ever be admitted to the U. N. or ever be allowed to take control of Formosa. Their objections to the use of Chiang Kai-shek's forces, either in Korea or against the Chinese mainland, were based strictly on the same practical considerations that dictated their decision not to bomb Manchurian bases. If the game were worth the heavy risks involved or the risks were smaller, they would have no hesitation, one gathers, about either invasion or bombing.

Rusk, of course, went much farther. The Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs used words that were universally taken as an announcement that the United States would have no dealings whatever with the government of Mao Tse-tung; not only would we not recognize it, we also do not recognize its existence. "The Peiping regime," Mr. Rusk said, "may be a colonial Russian government—a Slavic Manchukuo on a larger scale. It is not the government of China. It does not pass the first test. It ... not Chinese. It is not entitled to speak for China in the community of nations." So widespread was this interpretation of the speech that European diplomats, who had acquiesced without protest—though also without enthusiasm—in Washington's demand for a U. N. embargo on war materials for Communist China, hurried to the State Department to find out what was going on. Did the Rusk speech imply that the United States was committed to the overthrow of the Peking government, that peace in Korea must wait until Chiang's regime was reinstalled in power in China? Did it mean an all-out crusade against communism in Asia? The State Department hastened to announce that the speech did no more than restate "the deep and long friendship between the Chinese and American people" and American concern for the "independence and integrity of China" and repeat such well known facts as our continued recognition of the Nationalist government and the aid we are sending to Formosa. But this statement received a polite brush-off in the European press. At best it was taken as evidence that American policy is no less confused and self-contradictory after the recall of MacArthur than it was before. In England, War Secretary John Strachey, without directly mentioning Rusk, put his government on record as opposing the implications of the Rusk statement. He rejected the idea of widening the Korean war and warned against "policies which produce disastrous results," pointing out that even an acceptable step such as the war-materials embargo might all too easily lead to a move to cut off all trade and intercourse with China, and thence to a blockade and finally the bombing of Chinese cities, thus "sealing the fate of Western man in Asia." Strachey asserted Britain's readiness to discuss a settlement with Peking at any time.

If the U. N. wishes to take advantage of the present favorable moment to try to end the Korean war it can do so in only one way: by dealing with the government of Mao Tse-tung. No words spoken by Mr. Rusk can change this inescapable fact. But more than that will probably be necessary. Even with its armies in retreat, even with Russia maneuvering for a settlement, Peking will hardly agree to negotiate without some assurance that its further claims will be considered. Last Wednesday Tass reported a Chinese Foreign Office statement promising to answer the "disgraceful and illegal [embargo] resolution by inflicting a crushing defeat on the American aggressors." At no time since the adoption of the resolution branding Peking an aggressor has that government even hinted at a willingness to accept a cease-fire. The most that could now be hoped for, in the opinion of close observers at the U. N., is a truce, arranged either through Russian intermediaries or between commanders on the field, accompanied by at least an understanding that Peking's admission to the U. N. would not be impeded by the United States.

Will the United States go even that far? The Rusk speech and the growth of MacArthurism in the Administration make it seem doubtful. The best hope lies in the obvious advantages the Administration might win by a quick successful move to end the fighting. For an end of the fighting is all that can justify the military strategy of limited war.

Notes from Capitol Hill

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, May 24

FOR two weeks the Department of State has denied knowledge of Korean "peace feelers" from the Soviet Union. But Jacob Malik, head of the Russian delegation to the United Nations, did approach a member of the American delegation about two weeks ago. Today the chief Swedish delegate stated that a suggestion had been put forward, from an unidentified Soviet "source" and through indirect channels, that the Soviets would approve a "settlement" based on a cease-fire at the Thirty-eighth Parallel. The question which the State Department has been wrestling with is whether the "feelers" from the Kremlin are truly peace moves or a search for chinks in the armor of our determination—and perhaps, also, an attempt to weaken the impetus of Western mobilization. It is generally believed in Washington that the peace feelers are not genuine, but at the same time it is hoped that the Chinese, having failed again to drive the United Nations forces into the sea, may be willing to confer on ending the war.

The chance for a negotiated peace would be greater if the Administration could depend upon more stability of purpose in Congress and among political leaders generally. Another obstacle is the tendency of Congress to rely solely on guns and, when the tension relaxes, to start slashing appropriations even for guns. The House of Representatives only today finally voted to lend India $190,000,000 in E. C. A. funds with which to buy grain to forestall famine. But at least the House bill did not include the Bridges amendment to the Senate bill, requiring "repayment" in manganese and monazite—an attempt to obtain a change in Indian law by coercion rather than negotiation. Before the House voted, the debate reached disgracefully low levels. Representative Allen of Illinois, ranking Republican on the Rules Committee, said that in order to pay our own bills we were having to consider taxes on "bubble gum and lollipops for children," and therefore he would not vote for the loan. He did not seem impressed by the fact that in India the problem is not the cost of "bubble gum and lollipops" but the lack of any food at all for children to eat. Representative Cox of Georgia, second ranking Democrat of the Rules Committee, argued that "sacred cows, sacred monkeys, and 10,000,000 sacred or professional beggars" would be given preference in distribution of the wheat. If Mr. Cox had any consciousness of the responsibilities which go with American power, he did not reveal it.

Mr. Truman's mutual-security program encounters similar difficulties. More than $6,000,000,000 is proposed for direct military aid and only $2,250,000,000 for economic aid, and the economic recommendations are certain to be severely attacked.

In a remarkable report submitted two weeks ago the Committee for Economic Development warned that there are clearly defined limits to the armament burden that can be shouldered by Western Europe. The instability of the political situation in European countries and the shattering effect of the war on their economies, it asserted, make it impossible for them to divert as large a proportion of their production to defense as the United States or even Great Britain is able to do. While it recognized that it would be "expedient" for us to send more of our aid in the form of military products, the committee urged the United States to continue to supply civilian goods and services and free dollars. The report did not go as far as some critics have gone in charging that E. C. A. funds have not benefited the working population as much as the factory owners, that too little has trickled down to the bulk of the people. But it did point out that rearmament and security are not necessarily synonymous, that military preparedness is only a supplement to unity and stability of purpose, and that if rearmament should be pushed too far in Europe it would impair Europe's will to fight.

WHILE attention has been concentrated on foreign policy, the real-estate, oil, and other lobbies have been working quietly and effectively in Washington. The public-housing program previously authorized was slashed in the House of Representatives to a maximum of 5,000 units in the next fiscal year, and Mr. Truman has had to ask the Senate to revise the bill. The tidelands-oil lobby has put through a Senate committee a bill to renounce federal ownership of the oil in the marginal seas, the effect of which would be to repudiate by Congressional action two Supreme Court decisions. The president can veto the bill if it ever reaches his desk, but the committee vote indicates that the working unity of the oil-and-gas Senators is still powerful. About the only victory the Administration has scored in Congress recently was in the House Ways and Means Committee, which reversed an earlier vote in order to lessen the tax burden on families of smaller incomes.

THE Russell committee hearings on the ouster of General MacArthur have been such a flop, from the standpoint of Senator Hickenlooper, that he tried today to revive his own flagging interest by passing over the Joint Chiefs of Staff in order to get Secretary of State Acheson on the witness stand. The testimony of Secretary of Defense Marshall and General Bradley has given Hickenlooper and Senator Wiley of Wisconsin no comfort; Marshall and Bradley remain unshaken in their belief that MacArthur's insubordination forced Mr. Truman's action. So Wiley and Hickenlooper want no more

soldiers; they are in a hurry to start roasting Acheson. Senator Russell has managed affairs so competently thus far that only Wiley is raising the cry of "whitewash," and the majority of Republicans continue to praise Russell's fairness, in contrast to the rough treatment meted out to Millard Tydings last year in the investigation of the State Department. Perhaps the difference is that last year the Republicans on the investigating committee included only Hickenlooper and Lodge, while on the Russell committee Lodge is backed by Wayne Morse, Saltonstall, Flanders, and Tobey. Even Hickenlooper may hesitate to cross swords with the astute Morse, who knows constitutional law and will not tolerate partisan smears.

Franco's "Last Days"

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

AN ITALIAN industrialist now in this country, who was in Barcelona during the general strike, said to me emphatically "This is Franco's last day." I, more cautious, suggested he might better say "days," and he agreed smilingly. He based his conviction, he said, on "the extraordinary solidarity shown by the enemies of the regime" and the impressive self-confidence and self-control of a people which will not any longer be kept in subjection by force." Several times during our conversation, in the presence of European diplomats, he expressed amazement that influential officials whom he had met in Washington did not have the slightest understanding of the new Spanish situation and still talked of Franco's famous twenty-four divisions as if there had not been a Barcelona strike. But since this Italian visitor was in Barcelona, even more significant events have taken place in Spain.

A general strike in Madrid was announced for Tuesday May 22. It was canceled at the last moment, but the demonstration substituted for it provided ample proof that the movement of protest against Franco is well organized and controlled and can be expected to have far-reaching political results. With impressive unanimity the workers of Madrid, even those who lived in the suburbs several miles away, braved the threats of the government that they would be fired if they were late or absent and walked from their homes to their factories instead of taking bus, street car, or subway. Like the workers in Barcelona before the strike of March 12, they boycotted the transportation lines as a symbol of their protest against the rising cost of living.

The transformation of the announced strike into a "political walk" in obedience to the instructions of the committee gave people a strong sense of the workers' discipline; the strike itself, if it had been carried out, could hardly have had a greater effect. Police and army were kept on the alert for three days, though they were not used; even under Franco people cannot yet be arrested or shot for choosing to walk rather than take a public conveyance. The leaders of the movement could not be distinguished from the other walkers, and mass arrests would have left the factories idle. As it is, the shortage of electric power has so greatly reduced production that the government cannot give itself the pleasure of cutting off the supply of workers.

The police and the army, kept on the alert for nothing, were made ridiculous, and ridicule is something that an authoritarian regime, especially one in Spain, can ill support. The people know that some day soon, when the government is not expecting it, strikes will break out in Madrid as they did in Bilbao, in San Sebastian, in Vitoria, and in Pamplona, and that then the authorities will have to yield, as in Pamplona, and negotiate the release of those arrested. Last Tuesday in Madrid, Franco was forewarned and would have welcomed disturbances which gave him an excuse to fire on the strikers in the hope of terrifying all workers into subjection.

It would be an exaggeration to say that the police and the army are beginning to fail Franco. The police system was "perfected" as an instrument of repression during Heinrich Himmler's war-time visit to Madrid and still contains a number of Nazi Germans who were trained in the Gestapo. The army has been the dictator's favorite child during all these years of scarcity. The budgets of the Departments of Interior and War have been steadily increased, while the Departments of Education and Social Welfare have been starved. But both the police and the army consist largely of Spaniards whose families go hungry just like their neighbors. All reports from the north of Spain agree that during the recent strikes in that area the police showed considerably less than their former ardor for defending the regime. In the army generals have grown rich while lower officers have fared no better than the average citizen, that is, very badly. But the very generals who five or even two years ago could augment their pay through financial operations of doubtful legality now find that such opportunities have dried up in the general economic drought. At the same time they foresee the possibility that some day the present fascist regime will be overthrown, in which event they would not want to be listed among the "murderers of workers."

In fact, it is interesting to note that many people who used to support the Franco regime are now openly or secretly seeking the friendship of the opposition. Former friends of Franco are beginning to discover long-buried liberal sentiments, and good relations with "reds" are being cultivated as insurance against the future. During the recent strikes people hunted by the police found refuge with families who a year ago would have delivered them up to the authorities. Contacts are being sought even with Republicans in exile. This develop-

ment is highly significant, and is as prejudicial to Franco as a violent strike, for it is undermining the basis of his authority.

The men who are closest to Franco do not know how to advise him. When the strikes in northern Spain interrupted his fishing trip and caused him to return hastily to Madrid, his ministers were divided as to whether moderation or severity would be the best course. Finally it was decided to try the supposed leaders of the strikes in fifty courts-martial in different parts of Spain. I say the "supposed" leaders, for the lack of definite information made it necessary to arrest men almost at random. Secrecy is an important element in the action against Franco. As a rule a Spaniard can take a bad beating, have a few ribs broken, and suffer unmentionable brutalities without betraying a comrade. The role of informer is not a popular one in Spain. The authorities have made their arrests blindly, and my sources of news tell me that none of the really important directors of the strikes have fallen into their hands.

To the despair of the government a number of leaders of the Falangist unions have aided the protest movement. This has confused some foreign commentators and caused them to report that the strikes were organized by the Falange itself. While this is not true, it is a fact that the Falange is split. Various anti-Franco elements have joined it by the order of opposition organizations and are now contributing to the disruption of the whole fascist system.

The situation seems bound to develop fatally for the dictatorship unless it can be changed by massive American aid. Franco is therefore intensifying his efforts to persuade the United States to sign a bilateral pact if the objections of Great Britain and France delay the conclusion of a Mediterranean treaty. Official Madrid is also hopefully awaiting the new action promised by Senator McCarran in his much-discussed article in the *Saturday Evening Post*.

The United States can undoubtedly afford to throw away a few hundreds of millions in Spain. It may be willing to risk the profound resentment of the Spanish people while lacking any certainty that the money will buy effective military aid. But these dollars will not solve Franco's chief problem—the power and discipline which are growing in the camp of the opposition and declining in his.

Hitherto Franco's best argument, within Spain and in the Foreign Offices of other countries, for the indispensability of his regime has been that he represented order and stability as against the danger of a new civil war. Now the people of Spain are showing the world that they are capable of carrying out disciplined strikes and movements of protest while the Franco regime day by day reveals its incapacity to control the situation.

Japan's Peace Treaty

BY HESSELL TILTMAN

Tokyo, May 20

IN DRAWING up a Japanese treaty Washington's aim is twofold—to make Japan a strong, anti-Communist bastion in the western Pacific, and to provide it—by means of its own rearmament and the continued presence of American military forces in the Japanese islands—with the security which will enable it to resume its ordained role of the "workshop of Asia." The details of the American blueprint for peace which John Foster Dulles carried in his briefcase around the Pacific earlier this year are well known. Its key points are the restoration of Japan's full sovereignty, untrammeled by "control commissions," and recognition of the "inherent right" of the Japanese to rearm for self-defense.

Other matters have been largely decided by General MacArthur, who for three years has been steadily giving Japan back to the Japanese and "making peace in pieces." During MacArthur's last months in Tokyo the "gifts" bestowed upon the Japanese included permission to have a National Police Reserve of 75,000 men—since organized into divisions and regiments and officered, trained, and equipped on military lines; removal of all limits on textile production; removal of restrictions on hundreds of Japanese firms formerly under tight SCAP control because of pre-war or war-time Zaibatsu connections; the opening of United States ports to Japanese ships; restoration of Japanese control over immigration and customs; an increasing voice in the control of trade, police, communications, and banking; permission to send an unofficial Japanese delegation to the United Nations; the placing of United Nations nationals in Japan under the jurisdiction of Japanese police and courts; the exoneration of 13,000 Japanese barred from holding public office because of past militarist or ultra-nationalist associations; and high-level consultations in Tokyo with both purged and unpurged Japanese leaders on the peace treaty. Concerning this last concession the *Nippon Times*, leading Tokyo daily, said: "The Japanese people

HESSELL TILTMAN has been accredited to occupation headquarters in Tokyo for the past five years as Far Eastern correspondent for the London Daily Herald.

cannot but express their gratitude for this unprecedented opportunity to air their views."

The process of steady decontrol in advance of a treaty was carried a long step forward by Lieutenant General Matthew B. Ridgway when he authorized the Japanese government to "review existing ordinances issued in implementation of directives from this headquarters for the purpose of evolving through established procedures such modifications as past experience and present situation render necessary and desirable." This latest SCAP "gift" to the Japanese, in addition to foreshadowing the early "unpurging" of all but 93,000 former military and ultra-nationalist élite, was widely regarded by Japanese officialdom as intended to "cushion" the sudden leap from occupation to full sovereignty, and thus to lessen the danger of a sharp swing of the political pendulum back to the bad old days.

By this time, there is little that other Western powers can do except sign, or refuse to sign, the treaty so uniquely arrived at. And, I may add, little that Russia or Communist China can do.

Since General MacArthur first declared on March 17, 1947, that Japan was ripe for a treaty, "peace" has become a popular catchword in Japan, meaning more things than are dreamed of in Mr. Dulles' philosophy. To the ultra-conservative ruling class in Japan, peace means a speedy return to "normalcy," that is, to the authoritarian state—the adaptation of some of MacArthur's reforms and the repudiation of others, the emasculation of the Japanese trade-union movement, and the removal of the SCAP "brake" on repressive measures against all leftists, Communist or non-Communist. To Japanese industrialists, peace means more American aid and the meshing of the American and Japanese economies to the greater profit of Japanese business. It also means the preservation of the sacred right of access to unlimited cheap labor. To the Japanese Communists, "partial" peace offers the hope of hitting back without SCAP and American military police breathing on their necks. To every living son and daughter of the Yamato people, peace represents the restoration of Japan's self-respect—the end of an era of being ordered around in their own country by aliens and the return of an era in which Japanese issue the orders, as an ancient, proud, isolationist, suspicious, sensitive people should.

DEMOCRACY in Japan has been imposed and controlled from above. One SCAP official said: "The Japanese Diet had better pass democratic measures. If they don't, we will soon make them." The extent to which the Japanese have accepted democratic forms of life and government will not be known until they have had a chance to govern themselves.

The omens are not too favorable. Three years ago a Japanese Prime Minister, discussing the future of the reforms, said to me, "They are being implemented, but some will require to be revised and adapted to fit into our way of life." I was reminded of the Japanese general who in 1937 told me that the army was strongly in favor of parliamentary government, subject to the stipulation that all Diet members remembered that they had but one duty—to carry out the Emperor's wishes.

Even before the peace is signed, the Japanese trade-union movement (5,750,000 members) is under increasingly stringent control. Government workers—one-third of all Japanese organized labor—are barred from striking or collective bargaining. The government from time to time has banned labor demonstrations and meetings, and several of the top executives of Sohyo, the non-Communist General Council of Trade Unions, were arrested after workers clashed with the police in Tokyo on Constitution Day. The traditional May Day rally in the Imperial Palace Plaza was vetoed by the government. Repeal of the Labor Standards law, regulating wages, hours of work, and general conditions for workers, is being urged by industrialists. It is violated daily by employers in thousands of plants.

Even before the occupation ends, men whom it purged are coming back. The Osaka *Mainichi,* in an article on the changes that might be expected to follow General Ridgway's May 3 statement, said: "Just before or just after the conclusion of a peace treaty, persons in the categories other than "A" will be depurged, with the exception of 'extremists.' The government is now scrutinizing measures to turn existing purge regulations into domestic regulations in preparation for their abolition."

The Yoshida Cabinet is itching to suppress Japan's Communist Party, and Japanese police officials admit that after the Communists have been driven underground, the only way to keep track of their activities will be by reviving the secret police—which raises anew the specter of "thought control."

After General Ridgway's statement, the *Nippon Times* reported that "among the laws and ordinances to be reviewed by the government at the proposed extraordinary Diet session will be the Trade Association, Economic Deconcentration, Anti-Monopoly, and Labor Standards laws, laws concerning the administrative reform of the police, and the purge ordinances." Thus the SCAP reforms which hampered the Zaibatsu bid fair to be the first that will fall by the wayside! A professor of Tokyo University recently put it this way: "Democracy has not yet taken root in Japan. The Japanese people still need to be convinced that it will improve their lives." A government official made the shrewd comment: "So far as the reforms are concerned, we have taken a hundred steps forward. Maybe we shall now take fifty steps back. But it is unlikely that we shall retreat all the way." If it *is* unlikely, the reason is not that Japan's ruling class and

industrialists have gone all starry-eyed about the glories of *de-mok-rass-ie* but that they are well aware the eyes of the world will be upon them during the early years of peace. They can be relied upon to reverse just about all that can be reversed without an international outcry.

The peace treaty will not decide the fate of Japan's new liberties or the future pattern of its foreign trade, nor will it allay the ever-present "menace of numbers." Japan's pressing need to export in order to maintain its already low living standards has been aggravated by the virtual stoppage of its two-way trade with Communist China and Northeast Asia. Today Japan is politically within the American bloc but economically still an integral part of a disrupted Asia. Whether it can ever become self-supporting while isolated from its "natural markets" across the Yellow Sea and from nearby sources of Chinese coking coal and iron ore is questionable.

Spurred on by SCAP, the Japanese have attacked their trade problems with a vigor which has tended to rekindle old suspicions. In the third quarter of 1950 Japan's textile exports exceeded the quarterly average of 1937, when the industry had three times as many spindles as now. And independent experts have testified that there are today few "quality goods" which the Japanese cannot turn out as well as the West—and at lower prices.

Apprehensions in Britain and elsewhere about Japanese competition are heightened by the density of its population. Some 84,000,000 people are crowded into the four main islands—an area equal in size to Montana only 16 per cent of which is arable land—and the number is increasing at the rate of 1,750,000 a year, with no outlet in sight. The economic threat is enhanced by the political one. If the British Commonwealth nations sign the treaty, it will be with mental reservations. Australians still find it difficult to accept General MacArthur's vision of a Japan that has "undergone the greatest reformation recorded in modern history."

THE mere approach to a peace treaty has highlighted many problems. The most serious is the disagreement between Washington and London regarding the role of Communist China in Asia. Some British observers believe that Great Britain could hardly consent to sign the treaty unless Communist China were invited to participate, but it is surely inconceivable that the United States would accept as a signatory a China that is waging war on Americans. One perceptive Britisher raised the point: "Is it likely that the Commonwealth would risk disagreement with India merely to gain the doubtful loyalty of the Japanese?" China's pride is apt to be overlooked by those who are intent only on tying Japan more firmly to the American bloc. An informed official who recently left Peking stressed that the Chinese Communist leaders sincerely believe that the United States has aggressive intentions toward Manchuria. It is improbable, therefore, that they would sign any treaty embodying Mr. Dulles' ideas if they were asked.

Another difficulty is the insistence of the British that the many ambiguities and loopholes in the American draft of the treaty be cleared up; they demand for instance, that the Japanese be required to renounce the rights they hold under prior treaties—particularly the Congo Basin treaties, the Treaty of Versailles, and the Pact of Paris. And, finally, conclusion of a treaty between Japan and the United States will mean that the things which the Supreme Commander in Japan can now claim as a right must be negotiated for with a sovereign Japan—various possibilities being thus opened up for the skilful Japanese horse-traders. The Japanese may then raise bigger issues, such as the retention of American bases in Japan for the prosecution of the United Nations "police action" in Korea, and the even more delicate question of the eventual bombing of Manchuria from bases in a sovereign Japan.



Prime Minister Yoshida

Thus the coming treaty may make the whole Far Eastern situation more precarious and complex than ever. Given present tensions and confusions, however, it is doubtful whether anything would be gained by further delay. The indications are that the Western Allies will reach an agreement on fundamental principles. The rock on which the unanimity of the non-Communist members of the Far Eastern Commission may founder is that of the admission of Peking as a signatory.

Opinion in Japan has recently shifted toward bowing to the inevitable; recognizing that Russia will never sign a treaty acceptable to the United States, most people are prepared to settle for a separate peace. But no treaty which does not restore at least the Bonins, Ryukyus, and southern Kuriles to Japan will satisfy the nation. The Japanese press has been loudly claiming that Okinawa is an integral part of the homeland, on linguistic, ethnographical, and historical grounds, and publishing interviews with "authorities" to back up the contention. Unfortunately these islands also happen to be integral to the American strategic position in the western Pacific.

Intelligent Japanese, in the rare moments when they speak frankly, admit that so far as Japan's other lost territories are concerned, only Formosa and Manchuria really matter—Formosa as a storehouse of tropical products and Manchuria as a source of capital goods. They disclaim of course any intention of renewing ex-

pansionism; and certainly the Japanese people, who have learned at bitter cost what happens when a nation overreaches itself, would oppose any such policy. But in the back of many Japanese minds lurks the idea that someday, somehow. . . .

It is unlikely that the Japanese—not excluding the trade unionists still plugging for neutrality—will actively oppose the granting of military bases to the United States. They know that the day after a treaty is signed, their country will be both sovereign and naked.

Two predictions can be hazarded. The first is that despite some disappointment in Japan over the fact that the nation is not to be allowed to write its own peace ticket, the Japanese Diet will ratify a treaty which conforms to the Dulles outline. The second is that on the day after final ratification the eager beavers of Japan will begin working for the next objective on their master-list. The capacity to drive undeviatingly, regardless of setbacks and disappointments, toward the attainment of what they regard as their "manifest destiny" is a characteristic of the Yamato race which a dozen MacArthurs could not change.

The "Fair Trade" Wall Crumbles

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

THERE is an old story in San Francisco about the lazy man who casually leaned against the wall of a building just as the first temblors of the 1906 earthquake began to shake the city apart. Looking about in amazement at the falling bricks and cracking walls, he is supposed to have muttered, "Guess I didn't know my own strength."

In the first of these articles on "fair trade"—in the issue of May 19—I pointed out that convergent pressures had begun to undermine the fair-trade laws of forty-five states. Two days after the date of the issue, the Supreme Court, in a six-to-three decision, held that the crucial "non-signer" clause of a state act was invalid. Under most state acts, the price fixed in the agreement between a manufacturer and a single retailer for the fair-traded item is made binding on all retailers, including those not parties to the agreement; hence the "non-signer" clause is vital to effective enforcement.

The case decided on May 21 originated when a New Orleans supermarket refused to go along with the minimum resale prices set by two national whiskey distillers and sold their whiskeys at substantial reductions—the fair-trade prices having been established in agreements to which the supermarket was not a party. Justice Douglas, for the majority, pointed out that the Miller-Tydings act did not turn over the whole problem of price handling to the states but granted only a "limited immunity" from the anti-trust laws. Studying the legislative history of the act, he was unable to find "that the distributors were to have the right to use not only a contract to fix retail prices but a club as well."

Narrowly construed, the decision holds that the non-signer clause of state fair-trade laws is invalid as applied to interstate commerce. Presumably manufacturers can still protect prices on branded products by obtaining agreements from all dealers, but as one manufacturer pointed out, this might mean fifty thousand contracts instead of one contract in each of forty-five states. The effect of the decision, however, is not altogether clear. Liquor prices can probably be fixed by state legislation under the police power; fair-trade legislation is, after all, only one means of retail price maintenance. And the fair-trade lobby is almost certain to seek a broader immunity under the anti-trust laws.

Just what forces have been responsible for the revolt against fair trade which, bursting forth on many fronts since early 1949, has now made a major breach in the fair-trade wall? For a variety of reasons, fair trade has functioned more effectively in the drug business than in other lines, although cigars, electrical appliances, books, sporting goods, kitchenware, packaged liquor, jewelry, and many other items are widely "fair-traded." One of the difficulties with fair trade, as the retail druggists have discovered, is that it sometimes succeeds too well. Wide retail profit margins in the drug trade, for example, have encouraged "fence jumping," that is, the sale of drugstore items in other types of retail outlets. The outstanding development in the retail grocery business in California of recent years has been the expansion of supermarkets to sell drugs as well as groceries. Similarly some market specialists contend that the rapid growth in the number of discount houses in New York in the last few years is directly related to the level of the minimum resale prices maintained under various fair-trade agreements.

As profit margins widen, the number of retailers in a trade is likely to increase. Once this increase reaches a certain point, a clamor is almost certain to arise that the number of retail outlets should be arbitrarily limited—by special licensing enactments or similar measures. Where this has happened, as in the liquor industry in California, enormous political pressure is exerted in

connection with the scramble for licenses. Testimony before the Kefauver committee revealed that liquor licenses have been used in political pay-offs. Licenses obtained by favored individuals for wholly nominal fees have been immediately resold or transferred for sums as high as $10,000 and $12,000. And compulsory resale price maintenance plus limitation on outlets only steps up the demand for state liquor monopolies.

Another weakness of fair trade is that it can be effectively evaded by the development of "private brands." Certain department stores, for example, are said to offer as many as 1,400 items in this category. The practice doubtless accounts in part for the fact that not all manufacturers are enthusiastic about fair trade even in lines in which most items are normally fair-traded. At the same time the courts have begun to examine fair-trade acts from the point of view of sound public policy.

One of the opinions in a recent Florida case points out that the power to fix prices under fair-trade acts is vested in private persons; that no right to review the fairness of the price is provided for; and that no test or yardstick of fairness is defined. It has also been pointed out that the first fair-trade acts were upheld in the courts in an atmosphere of crisis and emergency which no longer exists. The inference, of course, is that today different conclusions might be reached.

THE proponents of fair trade seek to maintain a sharp distinction between voluntary and compulsory resale price maintenance; fair trade, they say, implies the former and not the latter. But the logic of fair trade seems to lead to compulsory resale price maintenance just as vertical price-fixing leads to horizontal price-fixing. Resale-price-maintenance contracts became mandatory in California for all distilled spirits in September, 1939, and in the following years in a number of other states. The liquor industry, of course, naturally lends itself to compulsory resale price maintenance since most states have a large force of inspectors who can check prices in retail stores. At present the liquor industry is seeking compulsory resale price maintenance in Colorado. The more the liquor industry agitates for compulsory legislation, the wider becomes the breach in the ranks of the fair-traders.

Critics of fair trade have pointed out that until quite recently fair-trade laws have been in force only during a period of steadily rising wages and that any recession in wages or decline in purchasing power would confront fair-trade retailers with "a much less placid situation." The transition from a seller's to a buyer's market could of course have the same result. This doubtless accounts for the fact that the first "cracks" in the fair-trade wall appeared in the early part of 1949 when business seemed to be entering that phase.

Violent disagreement exists over the effect of fair-trade legislation on retail prices. The weight of economic opinion, however, supports the contention that fair-trading raises prices to consumers; in fact, one expert contends that fair trade taxes American consumers one billion dollars a year. It is significant that both the Department of Justice and the Temporary National Economic Committee found the Miller-Tydings amendment inconsistent with the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. "I find it difficult to believe," writes Dr. Joseph M. Klamon of Washington University, "that the drug retail lobby in putting over the Miller-Tydings act and in establishing the sanctity of wider retailers' margins was only concerned with helping the consumer and the manufacturer. This involves spending a vast amount of money . . . in the interests of sheer altruism."

The Denver *Post* reported on March 3, 1951, that liquor prices were 29 per cent higher in Colorado than in St. Louis, after making allowance for differences in freight rates and excise taxes. In a similar survey the St. Louis *Star-Times* found, some time back, that fifty-four fair-traded drug items cost an average of 16.2 per cent more on the east bank of the Mississippi than on the St. Louis side. It is probably true, however, that the initial effect of minimum, and uniform, resale prices in the drug trade was to reduce the cost of certain exorbitantly priced proprietary medicines and other items. And the fair traders unquestionably have a point when they contend that fair-trade laws are only one means by which resale price maintenance can be achieved.

Nowadays most major interest groups combine in one way or another to obtain a larger share of the nation's income—through political action, collective bargaining, mergers, or price-fixing agreements—but the independent retailers are exposed to greater counteracting pressures than most groups. Against the competition of manufacturers, powerful low-price, big-volume merchandisers, the more or less illicit "pineboard" price-cutters (in the drug business), and the discount houses (two flights up and turn to the left), the independent retailer finds it difficult to survive. Naturally he does not like to be listed as expendable in terms of "the larger social efficiency" or similar slogans. Both Holmes and Brandeis reflected the typical liberal concern with price-cutting as a weapon of monopoly in distribution. But while one may sympathize with the independent retailer and admire his political ingenuity, mass-production has its own logic.

This logic demands increased production at progressively lower prices. It is a harsh logic, for some, but difficult to avoid. Apart from the Supreme Court's decision, the fair-trade wall was crumbling, and enforcement could not have been maintained much longer. The court did not breach the wall; its decision merely announced the fact that it had been breached.

[*This is the last of two articles on fair trade.*]

The Story of Stuyvesant Town

BY JOSEPH B. ROBISON

IN 1943 New York City and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company announced plans for the construction of a mammoth housing development in a slum area in Manhattan, to be built under the provisions of New York State's Redevelopment Companies law. The project, designed for some 25,000 inhabitants, was to be owned and operated by Metropolitan, but the city was to use its power of eminent domain to condemn and thus force the sale of the land in the proposed site, bounded by Fourteenth Street, First Avenue, Twentieth Street, Avenue C, and the East River Drive. The city was also to grant exemption from taxes on the improved value of the land; that is, taxes would be paid only on the value of the site at the time of condemnation. Finally, the city was to convey without charge certain land which it owned in the form of streets.

The purpose of this grant of assistance from the city was to provide moderate-rent housing. The tax exemption in particular made it possible to rent the planned 8,500 apartments at lower rates than could be charged in ordinary privately owned apartment houses. Accordingly, the agreement between the city and the Metropolitan Life provided that the company was to receive only a limited return on its investment. It also fixed the average rental per room at $14 and provided that any increase required by rising costs would have to be approved by the city.

It soon became apparent, however, that the benefits thus assured would not be open to all qualified city residents. In May, 1943, Frederick H. Ecker, chairman of the board of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, held a conference with a special committee representing the Citizens' Housing Council of New York for the purpose of discussing some of the objections which had already been made about the Stuyvesant Town plan from the "planning" point of view. Someone happened to point out that no provision had been made for construction of a public school. Mr. Ecker explained that schools were omitted because if there were a public school in the project the city would allow some children, including Negroes, to attend from outside the area. About a week later a public hearing was held before the City Planning Commission which was considering the proposed contract. A reporter from the New York *Post* approached Mr. Ecker on this occasion and asked him whether Negroes would be admitted to Stuyvesant Town. Mr. Ecker said that they would not be; in his opinion, "Negroes and whites don't mix." By the time the contract came before the Board of Estimate for final approval on June 3, the fact, thus casually disclosed, that Metropolitan intended to make Stuyvesant Town a lily-white community in the heart of the city had become a newspaper sensation.

At the hearing twenty organizations called for rejection of the contract, all but six because of the discrimination issue. Nevertheless, the contract was approved by a vote of eleven to five, largely because Mr. Ecker and Metropolitan's chief defender, Robert Moses, were wise enough not to state flatly that Negroes would be excluded. They insisted rather that Metropolitan had not yet established its tenant-selection policy, that it would not do so until it was ready to start renting apartments, and that all earlier statements were unofficial. Had Metropolitan admitted its intention to discriminate, the contract would probably have been turned down. Four of the eleven affirmative votes were explained on the ground that it was impossible to believe there would be any discrimination.

By a similar maneuver Metropolitan was able to defeat a taxpayer's lawsuit which was promptly started to prevent the city from going ahead with the contract. The suit was dismissed by the courts as "premature," since there was as yet no tenant-selection policy and hence no actual discrimination. Accordingly, the city and Metropolitan were able to proceed with condemnation of the land and erection of the buildings. In the spring of 1947 Metropolitan was ready to start renting and to make its policy of exclusion explicit.

The first skirmish in the renewed battle took place before the Board of Estimate, to which Metropolitan had applied for an increase in rents because of increased costs, as the contract allowed. A large number of organizations appeared at the hearing held in May to urge that the increase be denied unless Metropolitan agreed not to discriminate against Negroes. The Board of Estimate rejected that proposal and approved the increase on June 12, 1947.

On June 25 another effort was made to obtain from the courts a determination whether the United States or the New York State constitution forbade racial discrimination in this quasi-public housing project. The legal question was relatively simple. The constitutions unquestionably prohibit discrimination in public-housing

---

JOSEPH B. ROBISON, a member of the New York and United States Supreme Court bars, is senior staff member of the Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress.

projects—that is, in projects owned and operated by a governmental body. It is equally clear that they do not prohibit discrimination in housing built and operated by private citizens or corporations without governmental assistance. Stuyvesant Town fell between these two extremes, and the question was which principle applied.

THE complainants argued that the Stuyvesant Town contract must be viewed as an effort by the state to make moderate-rent apartments available to its citizens. It had done so by entering into a contract with Metropolitan. The apartments could not have been built or rented at a moderate rate if the state and city had not acted as they did. Therefore, it was urged, the benefits must be viewed as deriving from the state and city, and benefits so derived may not be dispensed on the basis of race. It was certainly plain that Stuyvesant Town could not have assumed its present form if the state and city had not acted. Not even Metropolitan could have put together a tract of eighteen blocks in the middle of Manhattan by ordinary purchase. Moreover, the tax exemption made it possible to rent the apartments at much less than Negroes and others would have had to pay for similar accommodations elsewhere.

On the other hand, Metropolitan was able to show that the argument outlined above might well go too far. Federal and state governments grant aid to private citizens in many forms. Where should the line be drawn?

The lawsuit was brought by three Negro war veterans who had applied unsuccessfully for apartments in Stuyvesant Town and by Shad Polier, a vice-president of the American Jewish Congress, suing as a taxpayer. It was sponsored by the American Jewish Congress, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the American Civil Liberties Union. It was dismissed by the New York State trial court where it was filed, and the dismissal was affirmed by an intermediate appellate court. A further appeal came before the highest court of New York State in the spring of 1949. On July 19, 1949, that court announced its four-to-three decision upholding Metropolitan's position.

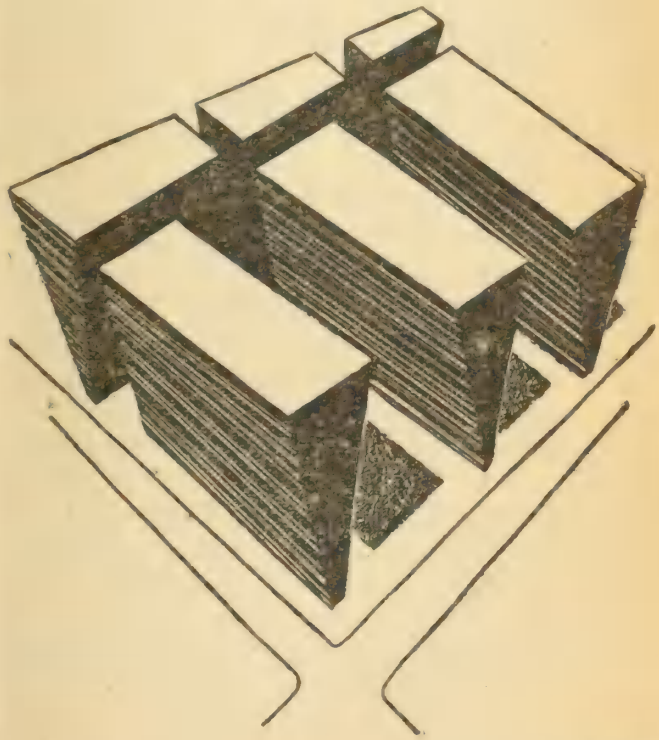
The complainants then asked the United States Supreme Court to review and reverse the New York court's decision. Although their petition was filed in October, the Supreme Court withheld action until June 5, 1950, the day on which it issued its excellent decisions condemning segregation in the Texas Law School, Oklahoma University, and Southern Railroad Dining Car cases. It chose that day to announce its refusal, with two justices dissenting, to review the Stuyvesant Town case.

The next step in the struggle was one which had been plainly indicated by the New York court. In holding that the constitution did not prohibit discrimination at Stuyvesant Town, the court had pointed out that this was an area in which discrimination could be forbidden by legislation. Even before the Supreme Court ruling, both the state and city had enacted laws prohibiting discrimination in *future* publicly assisted housing projects. This had effectively prevented repetition in New York of the tragic error at Stuyvesant Town. When the Supreme Court put an end to the court proceeding against Metropolitan, it became clear that the time had come to ask for legislation applying also to *existing* housing.

The campaigns for much of the previous legislation had been led by the New York State Committee on Discrimination in Housing, a coordinating agency formed by a large number of civic organizations. That committee now conducted the campaign for the new bill, which was introduced in the City Council by Councilmen Earl Brown and Stanley M. Isaacs on June 20, 1950, fifteen days after the Supreme Court issued its ruling.

At that point the waters were again muddied by a maneuver on the part of Metropolitan. The sponsors were persuaded to allow the bill to die when Mayor O'Dwyer announced that he had arranged to have the company meet with a committee which he would appoint in an effort to arrive at a satisfactory agreement. Shortly afterward Metropolitan announced that it had admitted a few Negro families to Stuyvesant Town but that it had not changed its view as to its absolute right to select tenants as it saw fit.

Mayor O'Dwyer never appointed his committee, despite repeated urgings. Nevertheless, the sponsors of the bill withheld action until O'Dwyer surrendered the mayoralty in September to become ambassador to Mexico. Then, believing that the admission of three Negro families to Stuyvesant Town failed to change its



Seligson

character as a symbol of segregation, they reintroduced their bill.

The rest of the story is soon told. Metropolitan made half-hearted attempts to block the bill, and several New York newspapers issued editorial blasts labeling it "communistic." The charge fell absolutely flat, as few such charges have in recent years. The bill was approved unanimously by the City Council and with only one dissenting vote by the Board of Estimate. It became law on March 14, when it was signed by Mayor Impellitteri. The Mayor used the pen of the late Dr. Stephen S. Wise, who had been president of the American Jewish Congress when the long court fight was started.

At present it is not known whether Metropolitan will yield gracefully to the Brown-Isaacs ordinance or contest its validity in the courts. Hence the fight cannot be regarded as won. But it seems probable that the overwhelming public opinion which has been built up on this issue will be strong enough to prevent any last-minute frustration. Stuyvesant Town has taken on nation-wide significance. It has been the standard argument used all over the country by those who have fought, frequently with success, for state and city legislation barring similiar mistakes. It is unlikely that in New York City, of all places, it will be allowed to continue as the outstanding example of how redevelopment housing should not be handled.

It is important to remember that the popular outcry against Stuyvesant Town was built up around a vigorous effort to invoke the sanctions of law against Metropolitan's misuse of its position. Neither private pressure on the company nor generalized appeals to good-will and brotherhood had or could have had any effect.

The lawsuit described above was brought not only against Metropolitan but also against the city because of its participation in the contract under which Stuyvesant Town was built. The city, through its attorneys, appeared in court and actively defended Metropolitan's right to discriminate. On the same day that its legal branch was taking that action the city's subway system was carrying "good-will" advertisements, signed by Mayor O'Dwyer, saying that "restricted" was "an un-American word" and condemning landlords who refused to lease apartments to anyone not of their own race or religion.

German Labor Wins a Round

BY CAROLUS

Bonn, May 18

AFTER Germany's unconditional surrender in May, 1945, the German people crept out from the shelters and cellars where they had hidden during the terrible months of the Allied bombing raids. Starving, in rags, without a roof over their heads, they streamed toward their old places of employment. Most of them found only a heap of rubble. The machinery was a mass of twisted iron; foremen, engineers, owners had disappeared, expecting, as active or passive Nazis, to be shot or imprisoned by the Allied soldiers. The German workers, thus abandoned, saw that if they and their families were to live they must rebuild the factories and start the wheels turning. With a crust of bread to sustain them, they set to work, these men of fifty and sixty. Of the younger generation from three to four million had been buried where they fell; the survivors were in prisoner-of-war camps.

The men who had been kept at their jobs to turn out the sinews of war searched among the wreckage, collected the bits and pieces, and put together the machines. Parts were exchanged between plants. The currency was worthless, but reconstructed machines and tools could be bartered for coal and raw materials. With the glass, housewares, and clothing thus produced, bread, fat, and potatoes could be obtained from the peasants. There was no longer a middle class, for there was no economic basis for its existence.

If it had not been contrary to the policy of the occupying powers, the long-oppressed and deceived workers, their eyes now finally opened, would have made a clean sweep of the Nazi criminals and profiteers and of the bourgeois dominance which had brought Hitler to power and had two world wars, two catastrophic defeats, and the ruin of Europe on its conscience. A different Germany would have arisen from the Germany of 1951. In the Germany of today, it is true, the index of production has been raised with the help of the Marshall Plan to 130 from the 100 of 1936, but the industrialists are again in the saddle and they have learned nothing and forgotten everything.

As exploitation and profiteering have been revived in this Germany of 1951, so have nationalism and neo-fascism, until conditions can well be compared to those of 1930, and even the Adenauer government is beginning to be worried. Being completely dependent on America for credits, foodstuffs, and raw materials, West Germany has been helpless before Washington's insistence on unrestricted "free enterprise," and in con-

CAROLUS is the pseudonym of The Nation's *correspondent in West Germany.*

sequence the budget deficit and foreign debts are mountain-high. In February the supply of flour gave out, and in June there will be no more margarine unless the powers which are pressing for German remilitarization as a weapon in the cold-warm war between East and West hesitate to let the German masses starve.

The way this free enterprise works, the effect of the present relationship between wages and prices, capital and labor, on the lives of the people in the Federal Republic, is indicated by statistics compiled by the German Trade Union Federation. In May, 1950—that is, before Korea—7.6 per cent of the bread-winners of West Germany received more than 550 marks a month; 6.4 per cent between 400 and 550 marks; 22.1 per cent between 251 and 400 marks; 36.8 per cent between 101 and 250 marks; 27.1 per cent—principally pensioners, disabled soldiers, disabled workers, war widows, and the like—less than 100 marks, which means less than $25 a month according to the official rate of exchange. Since the outbreak of the Korean war and the consequent rise in prices, the standard of living has fallen at least 25 per cent. Wages and salaries in industry have risen 130 per cent since 1936—but gross earnings have risen 330 per cent.

Because there is no planned investment policy in the Federal Republic billions of marks have gone into luxury buildings and luxury industries, which bring a high return, while the hordes of refugees and bombed-out people have to depend on charity for a place to live and for indispensable household articles. In the coal mines the machinery and equipment are so old and worn-out that output has been restored to only 85 per cent of the 1936 level; people refuse to invest their capital in an industry whose earnings are controlled.

THESE deplorable economic and social conditions lend tremendous importance to the law passed by the Bonn Parliament on April 11 granting labor an equal voice with management in the direction of industry. What does this famous *Mitbestimmungsrecht* amount to? And what will it accomplish?

On January of this year the German Trade Union Federation made labor participation in the direction of the coal and iron industries its chief objective. This decision was announced by the seventy-five-year-old chairman of the federation, Hans Böckler, one of the truly great figures of the German labor movement. A workman and union officer from early youth, Böckler had been mercilessly persecuted by the Nazis but had managed to find concealment and earn his bread as a woodchopper. In 1945 his character and experience made him the predestined leader of the newly created united labor organization, which now has five million members. Böckler knew that political democracy was worth nothing to the masses unless it was based on economic and social equality. In 1918, after the catastrophe of the First World War, the subjects of the Prussian militarists became nominally free and independent citizens, but their hereditary masters were simply replaced by the more powerful industrial and banking magnates. The Kaiser was gone, but his generals remained to carry out the wishes of their economic overlords. The situation culminated in the Nazi regime and the Second World War.

The lesson of this for Böckler and the German unions was that they must fight for equal rights with the owners in the control of industry. At the beginning of this year the increasing impoverishment of the workers and the mounting social tension made the time ripe for action. The unions threatened the government with a strike in the Ruhr and if necessary a general strike unless legislation was introduced granting their demands. They knew that merely winning higher wage rates would be a hollow victory. Prices would promptly be raised twice as much, and more would be lost than was gained. The only solution was to obtain joint control of the production process.

The employers and the government capitulated before the threat of a general strike, and the government introduced in Parliament a law establishing "co-determination" in the coal and iron industry. Böckler was exhausted by the struggle and succumbed to a heart attack. On his death all the flags in the republic were lowered to half-mast, but he was no sooner in his grave than the industrialists and the government parties rallied to defeat his cherished law. "It's the rule of the rabble," they shouted; "threats of violence have been used to influence Parliament." Only the Social Democratic opposition supported the workers.

The struggle between the unions and the manufacturers' associations, between the Social Democrats and the government parties, continued till April 11. Dr. Adenauer, to his great honor, faithfully stood by his law, although two-thirds of his coalition deserted him. But after the death of Böckler, the unions lost their élan. The strike threat was not repeated, although 95 per cent of the membership voted to continue the fight. Around the conference table and in the parliamentary committees valuable sections were deleted from the law. All available artillery was brought up against it, not least some which the plant owners borrowed from abroad. The French High Commissioner, François-Poncet, in the name of his government, or rather of French heavy industry, demanded protection for "foreign investments" in German heavy industry. The Benelux countries officially presented similar *démarches*. A few days before the law was to be voted on in Parliament, two Americans interested in the future of the firms affected—Eldridge Haynes, president and publisher of *Modern Industry* (New York), and Alvah B. Wheeler, executive vice-president of *Magazines of Industry*—were appealed

to for help by the German owners. At a press conference in Bonn these men declared, as Gordon H. Michler, head of the German division of the United States Foreign Trade Council, had done earlier, that if the law was passed American capital would be withdrawn from German industry.

The following statement had already appeared in the March 15 issue of *Modern Industry:*

> International-minded American business leaders, perhaps too late, are realizing what this [co-determination] would mean to the entire structure of West Germany and perhaps West Europe. Several outfits, principally the N. A. M., are beginning to protest out loud.
>
> One of the most vocal opponents within Germany of the co-determination plan is Dr. Hans Mühlenfeld, Bundestag leader of the right-wing Deutsche Partei. Interviewed by *Modern Industry* last month, Dr. Mühlenfeld is pessimistic about halting, or even deferring, co-determination unless the Allied Military Government orders a halt to the legislation on the ground that it violates democratic principles.
>
> This, Military Government could do easily enough if it weren't for the British. Undoubtedly the British Labor Party is in favor of co-determination in Germany. In fact, it was in the British zone that the labor-management trustee setup for the Ruhr industries was born shortly after the war's end.

Fortunately, the Military Government did nothing to halt Parliamentary action, and at midnight on April 11, after a dramatic debate, the law was put to a vote. The government coalition fell apart over the issue, but the Chancellor's own party, the Christian Democratic Union, with the help of the Social Democratic opposition, was able to muster a majority. The firm stand taken by Dr. Adenauer was probably not entirely disinterested, since a large proportion of the C. D. U. voters are Catholic trade-unionists in the Ruhr and the Rhineland. Most of the deputies representing middle-class interests voted against the law. Dr. Dehler, Minister of Justice in Adenauer's Cabinet, went so far as to say in a public address that the leaders of the unions and of the Social Democratic Party ought to be sent to prison for using the threat of force to get a law through Parliament.

The hysteria of the magnates and their henchmen is understandable. The law that the organized workers succeeded in passing is by no means revolutionary, but it does establish the principle that capital and labor shall share equally in the direction of industry. It is the first step in an evolution that can end, just as *Modern Industry* feared, in changes in the entire economic structure of West Germany and Western Europe. And these economic changes will have equally far-reaching political consequences. Labor's right to participate in the control of industry will be the lever by which greater things will be accomplished.

THE kernel of the new law is contained in its introductory words: "The workers shall have equal representation on boards of directors and on the bodies named to implement the board's decisions." This will work out in practice as follows: Every coal company and steel plant employing more than a thousand persons will have a ten-man board of directors, five chosen by the workers, five by the stockholders. One of the five workers' representatives must be a union officer. The whole board will choose a chairman—the famous eleventh man; if it is unable to agree, the chairman will be appointed by a federal court. The board of directors will then appoint a works superintendent whose job will be to oversee working conditions, sanitary installations, safety provisions, etc. The whole mining and steel industry will be supervised by a senate which will concern itself with wage disputes, rationalization measures, output, production techniques, and such large problems. The six members of this Senate must be experienced industrial leaders and union officials over fifty years old.

According to Georg Reuter, the present acting chairman of the Trade Union Federation, the effect of the new law should be increased production, a higher standard of living, elimination of the danger of war and of recurring economic crises. "Peace and full employment, stabilization of the economy, and security for labor" were the purposes announced when the workers were summoned to fight for the *Gleichbestimmungsrecht* in May, 1950. But the Parliamentary debate made it clear that the right of joint control and the economic democracy which will come with it are first steps toward democratic socialism.

A good deal of water will have run under the bridges of the Rhine before complete equality between capital and labor is achieved. The employers will try to control the boards of directors by dictating the choice of the eleventh man and by corrupting the workers' representatives. Before the new law was passed, they succeeded in altering the text so that it applies only to enterprises with more than a thousand workers instead of the three hundred originally agreed on by Böckler and Adenauer. However, it is the huge industrial plants which determine economic and social conditions in the West German state. The unions have already demanded that the law be extended to cover all industry, the railroads, and the postal service. That will come in time.

Now that the principle of joint control has been established, limits can be set to the operation of that free enterprise which in West Germany has meant ruthless exploitation and anarchic labor relations. And if labor understands how to guard and strengthen its newly won privileges it will be able not only to modify the system of private capitalism but to build a firm dam against the even more brutal and rapacious system of Soviet state capitalism.

Essays and Asides

THE SECRET LIFE OF EDWARD WINDSOR

BY F. W. DUPEE

WITH their famous subject, the Duke of Windsor's memoirs, "A King's Story" (Putnam's, $5), are inevitably absorbing. They are dense in detail, painstaking in their reconstruction of the past, often charming and witty, and as consistently honest as they could be, considering their rather too obvious intent of pleasing rather too many people.

To my mind they are also intensely sad, for their author is no free spirit despite his spectacular renunciation of public office. He professes to "draw comfort" from his marriage; at the same time he laments what that marriage entailed—"the sacrifice of my cherished British heritage along with all the years in its service." This balance of profit and loss he calls his "fate," describing himself as a "fatalist" by conviction. But surely it is a peculiar kind of fatalist who continues to argue with his fate as the Duke does here; and one recalls the cruelly perspicacious poem D. H. Lawrence once wrote about him in the years when, as Prince of Wales, he was busily touring the empire and attending barbaric native ceremonies in his honor. What would the jungle men and the elephants think, Lawrence asked, "if they knew that his motto was *Ich dien?* And that he meant it."

Ich dien means "I serve," and the author of "A King's Story" *still* serves —serves his memories of past misfortunes, his hopes of future vindication. In no sense a fairy story, his book in a political sense is not a "story" at all but an unremitting defense of his life and work, indirectly an appeal for justice from the British people, perhaps a plea for reinstatement in some capacity among them. The Duke points to his long years of hard work as Prince of Wales; he makes clear how constraining is the monarch's position in a constitutional democracy. He argues that in abdicating he acceded, not necessarily to the wishes of the people but merely to the demands of the Baldwin circle.

Such is the Duke's defense, and to this reviewer it is not very convincing. Whether as morganatic wife or as queen, Mrs. Simpson would pretty clearly have represented an absurd challenge to protocol and tradition, an affront to the dominions, the risk of annexing the monarchy to café society. And what would the situation be today if, besides having to acknowledge American supremacy in arms and money, Britons had also to live with the thought of an American woman in Buckingham Palace or in some adjacent hideaway? Better the Waldorf Towers! Better for the monarchy and the British people. Better for the Duke himself, if one may be so graceless as to tell a man his interests and interpret his story in a fashion contrary to his designs.

For although the Duke is ostensibly respectful toward the monarchy, he actually makes out a pretty bad case for it considered as something for a man to live with, especially a man of the Duke's English generation, for which a split notoriously developed between the claims of the public life and the claims of the private life. "Politics is the profession of the second-rate," Charles Whibley once wrote; Lytton Strachey resolved ancestral heroes into their idiosyncrasies as men and women; and only the other day E. M. Forster remarked that "greatness is a nineteenth-century perquisite." Clearly the Duke was once under the same spell as these typical English writers of his time. It is here that his "story" comes in and that it is seen to have the dignity of vivid truth, the fascination of being representative. For all the unique eminence of its hero, its theme is the now familiar one of spiritual dispossession. In writing his memoirs the Duke has realized his old aim of becoming one of us.

The Duke's father, George V, was a conscientious king, an exacting parent, and a profoundly simple man. He combined the monarchic with the domestic virtues of everyone's satisfaction; and he thus made very much his own a position which is at once supremely magnificent in name and utterly powerless in fact. At worst there was, from the son's viewpoint, a failure of warmth on the father's part, a necessary sacrifice of family feeling to the observance of court routine and the ritual slaughter of animals in the hunt (Edward was to prefer golfing and riding to hunting). Upon this situation, not especially threatening in itself, alleviated for the Prince by his mother's unfailing tenderness, burst the war of 1914 with its terrible consequences for the stability of English society, for the youth of Edward's generation, for monarchism throughout Europe, for the prestige of authority everywhere. Yearning to share the dangers of war with his contemporaries, Edward was obliged to observe them from a fairly safe distance. His sense of guilt on this score was unreasonable—no one seems to have expected him to fight—but it was nevertheless acute, and it made him tend to blame the monarchical system.

In the years that followed he could at least make up for his deficiencies, partly by sharing the frank pleasures and new freedoms of what was left of his generation, partly by pursuing conscientiously his prince's career. Now, in retrospect, he concedes scarcely more than Lawrence did to the amiable legend of him as the wild prince of the twenties. Instead, he recalls mainly his princely ordeals. The din of interminable parades and speeches still sounds on his page. One feels the horror entailed in the daily exposure of himself to vast crowds in which the mania to touch his person was intense and the risk of panic and death, including his own death, was always imminent. One experiences the vanity and folly of local officials, the oppressive smugness of a Stanley Baldwin who, though invariably

"correct," seems to have been intent on imposing himself, whether by treating his prince to long monologues or by obliging him to listen to the endless cracking of the ministerial fingers. Among the portraits of his former "subjects," as distinguished from those of his family, that of Baldwin is the most elaborate in the Duke's memoirs, where it serves the symbolic purpose of showing that the subject is in fact the predicate. Evidently Edward could not say, like his great-grandmother, "I am not amused."

Whether as prince or king, he is the captive of his position. The monarchy is a symbol of the past glories of absolutism; it can also serve as a reminder of the fact that absolutism was vanquished by the people. So long as he accepts his present state the royal personage is like a god; once he oversteps, "mixes in politics" even to the extent of saying "something must be done" to a group of unemployed miners, he is like Bajazeth in the cage provided for him by the conquering Tamburlane.

The Duke's response to this situation appears in the little things he remembers as well as in the broad outlines of his career. Images of oppression and disintegration are congenial to his mind. He recalls the suffocating smell of mothballs in the robes of state, the distress of the musicians shut up in an airless hole at Windsor Castle, the jeweled cross that got dislodged from the royal crown and fell to the street during his father's funeral procession. Where the rest of us dream of glory, Edward dreamed of the commonplace. He dwells happily on those remembered moments when he or others—for he is constantly aware of others—asserted themselves, possessed themselves of something. He remembers the time when his grandmother, Queen Alexandra, escaped her retinue and motored to Sandringham alone. He remembers how Henry Hansell, the tutor of the royal children, used to withdraw briefly every morning and stand alone on a low hill in the Sandringham grounds. For all its precious porcelains and Leonardo drawings, what he recalls most pleasantly about the Windsor Castle of his childhood is the launch which his parents acquired, like any bourgeois family of those years, and in which they went for excursions on the Thames. His father he pictures as sitting, at the point of death, wrapped in an old worn dressing-gown that someone had given him. His mother—who is here not at all the formidable Queen Mary of legend—is exclusively associated with the intimate and the domestic, now presiding in the nursery at the bedtime hour, now taking inventory of the family properties at Windsor.

In the thirties, as the empire tours fall off, the Prince takes to remodeling for himself a half-abandoned residence ("The Fort") on the Windsor grounds —like so many others in those years, he "fixes up an old house" in token of a desire to settle down. And presently there is Mrs. Simpson, whom he appreciates for "her American charm and energy" and because, like a Henry James heroine, she talks back to him. Ironically, he begins by admiring the gay cultivated life she *shares with Simpson* in their London flat, where the company, the conversation, and the cooking are of the best. And in possessing himself of her, does he not make the act doubly meaningful by taking her from another? Finally the abdication and the famous radio address. He is able at last to speak as an individual and in his own idiom; and he reprints the speech entire in his memoirs, noting that, save for two interpolations suggested by Churchill, it was entirely his work. "And now we all have a new King!"

The Duke's account of the abdication crisis is likely to become classic in the literature of memoirs. No master plotter among novelists, not even Henry James, could have invented a richer "situation" than the one that develops at this point. There is enmity without and treachery within; good motives are abundant on all sides; everyone is tested to the full; and the action never flags, for no sooner has Edward decided to abdicate than a King's party materializes, led by Churchill and Beaverbrook in an adventuristic mood, and he is tempted to resist. Meanwhile Mrs. Simpson is throughout the story not actually divorced but only in the process of divorce; if she wished it herself or should be persuaded to it by others, she could at any moment halt the divorce proceedings and so relieve the crisis, at least momentarily. Finally, on the part of the main protagonist, there is the compulsive innocence without which the plot would have been impossible in the first place. "I wish," Mrs. Simpson said to the King toward the end, "that I had had a clearer understanding of the constitutional questions." "I must take the blame for that," the King replied, "I thought it could be managed."

Only in the aftermath of the story does one feel a lack of the inevitability proper to good fiction. As one reads between the lines, takes note of the agonies of self-justification, feels the nostalgia for England and "The Fort," guesses how much England's recent grandeurs and miseries must have added to its stature in the Duke's eyes (as in everyone else's), one cannot but see that another ending was possible. This was a renunciation in reverse of the one actually effected by Edward, a forfeiture of private happiness, a sacrifice by which he might have secured his personal hold on the throne, made it emotionally his own, and then confirmed the transaction in the course of the common sufferings of himself and his subjects in war time. But to point this out is worse than graceless, it is unrealistic; for the hero of "A King's Story" is no Henry James hero after all and his story is not a novel. It is an instance, perhaps, of what James used to call "life at its stupid work," and as such it is not without pathos and beauty.

The First Freedom

THE BATTLE AGAINST DISLOYALTY. By Nathaniel Weyl. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. $3.75.

UNHAPPILY, the word "disloyalty" covers a multitude of sins—and other things. That is especially so in the popular use of the term today. At one end of the scale it is applied to proved war-time espionage against the government. At the other end it is applied to the proposed filming of "Hiawatha"—because he sought peace among the Indian tribes!

The present reviewer belongs to that large group of citizens who have always understood that treason and revolution are real and hateful facts, in the present as well as in the past; and who believe that our government, with the active support of its citizens, should do its best to prevent or punish treasonable and revolutionary acts. He also belongs to

another group—somewhat smaller, but almost entirely composed of members of the larger group—who know that the attempt to prevent or punish treasonable and revolutionary acts frequently expands into an indiscriminate threat to civil liberties; and who believe that the maintenance of those civil liberties demands active allegiance, even in times of crisis.

We want national security and public order, on the one hand; and we want a free people, on the other hand. We cannot be completely satisfied on either hand. All we can do is try to find the best possible combination, in each set of circumstances.

In that search we must progressively learn to distinguish the various kinds of "disloyalty" and to analyze the various methods which have been used—or are proposed—for dealing with them. For that task Nathaniel Weyl's new book—taking it all in all—seems to this reviewer to add greatly to the sorely needed resources of historical perspective, detailed information, and balanced judgment.

As a background for his consideration of the methods employed in this country to deal with the Nazi and Communist dangers of the last thirty years, Mr. Weyl devotes a hundred fascinating pages to a résumé of what was done between the birth of the nation in 1775 and its coming of age in 1920. He naturally and rightly devotes considerably more of his attention to treason than to revolution, and he gives us a preponderantly clean bill of health with regard to our observance of the "rule of liberty and of law" during those years when we were growing up.

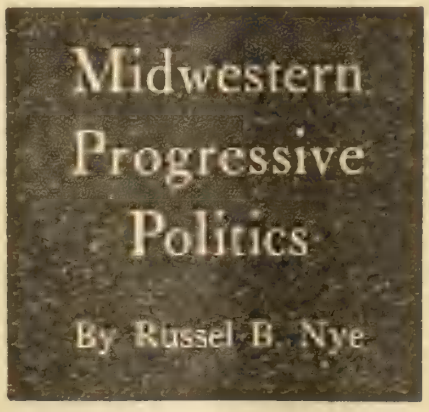
Throughout most of American history the temper of the people has been to distrust law-enforcement agencies, to confine the power of the state to a bare minimum, and to prefer even revolution to anything smacking of despotism. It was only when the United States plunged into the maelstrom of European conflicts and found itself facing conspiratorial organizations, which were in essence mere forward columns of a foreign enemy, that the need for a complex federal organization to investigate, expose, and secure the punishment of disloyalty became evident.

In dealing with the current Communist danger Weyl emphasizes the criminal problem highlighted by the recent espionage cases. His treatment of this problem and the methods employed to deal with it is a lucid and devastating reply to the argument that domestic Communists constitute no threat to our internal security and a reassuring summary of the counter-measures which are effectively administered by the FBI and other law-enforcement agencies within a comprehensive structure of criminal law—developed throughout our history and continuing to develop today.

When Weyl turns to the ideological and propaganda problem, though he remains objective and temperate and reasoned, he is much less exhaustive in analysis, and much less anxious about the curtailment of civil liberties than this reviewer would like him to be. For example, he feels that the House Un-American Activities Committee was saved from the forces of bigotry and irresponsibility by the efforts of Mundt and Nixon and its present chairman Wood, and that it rendered immense service in making the nation at large aware of the conspiratorial character of the Communist movement. A vigorous demurrer can be entered, in these terms: The discoveries which the committee has made are insignificant when compared with the expert and relatively quiet work of the FBI and other law-enforcement agencies in ferreting out present and continuing treason of a deadly character. And the cost exacted by the committee's inroads on the most fundamental freedom of all—the freedom of expression enshrined in the First Amendment—is incalculably large, much larger than a free people can afford to pay.

Again, for example, Weyl draws an analogy between the requirement of the Internal Security (McCarran) Act of 1950 that Communist and Communist-front groups label their publications as coming from such groups and the requirement of other laws that food ingredients be listed and financial information be disclosed by corporations for the protection of investors. Such an analogy seems to obscure a vital distinc-

Donnelly
Bryan
Altgeld



Coxey
Norris
La Follette

The Grangers and Greenbackers, Ignatius Donnelly and Sockless Jerry Simpson, William Jennings Bryan and Fighting Bob La Follette, Woodrow Wilson and F.D.R.—all take their places in this panoramic view of the progressive spirit in American history. Comparing the political philosophies of Theodore Roosevelt and of La Follette and his colleagues, the author shows the distinctions between the Eastern variety of progressivism and its Midwestern counterpart, which, for all of the limitations as well as strength of an essentially regional movement, he regards as an expression of the American tradition of unrest and protest against social, economic, or political injustice.

MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE PRESS

East Lansing, Michigan

416 pages $5.00

tion: the dissemination of *ideas*—even those regarded as stupid or pernicious by the great majority of us—has always, in the American tradition, been accorded more freedom than that granted to any other activity. It is not for nothing that the First Amendment embodies the first freedom! And a peculiarly frightening precedent is established when the government starts applying *discriminatory* labeling requirements to the dissemination of ideas emanating from certain sources.

At the end of his introductory chapter Weyl writes:

> Many of the old American liberals, who regarded the clear and present danger as their gospel in the quiet decades between two world wars, believe that the United States is now trending in the direction of some sort of police state. They forget that clear and present danger is, of necessity, a two-edged sword and that there are therefore times, such as the present, when the balances must be heavily weighted toward security as against liberty.

Well, this reviewer is only a middle-aged American who is temperamentally not a viewer-with-alarm and who recognizes that even specialized guardians of civil liberties must take account of other social values. But a good deal of experience in Europe from 1924 to 1947, especially seven years of contact with the refugee problem, gives him the right to worry about the health of civil liberties in the social climate of America today. So, while recommending this book, he suggests for companion reading "The Loyalty of Free Men," by Alan Barth.

PATRICK MURPHY MALIN

PR and Democracy

EUROPE BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND ANARCHY. By Ferdinand A. Hermens. University of Notre Dame Press. $4.

WHAT is the relation of party government to electoral systems? Generally this question has been treated as a technical one, but in the book under review it looms as the all-important problem now confronting the democracies. Much of the book is devoted to a trenchant criticism of proportional representation, in both its theoretical and practical aspects. In a thorough analysis of the application of PR in continental Europe since 1919, the author comes to the conviction that its results have been politically disastrous wherever it has been applied on a national scale. In some countries it has led to the disruption of parliamentary government and to the establishment of a dictatorship.

An election, according to Hermens, is primarily a "dynamic political process," not a device to register the "opinions" of the electorate. As government by majority is the vital principle of democracy, the prime function of electoral machinery is to make the will of the majority clear and unmistakable. This is precisely what PR fails to do. By repudiating elections by majority or plurality this "mathematically excellent" scheme of representation confuses issues and throws out of gear the parliamentary system based on a responsible government and a responsible opposition. PR has had its greatest appeal in the countries of continental Europe, where the multi-party system flourishes. And the reason is that each group, by having its maximum representation in parliament, can exercise pressure to be recognized in the formation of a ministry.

PR has aggravated the evils of multi-party government by enabling every special interest, every lunatic fringe, to concentrate its followers into a compact, well-disciplined, and well-organized political group. Such a collection of unrelated, intransigent minorities has made more difficult than ever before the formation of a bloc to support a ministry. Hermens is at his best in describing PR as the heaven-sent opportunity to Communist and fascist parties. Always and everywhere minorities, these parties would not succeed in winning as many seats under the majority system as under PR, of which they have naturally been stout defenders. According to Hermens, these enemies of democracy are quick to exploit the advantages to them of PR, by means of which they plan to induce paralysis in the government in preparation for their seizure of power. He explains how parliamentary government, demoralized and discredited by PR, was easily overthrown by Mussolini in Italy and by Hitler in Germany. In France it has weakened the Fourth Republic by causing a dispersion of the anti-Communist majority. For that very reason France has just revised its PR electoral system by restoring majority elections.

In his zeal to discredit PR, Hermens sometimes proves too much. He asserts that it was the "vital element" in the advent of the Nazis to power. In the last elections under the Weimar Republic the Nazis alone received about 44 per cent of the popular vote. The Hitlerites were lunatic all right, but they certainly were not a fringe. The vital causes of the Nazi triumph lay deep in the history of Germany, not in any electoral system, however bad. Nevertheless, Hermens has made a distinct contribution to the study of politics by his searching exposure of PR as an electoral system inimical to the efficient functioning of democratic government.

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO

Poule de Luxe

RENEE. By H.-R. Lenormand. Translated from the French by Frances Frenaye. Farrar, Straus, and Young. $3.

IT IS somewhat ironical that the late H.-R. Lenormand, after a life-long career as a dramatist with a substantial international reputation, should now be reintroduced to American readers by a novel, his first and probably his last. (A posthumous work is reputed to be in the hands of his agent.) In the period between the two world wars Lenormand stirred Parisian avant-garde audiences with a series of plays delving into the subconscious motivations of their characters. His tortured, vacillating, and often psychopathic heroes and heroines moved in an atmosphere of Baudelairean evil. And like Baudelaire, who in the companion field of poetry sought through eroticism an insight into the enigma of life, Lenormand tried continually to identify himself with an amoral system which searched for an explanation of man's destiny in the doctrines of Freud and the influence of exotic environments.

With the outbreak of World War II, when he realized that his controversial plays had little chance of being produced, Lenormand abandoned the theater to work on his autobiography, the first volume of which was published in Paris in 1949, almost simultaneously with his novel, "Une Fille est une fille,"

now offered in a very readable translation by Frances Frenaye under the less provocative title of "Renée."

Set against a background of life in France under the German occupation, "Renée" tells the story of a prostitute in love, an erotic theme which has often attracted Lenormand the playwright. Renée's deliberately chosen way of life accommodates itself without any pangs of conscience to accepting German officers as clients. However, she soon falls in love with a starving young artist recently released from a German prison camp. Pierre is irresistibly attracted to her, but he suffers from her ingenuous disregard of the ordinary concepts of bourgeois morality. As the conflict between the lovers deepens, Lenormand probes into the complex nature of Renée's personality with almost conspiratorial intimacy. Opening his action in the rubble-strewn ruins of Rouen and moving in quick succession to Paris, Biarritz, Marseilles, and the resort towns of the Riviera, the author skilfully evokes rapidly shifting scenes of mood and tempo, whether he is describing a bar in Montmartre frequented by colleagues of Renée's, analyzing the burgeoning of her love for Pierre on the sun-drenched beach at Biarritz, or recounting the exciting crossing of the line of demarcation into unoccupied France in a blinding rainstorm and under a hail of bullets from German sentries.

Pierre's change from a state of political amorphousness to a growing awareness of the developing Resistance movement is reflected in the colorful setting of St. Tropez as the German dragnet starts to hunt down Frenchmen for forced service in labor battalions. Despite his increasing sense of shame over his spineless role as a kept lover, Pierre, like many a vacillating hero of Lenormand's plays, lacks the will to make a concrete decision. As the menace of arrest and deportation grows, Renée comes to the painful realization that Pierre will not desert her to avoid capture. In order to fill him with revulsion at her conduct, she pretends that she has turned over to the Gestapo a list of young Frenchmen in the underground. The climax of the action comes with her determination to leave him as the only way to force him into the comparative freedom and safety of the *maquis*. The story closes with Renée once again submitting to the yoke of making love for a living.

In this first attempt Lenormand reveals decided gifts as a story-teller, and at times the episodes in "Renée" take on the suspense of a James Cain thriller. It is to be regretted that he did not turn sooner in his career to the full-length novel.

EUGENE J. SHEFFER

A Musician in Russia

TAMING OF THE ARTS. By Juri Jelagin. Translated from the Russian By Nicholas Wreden. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.50.

MOST Russian artists who are now able to write of their lives and their ideals fled the Stalin regime in its early faltering years and so suffered but little from the pressure of politics. Juri Jelagin's testimony stands almost alone as a book of personal reminiscences about a later crucial decade, 1930-40, in which an artist, in this case a musician, observed and experienced the impact of the Soviet policy of the gradual extermination of the arts.

In 1930 Jelagin was nineteen years old, a student at the Moscow Conservatory, just released from prison—his father was a pre-revolutionary industrialist—therefore disfranchised and permitted to work only as a substitute. Later, with regained citizenship, he became a permanent member of the Vakhtangov Theater Orchestra.

His life was the life of the theaters, the conservatory, and professional orchestras, and his account of it is filled with characterizations and tales of celebrated artists of that time. It is full, too, of the struggle to keep privileges, standards, artistic freedom, and at the end the very right to be a musician. He came to this country from a D. P. camp in 1947 and is now a member of the Houston Symphony Orchestra.

His book is even-tempered, almost too much understated. A good deal of the material is amusing—the flower-pot controversy, the contest for a new march and its performance at a May Day parade, a New Year's party at the Kremlin, a picnic for A. Tolstoy and Tolstoy's dinner for his daughter's fiancé, the fraudulent provincial operas, the "great" composer Dunayevski who plagiarizes his music even from "Carolina Moon." The ridiculous, puerile nature of the minor events might heighten the terror of actualities if the book were differently organized; but as it is, against the funny anecdotes which bulk so large in proportion, the censure of Soviet reckless destruction is a bit diminished. This is perhaps unavoidable in an informal memoir; the full-scale judgment is more in keeping with a documented study, and Jelagin offers here his personal evidence.

Woven through the amusing incidents is a survey of the gradual stifling of

BOOK SALE

$3.00—$5.00 Brand New Books in HISTORY • ECONOMICS • POLITICS

$1.25 (While we are closing out our remaining stocks of 20–30 copies per title.)

1. **THE ENDURING FEDERALIST.** Comprehensive selection from Federalist papers, edited by Charles Beard. Notes on its historical background. Pub. at $4. 391 pp. $1.25
2. **BREAKING NEW GROUND** by Gifford Pinchot. Autobiographical document on the progressive movement, T. Roosevelt, the struggle for conservation policies. 522 pp. Pub. at $5. $1.25
3. **THE WAY OF THE SOUTH** by Howard Odum. South's economics, sociology, culture and relationships to other regions. 350 pp. Pub. at $3.00. $1.25
4. **PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC FINANCE** by Hunter and Hall. 672-page introductory text explaining public industry, taxes, organization, revenue systems, etc. Index. $1.25
5. **MUNICH: PROLOGUE TO TRAGEDY** by J. W. Wheeler-Bennett. Important analysis of Munich pact, based mainly on Nazi documents taken after war. 500 pp. Pub. at $5. $1.25
6. **LORDS OF THE PRESS** by George Seldes. Expose of Hearst, Howard, Stern, Sokolsky, Thompson, Lippmann, et al. 408 pp. Pub. at $3.00. $1.25
7. **THE UNTRIED CASE** by H. B. Ehrmann. A defense lawyer in the Sacco-Vanzetti case tells who really committed the South Braintree murders. $1.25
8. **THE WEST AT BAY** by Barbara Ward. Report on the Marshall Plan, Western defense, dollar deficit, political alignments, etc., by the foreign affairs editor of London Economist. 288 pp. Pub. at $3.50. $1.25
9. **INSIDE STORY OF THE LEGION** by Justin Gray. Lobbying, labor record, racial bias, NAM, finances—written by former American Legion committeeman. Pub. at $2.50. $1.25
10. **THE MIND AND FAITH OF JUSTICE HOLMES.** Edited by Max Lerner. Speeches, essays, letters, judicial opinions. Orig. $5.00. Repr. edition. $1.25
11. **THE FIRST FREEDOM** by Morris L. Ernst. Monopoly trends of large newspaper, radio and movie chains. Well documented. 315 pp. Pub. at $3.00. $1.25
12. **THE NEGRO'S SHARE** by Richard Sterner. Study of income, consumption, housing and public assistance. Pub. at $4.50. 433 pp. Big value at only $1.25
13. **OUR VANISHING CIVIL LIBERTIES** by O. John Rogge. Inside story of Loyalty Board hearings and their danger to civil liberties. Pub. at $3. $1.25
14. **EAGLE FORGOTTEN** by Harry Barnard. Biography of John Peter Altgeld and story of 19th-century civil rights. Pub. at $5. 484 pp. $1.25
17. **THE GOEBBELS DIARIES.** Intro. and notes by Louis P. Lochner. Inside picture of Third Reich in 1942-43. 563 pp. Pub. at $4.00. $1.25

LOW'S CARTOON HISTORY

18. YEARS OF WRATH
by David Low.

Brilliant cartoon history of the years 1931-45. About 300 large-size cartoons plus Quincy Howe Commentary.

Published at $3.75. $1.25

MAIL TODAY—QUANTITIES LIMITED



DOVER PUB., Dept. 8, 1780 Broadway, N. Y. O. 19

Send Books Below Postpaid:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

I am enclosing $_____ in full payment. UNCONDITIONAL MONEY BACK GUARANTEE, if books returned in 10 days.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

free expression, first in writing, then in the theater, and finally in music. The earliest great threat came in 1934 from the first Convention of Soviet Writers, which turned Gorki's recommendation of socialistic realism into a doctrine and a weapon—"the most tragic event in the history of Russian culture." Writers must express the official Soviet view of life; theaters must conform or be closed or merged. By 1936 the ideological attack had come to music, with Shostakovich's "Lady Macbeth" as the principal target. The enemy, as in the other arts, was something indefinably elastic called "formalism." The Moscow Conservatory, previously the only institution not run by the party, succumbed at last, and the conversion of art to propaganda—or rather its obliteration—was final.

Jelagin points out three main stages in the vacillations of the prohibitions against art. The psychological came first: Stalin's hyperbola, "Life is better. Life is gayer," encouraged light music and jazz to relieve the sordid effects of the First Five-Year Plan.

The second stage came when the fashions of the "Kremlin court" and Stalin's taste had become fixed. This meant playing mainly vocal music—operas or cantatas with a "politically immaculate story," in the style of folk songs, with no discords or "formalism."

And third was the fact that music and performers functioned as international apologists for the terror and death in Russia; they were an "export" which obscured under the splendor of music the awful cries behind the border. By 1948 there was no need to apologize to the world; the world war was over, Stalin and Company were strong enough to do as they wished, and the ax finally fell on the few fine composers who had been allowed some liberty.

HUBERT CREEKMORE

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS from the U S S R

FOR AN INSIGHT INTO THE ROLE OF SOVIET WOMEN AS FULL-FLEDGED MEMBERS OF SOCIETY

SOVIET WOMAN

Illustrated Bi-Monthly in English, Russian, French, German and Chinese

SUBSCRIPTION RATE—$1 per YEAR

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8 2000

Psychodynamics applied to the American "caste" system

THE MARK OF OPPRESSION

A Psychosocial Study of the American Negro

By ABRAM KARDINER, M.D.
author of *The Individual and His Society*

and LIONEL OVESEY, M.D.

The individual case histories of twenty-five American Negroes provide a dramatic new insight into the unconscious adaptations of a people forced to live within the confines of a caste system. Based on the psychoanalytical interview method, many of the findings of this psychodynamic study are applicable to any group existing in social isolation. They describe the social and psychological effects of adaptation . . . their interaction and mutual influence. This is an important revelation of the reactions of an oppressed people and the psychology of the oppressor. It establishes new guideposts for social engineering.

$5.00 at all bookstores, or from
W. W. NORTON & COMPANY
"Books that Live"
101 Fifth Avenue, New York 3

Public Poems

NONES. By W. H. Auden. Random House. $2.50.

THIS new volume of poetry by W. H. Auden, his first in four years, is in subject and texture much like his previous work. These are public poems; one has come to expect from Auden poems whose point of view is "we," signifying at the same time humanity and that small portion of it which notices and deplores the predicament of our destructive society. On these pages we find ourselves in an exceedingly unpropitious world of barbed wire and fallen cities, futile learning, sterile philosophy, bitter love. We find ourselves among generals, executives, statesmen—all bent with demonic will upon our destruction. Sometimes we help them, sometimes we resist. But we never get away from them. A few poems are almost personal, the ones that celebrate a special neighborhood and a private desire. But even these—I shall speak old-fashionedly—retain the moral, a public hatred of the force that crushes private things. It is compelling because it is public, because it is exhibitionistic. The poet says: Look at this goodness which is about to die, this beauty who shall be murdered. We are attracted, not repelled, because the poet possesses—and uses—very great cleverness and very great understanding.

The poet's feeling is subtle and variable. In some poems his bitterness nearly breaks: the lines are in peril of shattering into uncontrolled invective or helpless derision. In others the poet spins through the sardonic ranges to satire, to burlesque, almost to buffoonery. Yet the same cleverness and understanding keep each poem under control. The satirist's art demands an incredible rigor of personal discipline; the satirist must be deeply involved, yet capable of a saving detachment; he must be humane, yet capable of cruelty—even to himself. Who but a Swift could deride his own death and the world's concern for it when the shadows of a fatal insanity were already darkening his mind? One feels that Auden has achieved something of this same control. He has achieved it—at what price, one trembles to consider—in the midst of a poetic tradition of high romance, where anxiety and personal guilt are forces of genuine power. Like Byron, he has succeeded in turning these forces to the satirist's account. Partially succeeded, at any rate, for one notices here and there a hesitancy to confide the personal crisis—a hesitancy Swift would not have admitted.

There is a new element in these poems, the religious element which we first saw unclearly in "Age of Anxiety." It is still unclear. But this is not a deterrent. The failure of "Age of Anxiety" lay in the poet's presumption that an extensive poem would declare and delineate his belief. In these poems the belief is taken for granted; it is a fundament which one spies only from incidental references, supporting the poems and informing them. One is inclined to hope that the poet will not again feel stirred to put his private investigations into verse.

The most surprising aspect of this new volume is the amount of formal experiment in Auden's recent work. There are, of course, the old forms that we are used to, the casual exfoliations of standard pentameter, the incisive lines of trimeter, the ballads, the complex stanzas. The most obvious experiments are those with rhyme, especially with internal rhyme. Unfortunately, they are almost all failures. Part II of Memorial for the City, for instance, contains such a banging dose of haphazard internal rhyme that the words din against our ears, destroying all the wit and perspicacity. And there are

poems that upset the certainty of style which we have known to be Auden's in the past. There is one poem (Their Lonely Betters) that reminds us of Frost, another (The Duet) that sounds a little like Stevens, others that seem suggestive of younger poets we can identify. These are not bad poems, and one would be foolish to insist that they actually represent "influences" on Auden's work. This is simply a way of saying that the new poems are diverse and marked by several voices, some clearer and surer than others.

In the end, one says that Auden is a magnificent poet. His failures are the thoroughly honorable ones that scholars will one day regard as unfortunate but not uninstructive. Young poets who publicize them now to gain critical prestige are liable to the gravest charges. In this new book are poems of incontrovertible excellence: In Praise of Limestone, Pleasure Island, Cattivo Tempo, The Duet, Under Which Lyre, A Walk After Dark. Two poems I found unreadable—Part II of Memorial for the City and Music Is International. The rest vary, of course; but all of them are examples of genuine feeling and craftsmanship in a time when the corruption of sensitivity and the abuse of language are the daily occupations of countless men.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

Books in Brief

INDIA AFIRE. By Clare and Harris Wofford, Jr. John Day. $4. Two young Americans, enthusiastic World Federalists, spent some six months in India during the hot and the rainy seasons of 1949, with a few days in Pakistan on their way home. Their interest was in economic and social problems; they paid brief visits to areas of village and urban disturbance, centers of rulership, and party meetings, and had a number of interviews with prominent personalities. Their report is immediate and personal rather than historical and analytical, and is full of shock, indignation, and reproof for the country and its leaders. The most interesting parts are those describing the authors' stay in the Communist-dominated districts of the Hyderabad state and giving their impressions of the leaders and prospects of the Socialist Party, which they regard as the hope of India in place of the decaying Congress. They repeat at some length and with implications of credence the notion, which is especially popular in Bengal, that Subhas Chandra Bose, "Leader" under the Japanese of the "Indian National Army," is not dead but will return to head a social and political movement. Their remarks on Pakistan are still less analytical than those on India. They close their book with a summons of the world to "prayerful action" (Gandhi's phrase).

UNCLE SAM'S ACRES. By Marion Clawson. Dodd, Mead. $5. Over a billion acres, 71 per cent, of the original public domain have been sold by the federal government or granted to states and to railroads; 402,000,000 acres remain in its possession, plus 56,000,000 acres of Indian lands for which it is trustee—a total of 24 per cent of the area of the United States. In six states more than 50 per cent of the land is federally owned. This book by the director of the Bureau of Land Management in the Department of the Interior tells how our public lands have been acquired and disposed of, and how they are at present used and administered. A clear and comprehensive report.

THE CLOSING OF THE PUBLIC DOMAIN. By E. Louise Peffer. Stanford University. $4.50. An illuminating supplement to the Clawson volume is provided by this detailed survey of the constant and often acrimonious struggle of the last half-century between advocates of private and public ownership and use of our federal lands. Today the public domain is closed to private acquisition and the battle rages now over the terms and the extent of its use by private interests. The complexities of the issues and the vastness of the stake have given the struggle some of the aspects of an old-fashioned melodrama, with our appointed officials tending to take the role of heroes and our elected officials of villains.

STEVE MATHER OF THE NATIONAL PARKS. By Robert Shankland. Knopf. $4. A third book in this field, less useful and less interesting than the other two, is the somewhat journalistic biography of a Chicago business man who, as head of the National Park Service from 1915 to 1929, was largely instrumental in developing our parks for the use and pleasure of the public and in fighting off encroaching predators.

ROBERT BURNS. By David Daiches. Rinehart. $3.50. A study of Burns as a poet which discriminates discerningly between his strengths and his weaknesses. Professor Daiches's own Scotch background enables him to treat with special insight the relations of Burns to Scotch national literature, Scotch bawdry, and Scotch folk-song. The effect of his book, however, is somewhat diffuse and repetitious: Burns's verse epistles, for instance, have their excellences, but there are a good many of them, they are much alike, and so are Mr. Daiches's comments on them. Yet if Mr. Daiches doesn't altogether succeed in concentrating and ordering his case for Burns, the book does send us back to the poetry with a strong feeling of the very special claims on us of, say, "The Jolly Beggars," of the best of the songs, of dramatic monologues like "The rantin dog, the daddie o't" or "Tam Glen."

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

"FANTASTIC operation" was my guest's comment as we left the Metropolitan after Ballet Theater performances of Balanchine's "Theme and Variations," Herbert Ross's new "Thief Who Loved a Ghost," and Roland Petit's new "Le Jeune Homme et la mort." "You get," he continued, "a distinguished work of art as a curtain-raiser for a piece of the most unutterable balderdash ever seen on the stage, and for a Grand Guignol shocker" (we had left in time to miss Tudor's "Gala Performance"). And other programs I saw could have been characterized in the same way.

"Theme and Variations" continued to be used as a curtain-raiser—twice for Agnes De Mille's worst work, "Fall River Legend," once for her "Rodeo," of which I find the portions concerned with the story tiresome and embarrassing, and only the few moments of straight dancing still enjoyable. Moreover, the

Balanchine piece retained its distinction despite performances in which it was blurred by the unprecise work of the corps, and only the dancing of Alonso and Youskevitch was excitingly brilliant and beautiful (Moylan was less effective). It is true that some of the older ballets came out even worse. There was a lifeless performance of Tudor's "Romeo and Juliet," with Alonso an exquisite Juliet and Youskevitch a new Romeo giving the part more beauty of movement than Laing but none of Laing's youthful intensity. And there was an equally lifeless "Swan Lake," with Alonso straining too hard for grandeur (as Moylan did in a "Nutcracker" pas de deux). But on the other hand there was a beautiful "Les Sylphides" in which Moylan danced with quiet distinction of style; a beautiful "Giselle" with Alonso and Youskevitch; an excellent "Billy the Kid" with Kriza.

And in addition to "The Thief Who Loved a Ghost" (a shocking disappointment of the expectations aroused by "Caprichos") new works were presented which, if they weren't the most unut-

FIRST TIME! * from "Bach-Gesellsch." † from "Urtext" ed.

Pocket-sized, Low-Priced Editions

BACH* 12 Solo Sonatas (6 Violin, 6 Cello)..... .98

BEETHOVEN† Violin Sonatas, 2 vols., each.... .98

& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG

Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From

LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138 New York 32, N. Y.

30% to 50% DISCOUNT ON ALL LP RECORDS

Up to 75% on rpm Records

Write for details to

ELAINE MUSIC SHOP

11 EAST 44th STREET NEW YORK CITY 17

bet. Fifth & Madison MUrray Hill 2-6154

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

15 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

terable balderdash, were not of much, or of any, consequence. That holds for "Le Jeune Homme et la mort," a characteristic Petit product in its combination of sex and brutality, its shock-after-shock method, which acquired importance only from the fact that it employed, and was the means of revealing, the extraordinary powers of the dancer Jean Babilée. More obvious were the powers in violence which produced the spectacular spins and leaps, the no less spectacular acrobatic feats in slow motion; more extraordinary were the powers in quiet—the power of personal projection and compulsion that he exercised in a quiet movement of his extended arm, or when he was not moving at all. The most impressive moment in his own ballet "L'Amour et son amour" and one which has remained most vividly in my memory was the one in which he stood, spotlighted on the dark stage, with arms circling slowly in a series of *portes de bras*.

But most impressive of all was his performance in the "Blue Bird" pas de deux; for this was a standard piece in which one had seen brilliant dancers more suited to it in physical appearance and style—Youskevitch, for one—and one could appreciate the new and special thing Babilée made of it with his own and special resources. He hasn't Youskevitch's slimness and elegance, but is short and chunky; he either hasn't or chose not to try for the exciting elevation of Youskevitch and other dancers in the first leaps; but he has the extraordinary power of personal projection and compulsion I have mentioned; and what was exciting in his performance was the operation of this power without interruption. There were none of the usual passive moments—of waiting to begin, or of withdrawal for the ballerina to do her series of pirouettes; instead, from the moment the curtain rose until it fell—whether he was dancing, or preparing to dance, or moving behind Koesun as she danced (very beautifully)—he was active continuously, powerfully, in a way that placed the performance among the things one is glad to have been alive to see.

Mercury's recording of Bach's great Passacaglia and Fugue played by Ernest White on the organ of the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, New York, gives us the work and performance (too matter-of-fact at the end) blurred and obscured by reverberation (the Pastorale in F is also on the record). And Jeanne Demessieux's erratic performance of the Toccata and Fugue in D minor (dubbed, with a bad break, from the previously issued 78) and her stodgy performance of the Prelude and Fugue in D on the organ of St. Mark's in North Audley Street, London, are not clearly reproduced on the London record (with a Franck Pastorale and Fantaisie). On the other hand, the performances of the Trio Sonatas Nos. 1, 3, 4, and 6 by Robert Noehren on the organ of Kenmore Presbyterian Church, Buffalo, on Allegro records are beautifully clear, but the works are quite uninteresting.

Organ and orchestra are not well integrated in the Poulenc Concerto that Biggs has recorded for Columbia; and the mere sound of the organ in Symphony Hall and the sound of the string orchestra conducted by Burgin are like oil and water. On the reverse side are Franck's Pièce héroïque and Prelude, Fugue, and Variation, of which the charming Prelude, which should be played simply, is played with portentous distentions.

New to me, and for the most part very fine, are Frescobaldi's "Fiori Musicali," of which Volume I is performed by Robert Noehren on the organ of Grace Episcopal Church, Sandusky, and reproduced clearly on the Allegro record.

CONTRIBUTORS

F. W. DUPEE has recently published "Henry James," a critical binography.

PATRICK MURPHY MALIN is executive secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union.

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO, professor emeritus of history at the City College of New York, is author of "The World in Crisis."

EUGENE J. SHEFFER is director of the French House at Columbia University.

HUBERT CREEKMORE, author of a novel, "The Welcome," has made a special study of Russian literature.

HAYDEN CARRUTH, formerly editor of *Poetry*, is associate editor of the University of Chicago Press.

Letters to the Editors

The Knolls Defended

Dear Sirs: In your March 24 issue, Manny Farber criticizes Hans and Florence Knoll for catering to snob and show-off. Hans and Florence Knoll work on the three most difficult design problems in the world, in the realm of useful objects. The first is to design a good chair. The second is to design and make it in the United States. The third is to design and make it as part of a coherent and handsome furniture ensemble.

In doing this the Knolls fought Grand Rapids. They fought those heart-breaking limitations of our production process and our price structure which inhibit refinements that are easy in Europe. They became guilty of what is a crime in some art circles: they succeeded.

There are some things in the Knoll shows which readers of *The Nation* should be interested in—things far too obvious for your writer to mention. One is the reimportation of that Thonet cane-seated "restaurant" chair which has been the most durable bread-and-butter piece and perhaps the most satisfactory modern classic. Another is the actual production of Mies van der Rohe's very elegant Bareclona chair, a luxury item at the other end of the design spectrum. Then there are the premises themselves, at 575 Madison Avenue, which solve a complicated display problem with such cheerful deftness and economy of means that unless you're an expert, you would never know it was a complicated problem.

Let us cheerfully admit that they may owe something to the "constructivists of 1920." I am not convinced any more that every year has to bring in a new tradition, or that where a designer got an idea is half as important as what he did with it. I say that it is your critic who is the snob on the premises.

DOUGLAS HASKELL

New York, May 6

Who's a Snob?

Dear Sirs: Mr. Haskell is guilty of dodging when he defends Knoll by praising everything but the designs themselves. I strongly disagree with his preliminary assumption that a good chair is only as difficult to design as a good coffee cup, automobile, or girdle. And I doubt that Europeans like Neutra, Brueur, Gropius, Mies would have migrated to the United States if it "were the most difficult [place] in the world" for designers to produce "inhibited refinements" that are easy in Europe. I too like the Thonet and Mies chairs, but they are from the '20's; Knoll must be judged on the some hundred items that it had a hand in making. If Mr. Haskell will reread my article, he will discover that my criticism of Knoll was based on the use to which the international style had been put.

What could be more snobbish than a letter that suggests it is critically unsporting to attack a financially successful firm like Knoll? For further proof of snobbery, Mr. Haskell uses the term "Grand Rapids" the way some people use the word "Hollywood." For myself, I have spent many happy hours in my father's Morris chair.

MANNY FARBER

New York, May 18

"Labor Frame-up"

Dear Sirs: The trial of J. B. Nathan, a farm-labor organizer in Napa County, charged with "defrauding" a second-hand-car trader has stirred rural California for the last month.

Nathan's record, according to the transcript of the trial, showed his participation "in an anti-war strike when on the Berkeley, University of California, campus." At that time, in 1935, he was a member of the Norman Thomas Socialist Party. When arrested, "he was carrying a sackful of literature in a foreign language," and furthermore, he "had protested against being arrested without a warrant."

All the clichés of labor frame-ups were dragged out by the prosecution—forged documents, tampered documents, using license from a car reported stolen and recovered by the San Francisco police on a car he thought he had bought on a conditional-sale contract. The prosecution also appealed to the prejudices of the jury by pointing out that the defendant, who was conducting his own case, was "an argumentative man" and had a "bad attitude to employers."

As a result, Nathan was convicted of "stealing" a car because he had been unable to make any payments on it (even though it was always breaking down) and because he had worked without pay last year to raise relief for striking California farm workers.

The Socialist Party has not given him any assistance because he is no longer affiliated with it. Unions in California, however, have adopted resolutions asking Attorney General Edward G. Brown to make an investigation of the case.

Whether this is an attempt to eliminate an active and articulate spokesman for the distressed and exploited farm workers of California or to discredit an opponent of a new war is not apparent at this stage of the game. Yet it concerns all liberals and defenders of civil liberties.

ARTHUR RANSOME

Napa, Cal., May 7

When Free Men Fear

Dear Sirs: Our nation was born in the belief that force should not govern. Yet the heretical system of force is returning to our nation by degrees, trying to herd all original thinkers into concentration camps.

Communism is a theory that can be stretched to mean "each according to his need." Yet it is a makeshift for slavery. Our democratic system for the sovereignty of the individual is protected by our Constitution founded on Magna Charta is the only method of organized government that leaves to the creative faculty of man and his capacity for production the necessary freedom to grow. Politics and government in a democracy, machines or no machine, are subordinate to this necessary freedom for individual growth.

Furthermore, in the structure of our government *all* controls are corrective, not preventive. In a society of contract like ours, framed by statesmen who were inspired architects of a social order, all other controls must prove subversive if not destructive. Government, therefore, may not initiate or lead. Government can only execute policy, correct or punish the individual.

The harm this Communist harum-scarum by government is doing us is enormous. By perversion of our own Constitution we have put our own faith in constant peril—not from without but from within. Fear which is thus raised

RESORTS

BREEZEMONT PARK
ARMONK, N.Y.

We Proudly Celebrate

our 15th birthday — Breezemont Park and Camp Alyssum. In 1936 we organized a unique combination of gracious hotel accommodations for parents together with an outstanding camp for children 4–11 in age. Today we are a renowned institution popular with the intelligent parent interested in his child's growth and happiness and who wants to partake in this adventure. Camp is a progressive summer's experience. We invite every interested reader to inspect our facilities. We are only 35 miles from the city.

Opening for Decoration Day Week-End
Phone Armonk Village 3-3162, 3-8155

50 MILES TO *FOREST HOUSE*

Your Spring vacation will be truly an unforgettable one, in this gay resort-paradise. Forest House achieves new levels of relaxation, rest and happiness. Superb food, fine quarters, congenial hospitality. Two grand lakes, all sports.

FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449

THIS ADULT CAMP
in Picturesque Gloucester

CAMP ANNISQUAM — a bit of rugged land and seashore — swimming, sailing, boating and fishing on premises. Dancing, tennis, planned trips and all sports. Write for booklet and rates to Abram Resnick, Dir. Gloucester, Mass., N. Y. Office Phone: RE 2-9640.

MERRIEWOODE
A CAMP FOR ADULTS
HIGHLAND LAKE • STODDARD, N. H.

Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation. Enjoy beautiful 10-mile lake. All Land and Water Sports. Interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails. Arts and Crafts, Square and Folk Dancing Instruction. 2 hours by train from N. Y. $50 for Opening Week June 23-30.

OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
Write Dept. N for literature. Tel: Hancock 98-Ring 2

Timberland
POTTERSVILLE, N. Y.
AN ADULT CAMP IN THE ADIRONDACKS
SPECIAL SPRING RATES NOW!
Limited to 100 • Dancing • All Sports
New York Office: 33 W. 42 St. LO 5-3674
The Rare Charm of an Intimate Congenial Group

• SACKS LODGE •
(Formerly Sacks Farm)
SAUGERTIES, N. Y. • Tel: 555

Nearly all rooms with private or semi-private bath. Unusual new dining room and lounge. Superior food. Every recreational facility. Day camp for limited number of children. Truly outstanding vacation value.
INSPECTION VISITS WELCOMED

Year 'round Adult Activities
Hathaway Lodge

Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate. Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Swimming pool, tennis, handball, badminton. Horseback riding, walking, hiking—magnificent mountain trails. Recordings, ping-pong, library, informal dancing. Delicious American-Jewish food. Easy transportation. Attractive Rates.
For reservations or booklet "N"
HATHAWAY LODGE
Haines Falls, N. Y. • Phone Tannersville 230

MUSIC INN for any mood—Concerts at Tanglewood next door; inquiries into Jazz; 100 acres, tennis and two lakes. Write for detailed programs Music Inn, Lenox, Mass.

and exaggerated by politicians to scare and huddle the sheep is doom enough. What is it these rams (politicians) in the ram pasture (Washington) really want? Ask any citizen (the sheep) and mark the answer. Mine is on the record.

When a McCarthy can exist in our country, our politics cry out for revision. Why not stand by the Constitution—speak up? What a man thinks is his own. What a man says is still his. Only a man's acts concern government.

I ask my fellow-citizens: which is most dangerous to our democratic system of free men—a sociological idiot like a Communist or a political pervert like a McCarthy?

As for our oppression by the military incubus we inherited from Roosevelt "leadership," why not ask military men to listen to Napoleon, the supreme exponent of their craft? His last days on earth were spent in anguish, trying to understand, he said, "why force could never organize anything." "A nation taking men out of its fields," he said, "to make soldiers of them is defeated before it starts to fight." What would this supreme advocate of force say of a nation taking its children out of school to make soldiers of them on suspicion of aggression?

Actual aggression is one thing. Imaginary aggression is quite another —especially if used to bolster a national economy or used by officious politicians to scare free men into war with serfs. Nothing can be so demoralizing to the free man, nothing so deadly, as the free mind afraid of the servant mind.

FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT

Phoenix, Ariz., May 10

PUBLISHING SERVICE

WE print, publish and distribute your manuscript in pamphlet or book form. *Send for free folder.* WILLIAM-FREDERICK PRESS; Pamphlet Distributing Company, 313 West 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

WRITERS!—Book mss. wanted for publication, fiction, non-fiction. Free booklet. Write today! **Daniel S. Mead Literary Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. C. 16.**

PERSONALS

CHINESE MUSIC! Entertain yourself and others with weird sensuous love songs recorded in the villages of China. Something really different! 78 rpm break-resistant recordings. $2 for one (2 sides); $3 for two (4 sides); or eight (16 sides) for $10. Postpaid. Acme Company, 55 Bayard St., New York 13, N. Y.

PARENTS commuting New York evenings, anxious to find woman with child interested in caring for and giving companionship to their six-year-old girl, in return for pleasant summer in the country. Large 12-room house, Putnam Valley, New York. Box 231, c/o The Nation.

RESORTS

THE PAINTED BARN
West Rumney, New Hampshire

Vacation in the beautiful White Mountains, 130 acres fields and woods, sports, games, tennis, swimming. Private cabins, excellent food. Children welcome. (No advance in rates—adults $40, children $30 per week.) American plan. Write for folder.

What'll you have in June?
CHESTER'S ZUNBARG,
in Woodbourne, N. Y.,

offers all sports, informal entertainment, dancing, tavern and television . . . plus fine food and modern accommodations. The nicest people ever. Inviting low spring rates.
Write or phone Woodbourne 1150 for brochure.

A Forest-Farm-Lake-Mountain Paradise
For ALL Races, Faiths, Convictions
WORLD FELLOWSHIP
CONWAY, NEW HAMPSHIRE
Food, Rooms, Bath, $4 to $7 daily
Evening FORUM, July–Aug., SPEAKERS . .
274 Acres, 2 Lakes, Trout Stream
Forests, Mountains, Excursions
Boating, Swimming, Games, Music
Free FOLDER, Photos, Rates, Transportation

VACATIONS

AN UNUSUAL VACATION—Folklore, Creative Writing, Language Workshops for all ages. Music and Sports. ELAN International Center, Vancouver Island, B. C., Canada. Box 230, c/o The Nation.

SUMMER RENTAL

PROFESSORS, WRITERS, ARTISTS, special summer rates: $99-180 per month, completely equipped 1- or 2-bedroom apartments, all utilities, janitor service, garage included. THE FOUR SEASONS APARTMENTS, on its own Gulf beach, Lido Beach, Sarasota, Florida.

PROFESSOR'S house, small, six rooms, near Brooklyn College, $90 monthly. Maslow, CL 2-0375.

CANDLEWOOD LAKE COTTAGE. Charming retreat, completely modern, for couple, artist, writer. Sleeps 2–4. July $250. TRafalgar 4-5592, weekends DAnbury 8-1556.

FOR SALE OR RENT

FURNISHED Summer Home, electricity, Shawangunk Mountain view. Acreage. Shopping nearby. 30 minutes Middletown, N. Y. $7500. PResident 4-2870.

OFFICES FOR RENT—NEW JERSEY

JOURNAL SQUARE, 24 Concourse E Bldg., Hudson Tube Station. Desirable offices; single or suites; also store, low rent. Supt. or owner, AL 4-1080 (N.Y.C.).

THE *Nation*
RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch, one insertion
Generous discounts for multiple insertions.
Write or phone today for further information.
ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT
***The* NATION**
20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.
BArclay 7-1066

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JUNE 9, 1951 NUMBER 23

The Shape of Things

IN SPITE OF DENIALS FROM OFFICIALS ON ALL sides, peace talk persists. General Van Fleet's announcement that the "pursuit phase" of the fighting was over and that the Eighth Army would from now on defend South Korea from attack rather than take the offensive may have had only tactical significance, as Secretary Acheson and the Defense Department emphasized. Just the same, by setting a limit to U. N. military intentions it creates a new situation, which at least offers the basis for a cease-fire on the Thirty-eighth Parallel if the Chinese are willing to consider one. There is, to be sure, a catch in it. Mr. Acheson, in his testimony before the Russell committee last Friday, indicated as he has done before that the United States would not permit either Formosa or Chinese representation in the U. N. to be used as bargaining points in negotiations for a cease-fire. It is possible, however, that a strictly military truce might be arranged without directly involving any political issues. These could be fought out in the negotiations for a general settlement which would follow, although the Chinese would probably have to be reassured as to this in advance, and also as to the composition of the negotiating body.

*

SINCE GENERAL VAN FLEET ISSUED HIS statement, several other hopeful moves have been made. The British government is rumored to be pressing for a new approach to Peking. U. N. Secretary General Trygve Lie and Norway's chief delegate, Arne Sunde, have called for fresh efforts to end the war, and it is understood that an official of the U. N. who recently visited Korea, took with him certain proposals that had been approved in Washington. And while Mr. Malik has denied that Russia ever sent out any peace feelers, the facts are known to be otherwise, and the denial itself may be a "tactical" maneuver. But perhaps the most promising development of the past week was Mr. Acheson's reinterpretation of the famous Assembly resolution of October 7 which called for U. N. action to bring about a unified, free, and rehabilitated Korea. This resolution was regarded in the United States—by officials and the press—as a directive, or at least a green light, to General MacArthur to cross the Thirty-eighth Parallel and drive on toward the Manchurian-Russian frontier. Unification was taken to mean unification by conquest of North Korea. This has been the consistent American interpretation ever since; on it has rested the justification of our whole Korean strategy. Now Mr. Acheson has quite simply erased it, declaring that the unification of Korea is, of course, still a purpose but not necessarily a military one; it could be achieved by political means, after the fighting stopped. Coupled with the Van Fleet statement, this may turn out to be the most significant thing said about the Korean struggle.

*

THE DISCUSSION ABOUT FORMOSA, WAS significant in quite a different way. Testimony on this ticklish topic centered around the question of "declassifying" the controversial State Department memorandum sent to overseas information officers in December, 1949, telling them to minimize the military importance of Formosa to the United States in case the island, as was then expected, fell to the Communists. This document, of course, was allowed to leak out to the press in Tokyo, and most of its contents were made known to the public. Mr. Acheson, however, opposed its release by the committee. It was, he insisted, not a statement of policy; our desire even then was to keep Formosa out of unfriendly hands if this was possible without the use of force. The memorandum was no more than a directive as to the propaganda line our officials and the Voice of America should adopt if the need arose. To release it would be to give the Russians a chance to attack our propaganda as false. However, it was released, but any bad effect it may have will certainly be topped by the release of the colloquy that preceded it. Other bits of testimony have exposed more important facts—for example, General Vandenberg's incredible revelations about the present state of American air power—but the wrangle over the publication of Mr. Acheson's memorandum provided the world with a startlingly intimate glimpse into our government's cold-war strategy, the purposes behind it, the limitations on our power and the tricks we use to conceal those limitations, and above all the political motives that force these revelations even against the public interest. The whole thing was like a bad play staged by people who didn't know there was an audience.

*

UNTIL THIS WEEK THE SITUATION IN IRAN seemed to be building up for a violent explosion. The government was ready to discuss oil sales and other technical matters with the "former" Anglo-Iranian Oil

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 529

Two-Way Embargo 532

ARTICLES

America's Rotten Boroughs *by Willard Shelton* 533

Clear Thinking on Russia *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 534

Peking Puzzle *by Andrew Roth* 535

The Gaullist Threat *by Alexander Werth* 537

Mob Rule in Crossville *by Marley Cole* 539

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Will France Rise Again? *by J. Salwyn Schapiro* 542

A Poet's Letters *by Irving Howe* 543

A Decisive Failure *by Rayford W. Logan* 544

End of a World *by Harvey Swados* 545

In Many Directions *by Robert Halsband* 545

Records *by B. H. Haggin* 546

LETTER TO THE EDITORS 548

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 416

by Frank W. Lewis opposite 548

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Executive Editor: Harold C. Field

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo — *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Washington Editor: Willard Shelton

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Company; the question of taking it over under the terms of the oil-nationalization law could not even be raised. Legally the transfer had occurred; only the physical details remained to be settled. President Truman's personal message, calling attention to the dangers involved in precipitate action and urging last-minute negotiations, had apparently made no impression on Premier Mossadegh. But on Monday the picture suddenly changed. The company offered to send representatives to discuss matters with the government, and the government chose to regard this move as indicating "acceptance of Iran's taking over" of the company. Apparently both the Shah and United States Ambassador Grady had a hand in bringing about the talk, which at least postpones the hour of actual dispossession. What must be hoped as negotiations begin is that the British have not only conceded the "principle" of nationalization but are prepared to cooperate in a real if gradual process of transferring the operation of the oil company to the Iran government. If Iranian oil is essential to British security, it is no more so than evidence that the Labor government has accepted the implications of the nationalist revolution sweeping across Asia and the Middle East. Even self-interest dictates that Britain's role should be to mitigate as far as possible the dangers and difficulties that are bound to accompany this change rather than to raise legal obstacles to its achievement. The moderation so far shown by London offers real hope that this will be the official view.

*

IN THE WAKE OF THE SUPREME COURT'S decision on "fair trade," New York City consumers enjoyed their first real break in years. On May 29 came the announcement, as refreshing as the rain that failed to keep crowds of shoppers from the stores, that Macy's had cut prices 6 per cent on 5,978 "fair-traded" items. In a matter of hours a wave of price reductions had swept through the larger retail outlets. By noon Macy's had run out of aspirin and its crowded aisles gave the appearance of Christmas in June. By the day's end, a third round of price cuts had been ordered and prices had been reduced as much as 40 per cent on some items. A survey made on June 1 showed that retailers in twelve cities had not yet joined the price war but were nervously watching the battle of the giants in New York. With sales slow and super-high inventories, many retailers seemed to be relieved that the break had come, while most manufacturers were obviously reluctant to take counter measures until inventories had been whittled down. To date, however, the limited price-cutting that has taken place resembles a sparring match more than a full scale "war." A summer-time flurry, it has given the Office of Price Stabilization a welcome breathing spell by setting off a temporary deflationary under-current in the midst of an armament economy. Furious over the

break that has taken place, the fair-trade lobby will doubtless launch a new drive to "repair" the Miller-Tydings Act by exempting fair-trade agreements from the anti-trust laws. In the meantime, new forms of price maintenance are likely to appear in the guise of compliance with price-freeze regulations.

✶

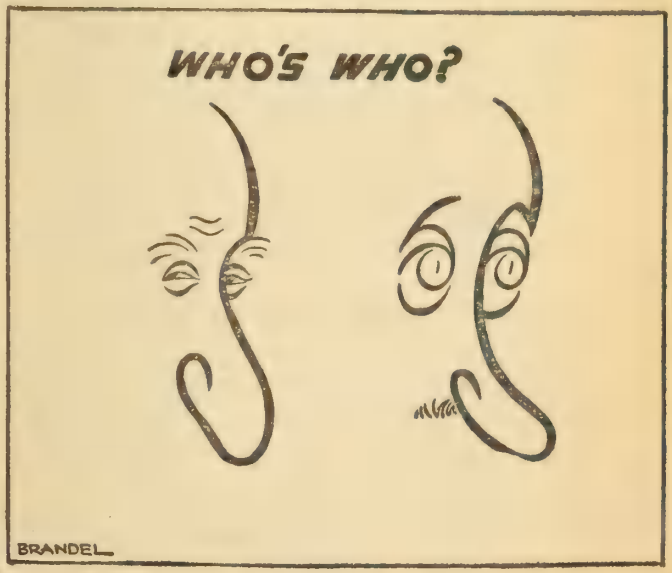
LITTLE BY LITTLE THE STORY OF THE RECENT presidential "election" in Liberia has reached this country—but not with any help from our Department of State, which is vague in admitting information about what happened and extremely self-righteous in reasserting its policy of non-intervention in another nation's domestic affairs. The story is simple: for the first time in the country's history an indigenous Liberian leader, Didwo Twe, nominated by an opposition party, has a good chance to overthrow the True Whig Party, controlled by descendants of American Negroes resettled in Africa. So President William Tubman, running for reelection as the True Whig candidate, got rid of the opposition. According to a report signed by eighty-two native Liberians, the Tubman-controlled senate first refused to probate the charter of Twe's Popular Party. When the Popular and Reformation Parties then tried to place Twe's name on the ballot by petition, Tubman's police arrested and terrorized the people circulating the petitions. Their homes were searched, property was seized, and Twe himself was forced into hiding by rumors of his impending arrest. For the record, and *Time* magazine to the contrary notwithstanding, Twe never "withdrew" from the presidential race; he was denied a place on the ballot by terrorism and manipulation of the election machinery. In short, Liberia, an African republic sponsored by the United States, is still a one-party state in which opposition is stifled. To its discredit, the State Department apparently considers the whole matter unimportant.

✶

TEXAS STATE EMPLOYEES, RANGING FROM porters to college presidents, will have a new loyalty oath to sign as of September 1. Not content with the existing affidavit simply pledging that an employee is not a member of any organization advocating overthrow of the government, Texas legislators have now set up an elaborate three-part oath. In the future, before an employee can draw a state pay check, he must swear that he is not, and has never been, a member of the Communist Party; that he is not, and has not in the last ten years been, a member of any organization on the United States Attorney General's "subversive" list; that he is not, and has not in the last ten years been, a member of any Communist political or Communist front organization registered under the Federal Internal Security Act. The retroactive provisions may force a number of state college and university faculty members out of their jobs, but before that happens there will probably be a legal test of the oath—a vital test in view of the recent Supreme Court decision disputing the validity of the Attorney General's list.

✶

THE AMERICAN VETERANS' COMMITTEE LAST week held its fifth national convention. More than five hundred delegates from all parts of the country met in New York City for a week-end of hard work, minus water pistols and horseplay. Remembering their history of hothouse growth and swift retreat, they concentrated on plans for A. V. C.'s future growth but also gave earnest attention to foreign and domestic problems. The delegates stated their opposition to Treasury raids and grab-bag legislation for veterans and reaffirmed their belief in a veterans' program looking toward "rehabilitation and reintegration [of the ex-soldier] into the community." They indorsed a strong civil-rights program, urged the implementation of the Public Housing Act of 1949, and advocated the draft during the immediate crisis and price and rent control. The A. V. C. also came out for complete world disarmament, with effective international inspections. It agreed that the non-Communist world must strengthen itself militarily to meet the threat of aggression but insisted that the long-range goal of "international cooperative efforts to stamp out hunger, disease, illiteracy, and misunderstanding" required economic, political, and spiritual strengthening. Pointing out that "the Spanish people [in recent strikes] have proved that they are ready to rid themselves of their oppressive ruler," the delegates opposed further aid to Franco and asked that "all possible aid . . . be given to the people of Spain in their efforts toward freedom." Finally, they condemned MacArthur's policy and acclaimed his dismissal as reaffirming the principle of civilian supremacy. The convention, in fact, gave confirmation of the A. V. C.'s continuing devotion to its slogan: Citizens First, Veterans Second.



[For answer see page 532]

Two-Way Embargo

TRADE relations between the western world and the Soviet sphere have recently been the subject of heated debate in Washington. The instinct of many, perhaps most, Americans is to break off all economic intercourse and this emotional reaction has been reflected in bitter speeches on Capitol Hill where Britain and other countries have been sharply attacked for trading with the enemy. Now Congress has approved an amendment to an appropriation bill designed to bar American aid to any country that ships strategic goods behind the iron curtain.

One difficulty about enforcing this policy is that of definition. Practically all goods have direct or indirect strategic value, a fact illustrated by the recent refusal of the Department of Commerce to license large shipments of combs and fountain pens to Hongkong on the grounds that they were probably destined for China where they could be used as "incentive goods" to spur production. Carried to its logical conclusion this latest move by Congress would penalize almost all sales to Communist nations.

Trade with the Soviet bloc has little significance for this country. Now that we have found alternative sources of manganese, there are no essential raw materials for which we must reach behind the iron curtain. But many other countries are not in so happy a situation. They rely on Soviet sources for vital foods and raw materials which they can obtain elsewhere, if at all, only at much greater expense or by drawing on their scanty stock of dollars. Yet if they refuse to sell to Communist countries, they cannot hope to buy there.

For instance, Western Europe as a whole produces insufficient coal for its own needs. In part its deficit is made up by the import of 10 million tons annually from Poland, much of it high quality coking coal. The Polish government is well aware of the value of this bargaining counter and is not prepared to trade its coal purely against consumer goods: it insists on receiving in exchange machinery and raw materials which have at least potential military value. Deprived of this coal some Western European industries, including arms manufacture, would be handicapped unless shipping could be found for an alternative supply from this country. But that would be about twice as costly and would have to be paid for in dollars. Would Congress be willing to meet part of this additional burden?

Although East-West trade is now well below its prewar level, it is still of real importance to Europe. Italy buys large quantities of wheat from Russia and pays for it in part with industrial machinery. Britain has been selling to the U. S. S. R. considerable amounts of electrical and other industrial equipment: in return it obtains one-fifth of its lumber and one-third of its coarse grain requirements. Western Germany, as United States High Commissioner John J. McCloy recently acknowledged, must carry on a modicum of trade with the Soviet zone and, if it is to import from there the goods it needs, it cannot restrict sales entirely to strategically harmless commodities. Thus in its exchanges with countries behind the iron curtain Western Europe must consider the balance of advantage: in seeking to weaken the Soviet bloc economically, it must endeavor to stop short of the point where it suffers equal or worse damage.

THE same common-sense rule should apply in the Far East even though the fact that Americans and their allies are being killed because of Chinese aggression gives a much stronger emotional impact to demands for a total embargo. Since last December the United States has banned all trade with North Korea and China but at the same time it has recognized that it would be folly to impose similar restrictions on Japan which actually increased its exports to China in the second half of 1950. For Japan needs to buy from China such commodities as soy-beans, coal, and iron-ore.

The British colony of Hongkong, frequently pictured in this country as a nest of profiteers fattening on sales of war materials to our enemies, is almost totally dependent on trade with China. It obtains a considerable part of its food from China and if supplies were cut off, or if a decline in trade led to severe unemployment, it would face serious internal trouble. Moreover, the colony is strategically vulnerable and the Peking government might well decide to attack it if it ceased to be useful as a gateway to the outside world. In that case, we would have to decide either to go to the aid of its garrison or to advise the British to evacuate—a move which would give a tremendous boost to the prestige of Mao's regime.

Despite its difficulties, the government of Hongkong has stopped all exports of oil to China since last July and has imposed a total prohibition of sales of some 200 industrial products of military value. And now the British government, acting both there and in Malaya, has cut off all shipments of rubber. In addition, Britain supported the recent resolution of the United Nations General Assembly which recommended that all nations ban shipments to China of military goods and materials useful to arms production.

The question then is: should we go still further? Should we put pressure on other countries to impose a total embargo on trade with China? If this is to be our policy we ought to be prepared to face the consequences and the cost of alleviating them as far as possible. For a trade embargo is a two-edged weapon which may inflict wounds on the enemy but is also certain to harm our friends and allies.

Answer to Who's Who?—Jimmy Durante and Robert Schuman

Nazis, such as the Socialist Reichs Party. (The S. R. P. is alleged to have declared that it would "act as traffic controller for the Russians if they marched into the West.") And in spite of the use of cold-war tactics in the Palais Rose, Mr. Gromyko has still left the way open for a Foreign Ministers' conference.

I am convinced that the most dangerous mistake Western leaders could make would be to assume without question that Russia needs and intends war. Suppose the Kremlin, on the contrary, believes that time will make war unnecessary, producing either revolutionary change in Western Europe or a favorable settlement. This is obviously a possibility that should be considered, for if it should be true, or if Europeans should be persuaded that it is true, no power on earth could keep Europe in an arms race, especially at the price of hunger.

Peking Puzzle

BY ANDREW ROTH

London

A RECENT request for information from Washington by Kenneth Younger, Britain's Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, may add a vital piece to an incomplete "Peking Puzzle." It is a puzzle involving a wrecked power station, a Chinese secret society, the Chinese Communist purge, American and British agents, and perhaps even the recall of General MacArthur.

Only a portion of the story came out in the great March trial in Peking, which was so reminiscent of the tumbrel-and-guillotine days of the French Revolution. On that highly dramatic occasion, twenty-five persons were brought before an assembly of over 5,000 "people's representatives" in order to give the people a meaningful part in the intensified purge of "counter-revolutionaries" ordered by the Peking government on February 22. Wang Pei-shuan, director of Peking's Military Tribunal, addressed them: "The military tribunal has completed the trials of these counter-revolutionary criminals and has all the evidence in hand. But, because it is a big case, we want to talk it over with you."

Then tall, muscular Peng Chen, former director of the Communist Party school in Yenan and now mayor of Peking, took over. Seventeen people were brought on to the stage and pointed accusing fingers at the prisoners. They charged the prisoners with such crimes as robbery, arson, machine-gunning of workers, and attempted revolt. "You have heard about these unspeakably evil people," Peng roared to the assembly, as the accusers walked off-stage. "How shall we deal with them, comrades?"

Shouted the assembly: "Shoot them!"

Asked Peng sarcastically: "Should we not still be lenient with these people?"

Assembly: "No! No!"

Peng: Don't you think it is too cruel to shoot these special agents, ruffians, bandit leaders, and reactionary religious leaders?"

Assembly: "No! It's not cruel!"

Peng: "Of course it's not cruel. Instead, it's merciful. Comrades, who is right, they or we?"

Assembly: "We are right!"

Peng: "Comrades, thanks for your trust. We promise to act according to your will. Our main shortcoming has been too great mercy and too reluctant suppression."

Assembly: "Hail the People's Government! Long live Chairman Mao!"

The "reactionary religious leaders" shot as a result of this example of "revolutionary justice" were leaders of the Yi Kuan Tao, one of North China's most powerful secret societies. The secret society has long played as vital a role in Chinese society as the "machine" in American city politics. Traditionally the purpose of these societies has been to protect their members' property against public disorder or the exactions of public officials. Although usually surrounded by an aura of mystic symbols, the societies have used professional thugs to obtain their ends and have often drawn their income from the protection of brothels, gambling houses, and the like. The combination of respectable membership and underworld contacts gives them a striking resemblance to the American political deals and associations uncovered by the Kefauver committee.

Chinese secret societies have always been intensely political. In the past, they helped to overthrow several dynasties by giving a lead to discontent. The Kuomintang itself originated as a secret society. Chiang Kai-shek owes much of his rise to the Green Society of Tu Yueh-sen which grew fat on the opium trade and extended its tentacles into many areas of Chinese life.

The Yi Kuan Tao society is a rather recent development. Although its leaders claim Buddha as its founder, it was started only forty-odd years ago in Shantung Province. It has utilized certain Buddhist principles but relied primarily upon fake spiritualism to build up its

ANDREW ROTH is a staff contributor who was in Peking when the Communists captured that city.

appeal. Like the Caodaist sect in Indo-China it has claimed to be able to transmit the "word of God" to its followers. And almost inevitably followers got a commendatory "word" only when they had made a substantial contribution to the society. The contributions rolled in from tens of thousands of credulous Chinese seeking a way out of the difficulties of life in the midst of civil war and rampant inflation. In Peking alone, the society is believed to have had 100,000 members at one time, and its branches extended throughout the country.

With such widespread influence the leaders of the Yi Kuan Tao could naturally be of considerable assistance to political organizations without popular roots. During the Japanese occupation the leader of the Yi Kuan Tao, the late Chang Kuang-pi, became adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Jap-sponsored Wang Ching-wei regime at Nanking. Its Peking leader, Chang Wu-fu, was appointed adviser to the Japanese gendarmerie there.

After Japan's defeat, the Yi Kuan Tao's leader made a quick shift, offering their services to the Kuomintang in the battle against the Communists whom they recognized as their deadly enemies. By 1947, the Yi Kuan Tao's secret organization was supplying Chiang with information from the Communist-controlled areas.

When the Communists took Peking in January, 1949, they banned the Yi Kuan Tao and similar secret societies. Themselves experts in underground organization, they realized the danger presented by these powerful organizations. Apparently the Yi Kuan Tao cloaked its activities well enough to survive for a while.

In those early days of Communist control in Peking it was patent that the Kuomintang had left behind at least some sort of rumor organization. It was amazing how certain stories, designed to discredit Communist strength, would sweep the city like wildfire, despite the Communist press monopoly. One of the rumors which made Peking people perk up their ears in February, 1949, was: "General MacArthur has landed in Manchuria in command of a Japanese army!"

These tales were not nearly so disconcerting to the Communist security forces as the wrecking of one of Peking's power stations by an explosion in September, 1949, and the burning of fifty-nine of its trolley cars. September was a particularly embarrassing month to have such incidents occur because it marked the beginning of the People's Political Consultative Conference which in October proclaimed the Chinese People's Republic. The Communists suppressed reports of this sabotage and their secret political police intensified their search for the culprits. Following up a number of leads they are said to have found that one Yi Kuan Tao leader had begun a "Communist Elimination Committee" in 1948. At least one other, they decided, had joined the Kuomintang secret police under the late General Tai Li in 1947. Former disciples who had sought police protection helped in these investigations. The Communists refrained from arresting suspects because they wanted to uproot the whole secret organization at once, and because they hoped to trace it back to the Kuomintang and still farther to the Americans.

China's entry into the Korean war intensified both the Yi Kuan Tao's rumor activity and police pressure against it. "The Atom Bomb Will Soon Be Dropped!" "The Kuomintang Will Land Soon!" "The Americans Will Win in Korea!" were some of the stories circulated. The Communist political police, ordered in September to intensify their roundup of "spies, special agents, and rumor-mongers," began a campaign against the Yi Kuan Tao. Chu Tsan, the Buddhist representative in the Political Consultative Conference, wrote in the Peking *People's Daily* last December 26, a denunciation of the Yi Kuan Tao, saying that "it is not a sect of our religion but is used by the counter-revolutionaries to take advantage of the name of Buddha and some of our principles to carry out vicious propaganda work." In January, some 120 leading members of the society were jailed. On January 17 six of the top leaders were shot after being tried by the Peking Military Tribunal. Apart from alleged individual misdeeds, they were accused of planning an "armed rising" against the government.

At "accusation meetings," which the Communists held in most of the localities of Peking, former disciples told how they had been hoodwinked. Another group of Yi Kuan Tao leaders were included in the great public trial of twenty-five "counter-revolutionaries" in March, and were subsequently shot.

The charge that these secret society leaders were "United States-Chiang Kai-shek agents" might have passed off as just another Communist exaggeration if it were not for a Voice of America broadcast. This broadcast, relayed by the B. B. C. from London on April 14, claimed that the United States is already fighting China not only frontally in Korea but by helping guerrillas and saboteurs within China proper. "It is one of the openest secrets here," this State Department-sponsored broadcast quoted from an article by Joseph C. Harsch in the *Christian Science Monitor* of April 10, "that both British and American agents have maintained contact with resistance forces in South China from the first days and that aid to such forces has been flowing by various channels for many months." By implication the broadcast linked the wrecking of the power plant with the activities of the foreign agents.

This broadcast created a small storm in Britain. After several complaints from constituents, M. P. Tom Driberg wrote to the Foreign Office to inquire whether British agents were actually engaged in supporting or directing anti-Communist guerrillas in mainland China. Kenneth Younger, Under Secretary of State for Foreign

Affairs, voiced his "dismay" at the allegation in which he said there was "no truth . . . as far as the United Kingdom is concerned."

In the course of investigating this complaint a number of Foreign Office officials have been surprised to learn how far the United States has gone in helping saboteurs and guerrillas on the Chinese mainland. Of course it had been known that the last American budget included tremendous amounts for intelligence activities and other secret operations. But it had not been realized how much of this has been spent in China, and for what purposes. In fact, there is some hint that one of the secondary causes for General MacArthur's dismissal was a disagreement about how broadly one can interpret "intelligence activities." Washington apparently felt it was legitimate to dispatch intelligence agents to China from Formosa and Hongkong, but drew the line at equipping expeditions of saboteurs and guerrillas.

The Gaullist Threat

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, June 1

THE election posters are just beginning to go up, but most of the candidates have not yet had theirs printed. The delay is due to the fact that it wasn't until May 26 that the *apparentements* (expedient coalitions to assure seats under the electoral law) in the various French constituencies were officially announced. They contain relatively few surprises. As was provided by the new law, the Paris area will vote on the basis of proportional representation. In the rest of France some 15 out of the 90 departments—each department being usually a single multi-member constituency—will have no *apparentements* and, failing a 50 per cent majority by any party, will also have proportional representation. In most of the other departments there will be either a narrow "association" of the Third Force parties proper (Socialists, M. R. P., and Radicals) or a larger "association" stretching all the way from the Socialists to the extreme non-Gaullist right. Finally, there will be some fifteen constituencies where the Gaullists will be "associated" with either the so-called right-wing Independents (many of them Gaullists in disguise) or, in a few cases, with the M. R. P. or the Radicals. In a number of instances the Gaullists rejected overtures from others: the most notable case was that of Foreign Minister Schuman, who was flatly turned down by the Gaullists to whom he had offered an "anti-Red alliance." In other constituencies it was the Gaullists who were snubbed by the "moderate" coalition. This shows that there is still a good deal of faith in the Third Force which, for all its faults, stands at least for one positive thing: the preservation in France of a certain vital minimum of political liberty which is part of the French way of life.

It is too early to attempt any serious forecasts of the election results, or to say in how many departments P. R. will go into effect when "associations" fail to get their 50 per cent. The answer depends on many factors. How will the women vote? As in England reactions to the mounting price of meat are of paramount importance. Also, how many of the habitual non-voters, on whom De Gaulle largely relies, will be persuaded to vote this time? Forecasts vary from those who say that the new Assembly will be even more governable than the last one, with no proper working majority of any kind, to those who prophesy that the swing will be so much to the right that the Socialists will go into opposition. This would leave it to a right-center coalition, with or without Gaullist participation, to clean up the appalling financial mess with which *any* new government will be faced. If hyper-inflation is to be avoided, some form of a supplementary budget will have to be passed by the new Assembly in order to cope with the present deficit estimated at between 600 and 800 billion francs. For, before the election, the Assembly was more reluctant than ever to introduce any unpopular financial measures, and tax officials were even instructed not to be hard on any taxpayer during the election period.

What of De Gaulle himself, the biggest unknown quantity in this election? He is starting on his election tour in the south this week, working his way up to the north, and holding one or two meetings a day in various cities. The big factor in favor of his Rassemblement du Peuple Français (R. P. F.) is that it has an impressive figure, which is more than any party, except the Communists can boast of—and Thorez is, for the present, available only in effigy, his sick body still being in the care of Soviet physicians. But, except for a small semi-hysterical minority of a kind one would find in any country, it would be wrong to suppose that De Gaulle is "adored" in the manner of Hitler or Mussolini. His personality is cold and far from "magnetic." The fact that he surrounds himself with a certain aura of mystery, is seldom seen in public, and often speaks in riddles cuts both ways. There are those who are convinced of his determi-

nation to stamp out the Republic, and are therefore willing to give him *carte blanche;* but there are also those who, while ultra-conservative in temperament fear his accession to power might lead to some highly dangerous adventures, both internally and internationally.

DE GAULLE'S following is an extremely mixed one. It includes countless middle-class grousers; it includes people who will vote for De Gaulle rather than for any tricky *apparentement;* but above all, Gaullism will rally the not inconsiderable anti-parliamentary, Vichyite elements among the middle class (the R. P. F. is, among other things, the great amnesty party), the survivors and successors of the pre-war Action Française, the Croix de Feu, and the like, and, finally, the groups most acutely terrified of the Communists and of the Soviet Union.

Appearances may be deceptive; but it does not look as if France is on the eve of a *coup d'état* or that revolutionary passions are acutely inflamed. The Communists have been sounding the alarm over the simple fact that the election has been fixed for June 17, the day before the Gaullist anniversary celebration. On that day, they say, the more or less victorious Gaullists will hold their victory parade in the Champs Elysées and carry out their *coup d'état.* That outcome, I would say, is only conceivable if De Gaulle won an overwhelming victory, but since this is not likely, what De Gaulle plans is probably not so much a March on Rome as a tactic resembling the Hitler technique of winning power "through Parliament." The parliamentary parties are his bugbear. This does not mean that he intends, as has been suggested by M. Herriot and others, to bring about a one-party system in France. What he may attempt is to dominate through the sheer weight of numbers the whole right and center, including the M. R. P., turn them into obedient tools of the R. P. F., and eventually, by outlawing the Communists, to acquire a complete "legal" hold over an obedient Parliament. He would then change the constitution to provide for some of the following measures:

> Election of the President would be by a vast "national college" comprising, in addition to Parliament, "the representatives of local assemblies and of the country's intellectual and economic activities." The President would appoint the Cabinet. On major questions he would have the right to call for a nation-wide referendum. He would personally negotiate and ratify treaties and merely "inform" Parliament of them. In the event of a conflict arising between the President and Parliament, he would have the right to dissolve the Assembly or submit the cause of conflict to a referendum. The trade unions, in De Gaulle's view, undermine the authority of the state; national trade unions would be prohibited, and replaced by "capital-labor associations" functioning only within the framework of each particular company. These "associations" would "tend to safeguard the workers' welfare." Labor would have representatives in the Assembly electing the President and also on the Economic Council of the Senate.

There is little doubt that such a system would, in fact, amount to a thinly disguised personal dictatorship.

If De Gaulle's home program abounds in obscurities—he says very little about the all-important financial and economic nightmares besetting France—his international program is equally obscure. But a few points emerge: he is against the Communists because they are allowing France to be enslaved by the United States. In view of the close bonds that are known to exist between the Gaullists and the American Republicans, one wonders how much of the latter is pure demagogy. It is certain that there are, among the top Gaullists, numerous generals who like De Gaulle himself, like to talk in terms of building a mighty French army which will help to safeguard "French diplomacy" in international affairs; it is also known that, on a purely sentimental plane, many young Gaullists officers have been offended by the bossy ways of the American army authorities in France. The idea of a semi-Fascist Europe, with France as its nucleus, and with a "strong Germany" as its chief partner, also enters into the Gaullist conception of a happy future. But the Gaullists' strongest views are those held about the French empire. They are opposed to any outside interference. The suggestions made, at the time of the Singapore conference, about the Royal Air Force's participation in the war in Indo-China produced violent resentment in the Gaullist press. It is believed that De Gaulle is strongly opposed to allowing the Americans to establish themselves firmly in North Africa, as this might encourage them to "defend France from the periphery." There is another point about North Africa where the Gaullists are known to have thousands of their "own men" in key positions: they may try to make it their exclusive stronghold, modeling it, in effect, after Malan's South Africa. The strange happenings in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia at any rate suggest that some such ideas are in the wind and that Gaullist influence is much stronger there than outsiders suspect.



De Gaulle

How revolutionary is the movement? And will it not

frighten away too many voters, as the local elections at Lorient last month, for example, suggested? Here the Gaullists got only 24 per cent of the poll as against 31 per cent in 1949. There is perhaps more than meets the eye in the sudden decision last week of the famous novelist, André Malraux, the most "romantic" and "revolutionary" of the Gaullist candidates, not to run, although his candidacy had been widely proclaimed.

Mob Rule in Crossville

BY MARLEY COLE

FEDD WILEY, JR., was a bright young man of twenty. He earned his B.S. in chemistry in three years and was just starting his fifth month as science instructor at Homesteads High School in Cumberland County, Tennessee. By collecting cast-off clothes' hangers from the dormitories, by hauling passengers to college, by every ingenious gimmick in the book of scrimping and saving, Fedd had managed to maintain his own car all the way through college.

But to Fedd his education, his position, his prestige were incidental to a bigger, all-consuming ideal. Every act of this young man's life was inspired by a burning consecration. He was a minister. He was devoting a minimum of three and one-half hours a day to his ministerial duties, delivering public Bible talks, conducting Bible studies in private homes, calling from house to house to preach the gospel. But unfortunately—from most people's viewpoint—Fedd belonged to a minority religious group. He was a Jehovah's Witness.

When he walked down Main Street of Crossville, the county seat of Cumberland County, early in the morning of Saturday, January 22, 1951, his career as a teacher was about to be shattered and an explosion of mob hysteria touched off that would fill the country with disgust and the newspapers with ugly headlines for days.

He walked past the post office with a white magazine bag hanging from his shoulder on which were the titles *Watchtower* and *Awake!* He crossed the intersection and took his stand on the edge of the sidewalk. This is the town's taxi stand, where all the taxi drivers hang out. Every Saturday morning and afternoon the people of Crossville and Cumberland County could see Fedd or some other of us Witnesses standing on this taxi stand corner, holding aloft copies of the *Watchtower* and *Awake!* or handing out printed invitations to our Sunday Bible lectures held in the Kingdom Hall at the south end of Main Street directly across from Mayor Bill Mayberry's residence.

Like Jehovah's Witnesses everywhere, we were used to having people throw us hard looks and nasty remarks. We were used to people telling us we ought to be run out of town or strung up on a limb. The charge "That's Communist stuff" was not new, either. Ordinarily we just don't pay attention to such reactions. We simply have a job of advertising our faith in God's Kingdom as having come, and we preach in the public concourses where the people pass as did Isaiah and Jesus Christ.

But this Saturday morning a group of irate taxi drivers came up to Fedd and began to heckle and threaten him. Fedd tried to reason his way out of their charges, with the pedestrians as often as not agreeing with him. But it makes no sense to a lot of people that you have a religion that comes first, last, and always, in spite of nationalism, panic, war, or anything. It does not make bat-sense to a lot of people that you can have conscientious scruples, based on Bible commands, against saluting the flag of any nation—and still be a good citizen. Either you conform or you are on the other side.

This morning the taxi drivers made no bones about it. "If you don't get, somebody will drag you out of here feet first," they told Fedd.

As company servant in Cumberland County for the past year, I had been expecting this. I had been warned that some "squirrel hunter" would mistake me for a squirrel one of these days. When I came by Fedd's corner at about nine o'clock, the taxi drivers were knotted together down the street, talking with Chief of Police Clayton Shaver. We didn't know whether they were trying to incite him against us or just posting him what to expect. Should we tuck tail and run? If we did, they'd think we were afraid and accost us all the more in the future. Fedd and I were the only men in the company; must the women and children also leave off exercising this fundamental scriptural and legal right to preach the Gospel because a gang of irate citizens didn't like it? No; Jesus always stood his ground; so did Paul; so do our brothers in 115 countries.

While the taxi men were talking with the chief, we walked down and told him in their hearing we knew what was coming and the job of preserving order was now his responsibility. In a flash the sawed-off fellow, Johnny Burgess, wheeled and seized my jacket lapels.

MARLEY COLE, who participated in the events he describes, is a Jehovah's Witness who lives in Tennessee.

P. G. Garrett, a redfaced taxi man wearing glasses, hove in, his fist flailing. A husky fellow named Beecher Poteet sputtered about us and our communistic stuff. I told them they must be willing ignorant, for the very *Awake!* we were displaying was headlined "Communists Fight Jehovah's Witnesses" and the *Watchtower* contained press reports of the banning, outlawing, and imprisoning of Jehovah's Witnesses all over Soviet areas, including East Germany. Garrett grabbed an *Awake!* out of my hands and crammed it in his pocket. A crowd was gathering. The taxi men kept closing in, grabbing us and making gestures. Finally the chief of police pulled them off. They shouted, "You so-and-so's get off the streets." We replied, "We're going back to our corner."

We went back.

Twenty minutes later the fighting started. Chief Shaver was not on hand—he had gone into a barber shop. Beecher Poteet lunged in and pinned my arms down. While he held me Garrett struck me a blow on the cheek. The three of us struggled and went down. Johnny Burgess and Hollis Patton attacked Fedd, who lost his glasses in the scuffling. The brawl broke up with Garrett yelling that I started it by hitting Beecher Poteet first. At this point Poteet became the law—a deputy sheriff. He said, "I'll arrest you both. Come on over to the courthouse." We said, "We want some warrants too, including one for you."

ALL of us went up the block and crossed to the courthouse. The magistrate would not give either of us a warrant. Fedd and I left and went up town to the office of the city judge.

Judge C. E. Keyes was reluctant to issue any warrants. He hoped the "whole thing would blow over." We assured him it could not, not until law and order took things in hand. Then he issued a warrant and said he would have it served as soon as our legal counsel could set a time for a hearing.

Fedd and I went back to the Kingdom Hall to conduct our regular Saturday morning service meeting and theocratic ministry school. There were seventeen women and children present. Everybody was determined to go out in the street work. Meanwhile we had called the legal desk of the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society in Brooklyn and been advised to push on the work and get in touch with their nearest legal representative, Franklin Griffin, in Dalton, Georgia. Griffin was out of town Saturday and we could not reach him. Fedd and I were hoping to have the warrants served on the instigators before we resumed our street-corner witnessing.

Since the other Witnesses, the women and children, were dispersing to street corners all over town, we felt obliged to move around among them to see that they were not molested. We told Chief Shaver that we had to go back on the streets, and he advised us not to. We told High Sheriff Lawrence Wyatt the same thing, and he said go ahead, there would be no trouble, or if we started any he'd haul us and the others all in together.

At one street corner the mob began to follow us. We kept moving at the same pace; they yapped along at our heels, hands hovering at their pocket mouths as if to go for a knife. At the end of the block we crossed the street. They did not follow. But as we went back up town they jumped us at another corner. They really flooded over us this time. There was hard fighting that would have done us in if Chief Shaver had not finally broken it up.

We anticipated a showdown the next day, Sunday. Our regular Bible lecture was scheduled for one o'clock. At six o'clock that morning my call to the Dalton lawyer got through, and he said he would come right up. Word of the trouble was spreading. Witnesses from surrounding companies were coming to Crossville. By noon they were parking their cars unobtrusively on streets near the Kingdom Hall. Crossville's one-man police force would be powerless. The county sheriff and his handful of deputies would not be much better off. There were only two highway patrolmen stationed at Crossville.

Sure enough, by two o'clock hundreds of people were on Main Street. By three o'clock mobsters had got the city fire hose and attached it to the plug across from the Hall. A few minutes later two county trucks pulled up and the occupants started handing out guns to the mob. The only staying forces on the scene were the out-of-town Witnesses and five carloads of state patrolmen who were rushed in from Cookeville and Nashville.

Mayor Mayberry pleaded for a bloodless settlement. He asked the Witnesses if they would leave town provided the mob would break up. The Witnesses said yes. The out-of-towners did leave—some of them at gunpoint, one of the gun-toters being a woman.

Fedd, my wife, and I were left. The mob was still down on the street. We had a good-will lady and her two small boys with us. She and her children were escorted by patrolmen into Fedd's car with us. Amid the taunts and laughter of the mob we rode down Main Street of Crossville. It was solidly lined with cars. Even Mr. Johnson, the theater manager, and a lot of his patrons stood under the Palace marquee and watched. The lady in the car with us had tears running down her face. "I consider it the greatest honor of my life to ride down this street with you people," she declared.

Mayor Mayberry, accompanied by City Commissioner M. E. Dorton, met Fedd and me next day in Cookeville, fifty miles west. The meeting was held in the office of the state highway patrol, with Lieutenant M. E. Kinchum present. Our attorneys were there. The Mayor said frankly that it would be insane for us to go back to Crossville. "Those people run things over there. I know you gentlemen should come back. But it is not practical. It doesn't

sound good, but I have to suggest that you take a defeatist attitude."

Commissioner Dorton concurred. "We cannot control them. We tried to stop them from shooting firecrackers on the Fourth of July. The first thing we knew there was a hundred people shooting firecrackers."

A lot of times in mobbings Jehovah's Witnesses find themselves victims of conspiracies or connivings between the authorities and the mob. So far we cannot point to any positive connection in the Crossville affray. True, when our attorney asked who turned the city fire hose over to the mob, neither the Mayor nor the Commissioner had an answer. But I do know that the authorities and the law at Crossville, Tennessee, are mortified over this disgrace.

A lot of times, too, the American Legion and veterans' organizations take a hand in these pseudo-patriotic outbursts; but the Legion and V. F. W. deplored the mobbing in the Crossville *Chronicle*.

CROSSVILLE'S action, from surface appearances, was an uprising of ignorant, prejudiced people who took the law into their own hands. One Witness, Dr. C. P. Shaw from Nashville, circulated unidentified among the mob. "I asked one tall fellow why they didn't let law and order handle this. He said, 'But we can't have them magazines distributed here.' When I asked why he didn't want Jehovah's Witnesses handled through proper legal channels if they were guilty of anything, he repeated, 'But we can't have them magazines distributed here.' " A short fellow wearing a yellow baseball cap, when asked the same question, replied, "I started this whole thing yesterday. We are the law in this town. We don't even allow niggers in this town."

What kind of citizens are these self-styled authorities who don't allow "niggers" or Jehovah's Witnesses in their town? On the following Tuesday night two of their beat-up men were jailed for highway robbery.

People outside of Crossville, Tennessee, may imagine that such a thing could not happen in their community. But they are wrong. Worse orgies of mob hysteria have swept perfectly "respectable" towns, such as Wooster, Ohio, and Duncan, Oklahoma, in recent months. In 1940 mob violence broke out against Jehovah's Witnesses in forty-four states. Already the contagion from the Crossville disgrace has scattered to points outside Tennessee. A news story sent out from Crossville and monitored by United Press reported that "the trouble was said to have started when Cole began preaching against the war effort, the draft, and saluting the flag." Jehovah's Witnesses, it said, were on Crossville's streets distributing pamphlets "urging young men not to report for selective-service calls," and their Sunday meeting was held "to protest the draft."

Fedd Wiley and I spent all day Tuesday tracing down this incendiary "news" to its source in a Crossville correspondent. The taxi drivers from whom he got it knew it was a lie. To the United Press and to editors and reporters we went on record as to what we were preaching, which had exactly as little to do with draft, war effort, and flag saluting as did Jesus's Kingdom of God proclamations. United Press sent out a retraction. But I have yet to see a U. P. news story in any paper explaining what we Jehovah's Witnesses *were* preaching.

The damage has been done. In Dickson, Tennessee, our contract for a meeting place has been canceled. In Maryville, Columbia, and other Tennessee towns, as well as in Greenville, South Carolina, threats against the Witnesses have started rumbling. If mob hysteria swept forty-four states in 1940, it may sweep forty-eight states in 1951. To see officials and citizens of a community hang their heads in shame and confess that not they but lawless mobs run the place is to witness the horrid picture of mob anarchy.

Jehovah's Witnesses survived twelve years of Nazi extermination drives; today many who wore the zebra suits of Hitler's concentration camps are going back into concentration camps run by Communists. They can get along underground or aboveground. But here is the inescapable fact for citizens and authorities to face up



Sellgson

to: the country in which Jehovah's Witnesses cannot preach the gospel has no freedom for its people. Some countries are totalitarian by decree; others by virtue of the spirit of the people, who violate the principles of their own constitutional law. Mob hysteria, not the preaching of Jehovah's Witnesses, now threatens to subject America to a nightmare of hoodlumism.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Will France Rise Again?

MODERN FRANCE, PROBLEMS OF THE THIRD AND FOURTH REPUBLICS. Edited by Edward Mead Earle. Princeton University Press. $6.

AMERICANS are very much interested in France these days, and with good reason. Despite its weakness and loss of prestige France is still the largest and most powerful of the free nations on the continent of Europe. On its capacity and will to resist may depend the fate of the Continent in case of a Third World War. Should the Red Army launch an attack on Western Europe, will France prove to be the France of Clemenceau or that of Laval? America would very much like to know.

Last year a conference was organized and directed by Edward Mead Earle, at Princeton, with the object of making a many-sided study of the French situation. It was attended chiefly by the "younger set" of American students of France. The outcome of this conference is the book under review, the chapters of which were originally papers delivered by the delegates.

As is inevitable in a collective enterprise of this sort, the chapters are uneven in value and in interest. Some, like those on French politics, are brilliant; others, like those on French letters and science, are entirely inadequate. However, on the whole the book is a distinct contribution to our knowledge and understanding of conditions in France. Though addressed to the general reader it will prove an invaluable aid to those especially interested in European affairs.

In a provocative chapter, The *Elan Vital* of France, John B. Wolf sounds a theme that is taken up and developed by some of his fellow-contributors. This theme is the "tragic failure of France to adjust itself to the emerging industrial-scientific society of the twentieth century"; hence its internal weakness and the ebbing of its *élan vital*. It was a stunted Industrial Revolution that France experienced; the result has been an industrial system in part actually pre-capitalist, an artisan or semi-artisan system. And the much-vaunted balanced economy of France merely means that a backward agriculture is balanced by a backward industry. This has been due partly to a lack of sufficient coal, but much more to the persistence of the luxury industries that prosper best in the handicraft stage. Economic life in France, according to John E. Sawyer, has therefore been "geared to smallness and continuity," which has retarded mass production and has encouraged an "endless readiness to repair and conserve." The consequence is the persistent survival of the most individualistic economy in Europe.

The pattern of French business organization is described in an illuminating chapter by David P. Landes. French business, even large enterprises such as those of the Wendels and the Schneiders, is generally family-structured. A French enterpriser avoids as much as possible making use of credit; hence expansion is limited. The home market is small, being restricted by the low purchasing power of poorly paid workers and small peasant proprietors. Chain and department stores are discouraged by restrictive laws. "Modern mass production," writes Landes, "demands turnover above all, and French retail trade turns very slowly." Because of high profits, especially in the luxury industries, there is plenty of money, which seeks investment in foreign loans rather than in home industry. As a consequence industrial production in 1949, though considerably above the 1938 level, was not much above the 1929 level.

Since 1870 the great political problem of France has been to protect the democratic Republic from its enemies—the royalists before 1914 and the fascists and Communists thereafter. The slogan of the republicans under the Third Republic was "no enemies on the left." In the Fourth Republic, however, the enemy is on the left—the Communists, now the largest party in the National Assembly. This has created a problem unprecedented in the history of republican France.

The political tragedy of France is the collapse of the Socialist Party, today the strongest pillar of democracy in Western Europe. In one of the best chapters in the book Henry W. Ehrmann describes how the Socialists, who had displaced the Radical Socialists as the leading champions of reform, put through the great social reforms of the Blum ministry. But after World War II the situation on the left changed drastically because the workers deserted the Socialists en masse for the Communists. As a consequence the Socialist Party shrank rapidly and has become essentially a middle-class party, moderate in aim and cautious in method. To gain power it has to combine either with the Communists or with the right. Whichever it does, according to Ehrmann, it is bound to lose. To "combine" with the Communists means certain death. To combine with the right means that the Socialists have definitely ceased to be a working-class party. In France that would signify only one thing; that the Socialists had joined the camp of the reactionaries and hence were doomed to wither away into nothingness.

The trade unions have been the chief battlefield between Socialists and Communists. The capture of the General Confederation of Labor by the Communists is vividly described by Val R. Lorwin, who points out that their success was due chiefly to the failure of the government to meet the wage-price issue. Despite the considerable increase in post-war production real wages have increased little if at all, and the French workers, militant and class conscious, have supported the Communists as the only uncompromising champions of the workers' demand for a higher living standard. Lorwin makes the sorry comment that the "share of the wage-earners in the total national income had probably declined as compared with prewar conditions." Surprising, however, were the gains of the Communists in rural France. In explanation Gordon Wright corrects the common opinion that peasant proprietorship is universal in France by noting that perhaps one-third of the farm population is proletarian or semi-proletarian, chiefly laborers and share-croppers. These ele-

ments have proved favorable soil for Communist propaganda.

What about the Third Force, of which so much is bruited abroad? In a well-written chapter Edward Whiting Fox explains how this nebulous combination has managed to survive though it satisfies no one. The more a ministry changes the more it is the same Third Force. Fox acutely observes that it survives because it is a necessity, since there is no loyal opposition, right or left, to which a dissatisfied voter can turn. The Third Force now performs the vital function of maintaining the Republic "against the day when the issues of the cold war are resolved, and the world is once again safe for democratic republics."

Highly interesting is the chapter Georges Sorel: Apostle of Fanaticism, by Scott H. Lytle. Sorel is the only writer who receives special treatment in the book, and the choice is an excellent one. This engineer turned philosopher was an almost perfect example of the revolutionary intellectual, and authentically French in mood, spirit, and manner. Sorel's intellectual interest was not so much in the ideas of the right and left as in the conflict between them. And the disharmonies of French political life were reflected in the dissonances of his political ideas. Sorel began as a Marxist, became a syndicalist, blinked at royalism and fascism, and died believing that communism heralded the "dawn of a new era." In his fine intellectual portrait of this revolutionary philosopher, Lytle exhibits him as a man "seeking the absolute," convinced that the revolutionary myth would succeed religion by giving the workers a political faith in which to believe and for which to conquer the world. The spirit of fanaticism which had migrated from the body religious to the body politic found supreme expression in this refined, cultured, scholarly *idéologue*.

France in international relations is treated by Henry Bertram Hill and Fred Latimer Hadsel. They point out that France's traditional demand for security, against Soviet Russia as well as against Germany, at last received a cordial response in the North Atlantic Pact. Its associates in the pact clearly recognized France's geographical advantage as a bridge between East and West and as an avenue for the deployment of troops in Central Europe. In the view of these writers France's will to resist aggression will become progressively stronger as the North Atlantic nations advance their rearmament program. In the last analysis that means American help, which is readily forthcoming.

Love and admiration of France are evinced by all the contributors; yet an atmosphere of pessimism pervades most of the book. This pessimism arises from the view, expressed or implied, that the fall of France in 1940 revealed fundamental infirmities, political, social, economic, and spiritual, in the structure of the nation. The loss of nerve in facing the great crisis has shaken the confidence of the world in France and of France in itself. Will France rise again as it has done so many times?

There is one sign of such a resurrection, the Schuman Plan. Unfortunately, the present book slights that famous project; only a few stray sentences are devoted to it. The bold, original, constructive plan initiated by France now seems fairly sure of being adopted. Once carried into effect, the Schuman Plan will quiet France's fear of Germany, which has racked French nerves for so long, and will restore its economic *élan vital* by giving it greater access to the coal and steel of the Ruhr. France's Industrial Revolution need no longer be stunted; and at long last it will have the opportunity to enter the industrial-scientific economy of the twentieth century.

The history of France, more than that of any other nation in the Old World, is the history of Europe. So deeply and so widely has French influence permeated the life and thought of the European peoples that, as André Siegfried truly says in the opening chapter of the book, "without France, there is no Europe; without Europe, there would be no France."

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO

A Poet's Letters

THE HONEY GORGED. The Selected Letters of John Keats. Edited with an introduction by Lionel Trilling. Farrar, Straus and Young $3.50.

THE temptation is simply to quote, for there are astonishing beauties in these letters, sentence perfect and complete: "Axioms in philosophy are not axioms until they are proved by our pulses." "Nothing startles me beyond the Moment." "The excellence of every art is its intensity." "Men should bear with each other—there lives not the Man who may not be cut up, aye hashed to pieces on his weakest side."

That these letters form a superb work of art need hardly be argued. It would, however, be profitable to argue that their greatness is essentially of the same order as the greatness in a few of Keats's poems; and that the depreciation of the nineteenth century poets, fashionable until last night, has led to a curious use of the letters as a means of undercutting the poems. But the same man, the same writer is at work in both the poems and the letters: a genuinely unified sensibility. That he sometimes used verse and other times prose is not nearly so important as that he always used language.

Thomas Mann



By HENRY HATFIELD

A critical guidebook to the works of a monumental writer. Detailed analysis of the stories and novels with full background material. $2.00

Other Books in the "Makers of Modern Literature" series: ($2.00)

FORSTER by Lionel Trilling
GIDE by Van Meter Ames
GOGOL by Vladimir Nabokov
HOPKINS by Kenyon Critics
JOYCE by Harry Levin
LORCA by Edwin Honig
ROBINSON by Yvor Winters
SHAW by Eric Bentley
STEVENSON by David Daiches
WILDE by Edouard Roditi
WILLIAMS by Vivienne Koch
WOLFE by H. J. Muller
WOOLF by David Daiches

NEW DIRECTIONS BOOKS
333 SIXTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

In his fine introduction Mr. Trilling speaks of Keats's geniality. I found myself thinking that Keats was that rarity among writers, a truly pleasing man—but we probably mean the same thing. Or perhaps the word is manliness, the real kind, modest and quiet, not the false American strut. The early letters are a little self-conscious in their crowding for sensation, but those that follow, written during the pitifully few years in which he did his best work, are hard with thought and lovely with a rare blend of comradely feeling and self-respect. Finally, a group of letters to Fanny Brawne, assaulting the emotions in wave after wave of his pleas for life and his hunger for time: "I cannot say forget me—but I would mention that there are impossibilities in the world."

Reading these letters reinforces the impression that since the nineteenth century there has been a sad decline in the art of writing prose. We are deep in political smog and literary murk, and no one alive can habitually write such clear and strong English sentences as Keats. Few people in his own time did either, but his style can be related, as the good styles of our day cannot be, to a general level of literary cultivation. Perhaps this decline is due to the blight of journalism or the softening of education; perhaps to the fact that literary people have come to prefer the bureaucratic attractions of apparatus to the personal values of style.

Most impressive in these letters is the picture they slowly compose of Keats considering his role as a writer. He is known for having written, "O for a life of Sensations rather than of Thoughts," but he also wrote six months later, "I find that I can have no enjoyment in the World but continual drinking of Knowledge." He regarded the profession of poetry with reverence, but he knew that "fine writing is next to fine doing." He suffered from the press of time ("Gorge the honey of life," he wrote a friend), but even when he became panicky as a man he remained self-possessed as a writer. He did not believe that to reach greatness a writer must enter some dark diabolic compact, and even in those passages where he affirms his greatness ("I think I shall be among the English poets after my death") there is no preening, keening, or leverkühning.

Mr. Trilling's long introduction is an act of genuine criticism, and it does not slip into that mimicry of the subject which so many reprint editors consider a way of easing their readers into a classic.

The book itself is the first in "The Great Letters Series," of which Louis Kronenberger is general editor. Except that there seems a disproportion in devoting 60 of its 280 pages to introductory apparatus, it is an admirable beginning.

IRVING HOWE

A Decisive Failure

THE NEGRO AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY. By Wilson Record. The University of North Carolina Press. $3.50.

THE failure of the Communists to win many Negro adherents in the United States is one of many reasons, it seems to this reviewer, why Russia may fail to achieve world domination. Defection or sabotage on the part of a considerable number of the fifteen million colored Americans could measurably impair the striking power of the United States in an all-out war fought simultaneously in Asia and Europe. A strong American Negro Communist Party could, moreover, furnish effective leadership for nationalist movements in Africa—whose strategic and economic importance is belatedly acknowledged in this country—and revolutionary movements in the colonial West Indies and Latin America. In retrospect, this failure of the Communists may prove as decisive as similar miscalculations in Western Europe have been.

The author, a native Texan educated at Texas Wesleyan, the University of North Carolina, and the University of Texas, spells out in this objective, dispassionate, and well-documented study the reasons for the failure here. The period following the great depression seemed tailor-made for a successful Communist drive among American Negroes. They were the most exploited of the ill-fed, ill-clad, and poorly housed. They suffered segregation, discrimination, disfranchisement, insults to their personal dignity. The Scottsboro case, which the Communists took over from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, provided a *cause célèbre* that aroused more worldwide condemnation of judicial process in the United States than any case since the Sacco-Vanzetti case. And yet at no time between 1929 and 1934 did Negro Communists number more than some 2,500.

Perhaps the most important reason for the failure to reap a richer harvest during this golden opportunity was the proposal for a Black Nation adopted at the Communist Sixth World Congress in 1928. This party line won even fewer supporters than had Marcus Garvey with his "Black Nationalism" in the early 1920's. The Communist plan to train American Negroes for leadership in the liberation of black colonial subjects in Africa and the West Indies was equally unrealistic. The reviewer, who participated in the Pan-African Congresses of 1921, 1923, and 1925, recalls how extremely difficult it was to get American Negroes interested in colonial areas. During the depression they were even less interested, since their principal concern was jobs, food, and housing. When Communists directed their agitation and propaganda to these problems, they won their largest number of colored supporters. But "white chauvinism" prevented the Communists from reaping the full benefit of their success. Virulent attacks upon the N. A. A. C. P. and the National Urban League alienated large numbers of Negroes. Two reasons even more significant than those enumerated accounted for the Communist failure. One of these, the author makes clear, was the indifference of American Negroes to Russia and Marxism. The second, it seems to this reviewer, was the inherent conflict between the appeals to class solidarity and to racial nationalism.

The frequent shiftings in the party line after 1934 consolidated the failure of the previous years. In 1935 the Seventh World Congress ordered a united front against war and fascism, working arrangements were sought with trade unions, the N. A. A. C. P., and the Urban League. National liberation movements in the colonies and grievances of racial minorities were subordinated to the necessity to prevent world domination by Germany, Italy, and Japan. Moreover, the New Deal and the emergence of the C. I. O. weakened the argument by which the Communists

had made their greatest gains—the existence of discrimination in jobs, food, clothing, and housing. Only the most completely committed Negro Communists could adjust themselves to the subsequent tergiversations—"This is not the Negro's War," after the Hitler-Stalin pact of August, 1939; "This is the Negro's War," after the German invasion of Russia in June, 1941; "This is not the Negro's War," after the end of the war in 1945.

Today the Communists must have virtually abandoned hope of establishing a strong fifth column among Negroes in the United States. The revived plan for a Black Nation, set forth at length in Harry Haywood's "Negro Liberation" (1948), has even less chance than it had twenty-odd years ago. Since Russia is fighting an undeclared war against the United States, the Kremlin will win hardly more Negro supporters than did Germany in World War I or Japan in World War II. Above all, the Negro's dream of first-class citizenship now seems attainable.

The author has summed up the Communist débâcle in this felicitous paragraph: "Negroes in the United States have had plenty of provocation to revolt. But they have chosen to protest within the constitutional framework. They have not succumbed, as a group, to any 'siren song, sung in bass.' And because the aspirations of the American Negro are essentially egalitarian, a 'bourgeois' document like the American Constitution has a liberating potential in the Black Belt of Alabama and in the ghetto of Harlem that the 'Communist Manifesto' could never hope to have."

RAYFORD W. LOGAN

End of a World

THE SLAVE SHIP. By Bruno E. Werner. Translated by Eithne Wilkins and Ernst Kaiser. Pantheon Books. $4.

THE slave ship is Hitler's Third Reich, which was launched with such Wagnerian fanfare in 1933 and crashed to pieces so spectacularly in 1945 that one thinks of it as a natural subject for a novelist's set-piece. The passenger and galley slave to whom our attention is directed is Georg Forster, upper-middle class journalist and art historian, who observes the launching with a mixture of disdain, disgust, and ridicule, but never takes advantage of his early opportunities—he is a traveler and well-connected, even in the Nazi party—to leave the ship. From the point of view of the novelist, this reluctance is helpful to his design, for Georg, like the ubiquitous heroes of the sagas of Upton Sinclair and Robert Briffault, is the confidant of Nazis and underground workers alike. We see Hitler in person through his eyes, as well as the would-be assassin, Colonel Schellenberg.

But the reader can have little sympathy for this vacillating type, who apparently hangs around Germany in the pre-war years primarily because of his amatory preoccupations and secondarily because of a lingering patriotism from his officer days in the first war. The first third of the book, exposing Georg's growing awareness of the corruption and rottenness of the Third Reich, is of interest only as additional evidence of the way ordinary unheroic people manage to accommodate themselves to the ugly realities of life in the total state. The lies, the evasions, the fears, the rationalizations—all are here.

It is only with the outbreak of war that Mr. Werner's novel erupts into the white-hot depiction of the blazing slave ship that it might have been from beginning to end. It is as if the explosion of the war itself jarred the writer loose from his lesser preoccupations (the book has strongly autobiographical overtones) and forced him to face the end of a world. The cumulative impact of his description of the bombings of Berlin is extraordinary. And the climax is reached in a scene unsurpassed for its evocation of total destruction—a scene in which Georg wanders among the hideously eerie debris and the charred corpses of Dresden in search of the shelter in which his wife is entombed. This is a new unimagined circle of the Inferno, with the S. S.-devils careening through the smoking ruins in search of new victims for their scaffolds. The final chapters of this curiously uneven novel take rank with the very best in European literature. The close is classic in its pitiful simplicity: the aging Georg, alone and friendless, is standing at the side of the road and waving a twig of apple-blossom at an advancing American tank labeled California Kid.

If through some as yet unguessed-of good fortune we are spared the final World War, our children will want to know what they were lucky enough to miss. They will find it in the closing scenes of "The Slave Ship" for assuredly, this is the way the world ends—with both a bang *and* a whimper.

HARVEY SWADOS

In Many Directions

N D 12: NEW DIRECTIONS IN PROSE AND POETRY. New Directions Press. $5.

IN THIS, the twelfth of a series of anthologies, there are fifty contributions in prose, verse, and drama, concluded with photographs of seven sculptures by Michael Lekakis. The contents, including the art, point in many directions. When the dust-jacket labels the book "a gallery of new and divergent trends in contemporary letters," we have a right to compare it to *transition,* which flourished less than twenty years ago (1927-38). "New Directions 12" then seems old-fashioned, almost sedate; yet it is still well ahead of the main guard of writing today. In general, its subtitle might be

JUST RECEIVED — VOL 3, 2nd Ed.
Available Now! Vols. 1, 2 & 3
GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA
Deluxe printing and binding. Profusely illustrated with color plates and maps. In Russian.
This new enlarged edition will consist of 50 volumes. The Collegium of Editors and contributors includes leading personalities in Soviet Arts, Literature and Science.
Regular Price — $9.50 per Volume
OUR SUBSCRIPTION OFFER—$8 per Vol.
Subscribers will be billed for each volume as delivered. We urge immediate subscription as the supply will be limited.
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
Importers from the USSR
55 W. 56 St., N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

the name of a piece it contains: "Art and Exhibitionism." At its best it is art; at its worst, exhibitionism.

The prose pieces exemplify a variety of literary "isms"—ranging from laboratory naturalism through expressionism to the innermost limits of private symbolism. The naturalistic pieces include very thin slices of life which are ordinarily not examined in writing because of their taboos—a boy's obsession with masturbation, for example, or a soldier's job of identifying the decayed dead. A number of others are war pieces; those that stand out are Robert Lowry's violent sketch of New Year's Eve in Rome and John S. Lawson's Enterprise for a Dream, about a soldier's nightmare experiences. Both have humor, and in the second it is humor of a sardonic kind that digs beneath the surface. A convalescent lieutenant tells how he had lain in the street of a town captured by the Germans. "And so he pretended that he was dead that he might live. Henry asked him if it had been very hard, and the Lieutenant said tiredly that it was easier than pretending you are alive when you are dead." Actually there is a good deal of humor and wit in this volume. They appear in Leslie Katz's parable and in Elliott Stein's Saroyanesque Confessions of a Young Insomniac. At their most vindictive they spark Anatole Broyard's Village Café, a mordant documentation of a bistro where the neo-lost generation goes to hear the echo of its loneliness.

The artist-poet in all his varied flavors and oddities appears in this anthology. At the conventional poles are Mark Van Doren's long dramatic poem and Tennessee Williams's lyrics, drenched with pre-Raphaelite perfume. Especially successful are the chiseled couplets of Don G. Hoffman, the cerebral lyrics of Anthony Hecht, and the stark ones of May Swenson. Her lyric which begins "who looked IN A MIRROR,/ and saw there a face not his own" glitters with virtuoso art that comes off perfectly. The most ambitious poem, in length and scope, is Kenneth Rexroth's The Dragon and the Unicorn, a philosophical travelogue through England, France, and the United States.

Of the plays William Inge's brief documentary of autograph hunters is neatly inconsequential. Particularly so in the company of Georg Buechner's Woyzeck, a powerful expressionistic fragment, excellently translated, and introduced by a chapter from Karl Vietor's biography of its author.

One of the pleasures of this sort of anthology—the pain lasts only as long as it takes to flick the pages—is that it is a grab-bag in which almost anything can turn up. Mr. Laughlin reprints Melville Cane's essay Why Ask for Permission? which argues with exceptional clarity and vigor that begging literary permission or paying for it should be squashed. But as editor Mr. Laughlin is not always so efficient. Some of his biggest names, Paul Bowles and Henry Miller among them, show their smallest efforts. And there are too many typographical errors.

Yet in general his antho'ogy, along with the other publications of his press, is a very sound force. The transitional and new directional writing is peripheral, to be sure, but its value comes from its constant pressure to break down the stereotypes that control form and content of popular, commercial writing today. The writers who explore new directions are making a valiant, perhaps hopeless, attempt to arrest the inevitable evolution of the exhibitionist into the exhibitor, the artist into the artisan.

ROBERT HALSBAND

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE beautiful sound of the Toscanini-N. B. C. Symphony performance of Dukas's "The Sorcerer's Apprentice" on the recent RCA Victor 78 rpm records is all but completely produced by the newly issued LP record—the difference being slightly less fulness of resonance, noticeable especially in the bass; and the sound of Smetana's "Die Moldau" on the same record doesn't seem to have even this slight deficiency. These LP recordings are even finer than the one of Schubert's "Unfinished" Symphony a couple of months ago; and it's a pity Victor couldn't do as well with Beethoven's "Eroica," Tchaikovsky's "Manfred," and the "Parsifal" excerpts which it issued a year ago.

In contrast to the warm, lustrous sound that Victor is now getting onto its LP records is the sharply distinct, dry, lusterless sound we have been getting from most other orchestral records. The sound from Columbia's records of the Philadelphia Orchestra may be what one would hear standing in among the violins; but it is not what one has heard sitting in the Academy of Music or Carnegie Hall; and Victor is producing the blended, richly resonant sound of an orchestra that one hears sitting in the concert hall.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

The NATION — **Money-Saving Magazine Combinations**

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine . . . . . $9.50 You Save $2.50

☐ *with* Consumer Reports . . . . . $10.75 You Save $1.25

These club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION BY ITSELF:

☐ One Year $7 ☐ Two Years $12 ☐ Three Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years. ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

6/9/51

At this point I received a Columbia record of a performance of "Die Moldau" by Szell with the New York Philharmonic, the sound of which is, for once, warm and rich, and also more solid than Victor's. The performance is good, except for occasional stodginess. On the reverse side is Smetana's "From Bohemia's Meadows and Fields," with a magnificent opening and other beautiful pages.

Even the sound of Beecham's Royal Philharmonic in Haydn's Symphony No. 93 is lusterless and occasionally muffled on the Columbia record; with treble stepped up the violins are brighter but also sharper. The performance is stolid and fussy, without the grace and continuity of Cantelli's. There is more of this flow and grace in the performance of the Handel-Beecham "Faithless Shepherd" Suite on the same record.

Dry, lusterless, and sharp sound too, with heavy bass, from the Westminster record of Haydn's Symphonies No. 97 and 102 (each of which begins too low in pitch); better sound from the record of Nos. 103 ("Drum Roll") and 80. One is aware every now and then that Scherchen is conducting the inferior Vienna Symphony; and his tempos are much too slow in most of No. 103 and insufficiently animated in the first movement of No. 80 and the finale of No. 97; but otherwise the performances are good.

A London record offers the first good performance of Mozart's lovely Symphony K.201, recorded by Peter Maag with L'Orchestre de la Suisse romande, and a performance of the Symphony K.425 ("Linz") by Böhm and the Vienna Philharmonic which is good except for an excessively fast tempo that robs the first movement of its power. Veiled or muffled sound again, brighter but not agreeable with stepped-up treble. And the usual London hum-like resonance.

The performance of Mozart's charming Symphony K.200 by Rudolf Albert with the Bavarian Radio Orchestra is fair; its sound on the Mercury record is either very sharp or harsh, and not spacious. With it, played by Kurt Eichorn with the Munich Philharmonic, is the Symphony K.183, which I again find unimpressive.

Beethoven's Symphony No. 4 gets an excellent performance by Solti with the London Philharmonic on a London record. Stepped-up treble gives minimum liveness but no luster; surfaces are gritty; and there is the hum-like resonance again.

Decca's record of Mendelssohn's "Midsummer Night's Dream" music offers a greater amount of this music than Toscanini recorded for Victor; and the performances—with Ference Fricsay conducting the Berlin Philharmonic, RIAS Chamber Choir, and soloists—are reproduced with more clarity and beauty of sound. But those inadequately recorded Toscanini performances have animation, grace, plasticity, and mercurial brilliance which the German performances don't have. Another Toscanini performance of the Scherzo—a little less brilliant, but better recorded—previously included in the album of Schubert's Symphony No. 9, has been issued on a Victor 78 (with the trashy Overture to Khabalevsky's "Colas Breugnon").

On another Victor 78 is Berlioz's delightful "Beatrice and Benedict" Overture, beautifully played by the Boston Symphony under Münch, and excellently reproduced.

Stravinsky's 1919 Suite from "L'Oiseau de feu" and "Le Sacre du printemps" are excellently performed by Ansermet with L'Orchestre de la Suisse romande and superbly reproduced by the London records, though with the usual hum-like resonance.

Bartok Records offers Bartok's Two Portraits Opus 5 and the Bartok-Serly "Mikrokosmos" Suite played by Autori with the New Symphony. The lyricism of the first "Idealistic" portrait is in the idiom that makes no musical sense to my ear; the distortion of the second portrait is effective as caricature; Serly's elaborations of the piano pieces are mostly quite engaging. The excellent performances are well reproduced.

Works to skip are Prokofiev's Symphony No. 6 (Columbia), Hindemith's Symphony in E flat (Columbia), and his Philharmonic Concerto and "Apparebit Repentina Dies" (Capitol). Performances to skip are De Sabata's of Brahms's Fourth Symphony (Decca), Celibidache's of Tchaikovsky's Fifth (London), Münch's of Tchaikovsky's "Pathetic" (London), Stokowski's of Sibelius's First (Victor), André's of Debussy's "Iberia" (Capitol).

CONTRIBUTORS

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO, professor emeritus of history at the City College of New York, is author of "The World in Crisis."

IRVING HOWE has recently published "Sherwood Anderson," a critical biography.

RAYFORD W. LOGAN, professor of history at Howard University, is the author of "The Operation of the Mandate System in Africa."

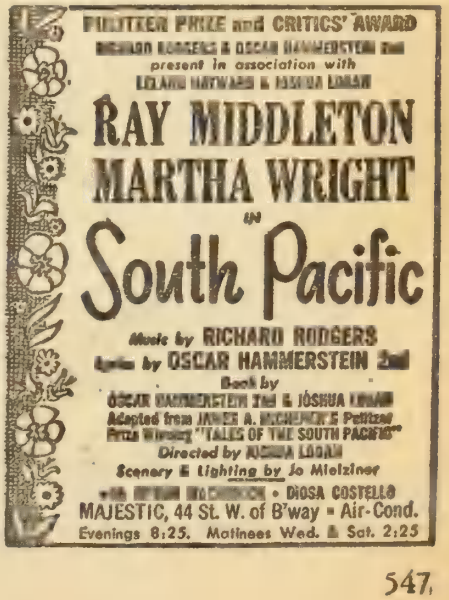
HARVEY SWADOS has published short stories in the little magazines. He writes reviews for the New York *Post* and has contributed to the *Progressive* and the *Menorah Journal*.

ROBERT HALSBAND is the editor of "The Nonsense of Common Sense" by Lady Mary Wortley Montague.

* from "Bach-Gesellsch."
† from "Untext" ed.
Pocket-Sized, Low-Priced Editions
BACH* Well Temp. Clavier, 2 vols., each..... .98
BEETHOVEN† Violin Sonatas, 2 vols., each.... .98
MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG
Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From
LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138 New York 32, N. Y.

30% to 50% DISCOUNT
ON ALL LP RECORDS
Up to 75% on rpm Records
Write for details to
ELAINE MUSIC SHOP
9 EAST 44th STREET bet. Fifth & Madison
NEW YORK CITY 17 MUrray Hill 2-6154

SELECTED LIST OF L. P.'s
33 1/3% OFF
Catalog available on request
DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB
Dept. N-24
Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.
Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges (50¢ minimum) SAME-DAY SHIPMENT



RESORTS

Year 'round Adult Activities

Hathaway Lodge

Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate. Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Swimming pool, tennis, handball, badminton. Horseback riding, walking, hiking—magnificent mountain trails. Recordings, ping-pong, library, informal dancing. Delicious American-Jewish food. Easy transportation. Attractive Rates.
For reservations or booklet "N"
HATHAWAY LODGE
Haines Falls, N. Y. • Phone Tannersville 299

WINDY HILL
ON ORANGE LAKE
A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Books, Records, Ping-pong, a two-mile lake for boating, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity.
Pre-Season: $45 weekly, $7 daily
65 miles from N. Y. C.
JANE C. ARENZ, R. D. No. 1, Walden, New York
Phone: Newburgh 115W2

Glenmere
a country place of legendary beauty now filled with new wonders for you
in the Ramapos, Chester, New York
Phones: Chester 2151; N.Y. Rector 2-5047

Island Point Lodge
NORTH BRIDGTON, MAINE
The Ultimate in Recreation and Relaxation
Lodge and cottages on the shore of Long Lake. Fishing, boating, swimming, fine beach. Golf course and theaters nearby. Excellent home-cooked meals. Opening date June 15. Folder and rates on request.
P. O. Box 97, North Bridgton, Maine
Oman Goldie, Proprietor

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK



MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
RIDGEFIELD, CONN.
Phone 6-7000
A beautiful country estate converted into a delightful retreat for vacations and weekends. All outdoor activities. Mile-long lake. Tennis. Golf nearby. Informal, congenial atmosphere. Television, recordings. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates.

Lakecrest
Hunn's Lake Stanfordville, N. Y.
Our 100-acre estate in the heart of Dutchess County offers you the utmost in comfort, excellent food, sports, cultural pursuits—or just plain restful lounging. An adult resort, only 90 miles from New York City.
Attractive Rates
EVA BERG, Director Stanfordville 7[illegible] & 2982

MUSIC INN for any mood—Concerts at Tanglewood next door; inquiries into Jazz; 100 acres, tennis and two lakes. Write for detailed programs **Music Inn, Lenox, Mass.**

CHAUTAUQUA LAKE—near Chautauqua Institution and four symphony concerts weekly. Private house, acre of beautiful lawns and gardens, beach. Excellent cooking, garden-fresh vegetables. Room and meals $50 weekly. **Anderson, Lighthouse Point, Mayville, N. Y.**

VACATIONS

AN UNUSUAL VACATION—Folklore, Creative Writing, Language Workshops for all ages. Music and Sports. **ELAN International Center,** Vancouver Island, B. C., Canada. Box 230, c/o The Nation.

Letter to the Editors

The Vote in Italy

Dear Sirs: Returning home after two months in Italy, I read with interest Mrs. Sprigge's article, Italy Goes to the Polls (*The Nation*, May 26). As background for the current local elections, it should have included, I feel, certain broader considerations.

In estimating attendance at the rival Communist and anti-Communist May Day rallies, Mrs. Sprigge gives only official figures. But even if conflicting claims were cited, they would not tell the whole story. A few days after May Day, when civil servants staged a general strike in protest against their miserable salaries, the government reported it was only 50 per cent successful while the General Confederation of Labor (C. G. I. L.) held that more than 90 per cent walked out. Since the white-collar workers for the most part belong to the Free Confederation, the cooperation of the government employees with the Communists severely damaged the prestige of the government. No one could claim that the strike was an act of disloyalty ordered from abroad.

Now the official figure of 2,000,000-odd unemployed, which Mrs. Sprigge quotes, does not reflect the vast army of *under*employed, or partly employed, nor the crucial fact that in recent months unemployment has been going up counter-seasonally. Factories have been closing for want of raw materials while the cost of living has been rising. In brief, the world arms race has been straining Italy's economy to the breaking point.

Owing to the new anti-democratic electoral law, the government coalition has captured control of many local administrations, but the left-wing popular vote has increased rather than dropped. In view of this the de Gasperi regime may not feel it can secure its position in the Atlantic alliance until it proposes the outright suppression of the Communist Party. The government has abandoned all pretense of supporting the basic reforms which were urged by E. C. A. Its reactionary policy will eventually require setting up a center-right coalition in Parliament with the Monarchists supplying the cement. A restoration was in fact proposed by the Labor government in Britain when de Gasperi visited London last February.

J. O. C.

New York, May 29

REAL ESTATE

Attention NATION Readers!

CHASMIN ESTATES, at Croton Falls, New York, approximately 40 miles from N. Y. C. limits, offers acreage in a 48-acre subdivision, beautifully located in Westchester County.

SEE IT and you will appreciate its suitability for Group Colony or individual summer or all-year homes. Swimming on premises.

Will build to suit or help finance.

Write or phone for free descriptive literature or inspect property on Hardscrabble Road and Route 22. **Address: Chas. Greenhauff, Box 43, Croton Falls, N. Y. Phone: CRoton Falls 7-3667.**

FOR SALE

TWO adjoining Adirondack cottages, (Keene Valley), fully equipped; fully electrified; fireplaces, shower baths; two-car garage; mile from village, on mountain side, with view. G. F. Bowerman, The Ontario, Washington 9, D. C.

SUMMER RENTAL

COOL, 3½-room bungalow. All improvements; 16x20 living room; brook, transportation. 60 miles N. Y. C. To December 1—$500. Box 233, c/o The Nation.

OFFICES FOR RENT—NEW JERSEY

JOURNAL SQUARE, 24 Concourse E Bldg., Hudson Tube Station. Desirable offices; single or suites; also store, low rent. Supt. or owner, AL 4-1080 (N.Y.C.).

PUBLISHING SERVICE

ATTENTION ALL WRITERS! Do you have an idea suitable for story or book? We will develop that idea for publication. Complete cooperation. No "stuffed shirt" reception but friendly sympathetic discussion over editor's desk. Phone or write today! **Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).**

WE print, publish and distribute your manuscript in pamphlet or book form. *Send for free folder.* WILLIAM-FREDERICK PRESS; Pamphlet Distributing Company, 313 West 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, $5.00.

RARE COLLECTION

LIFE MAGAZINES, completely bound, all issues March 1937 through 1948 inclusive. Excellent condition. For sale, Box 232, c/o The Nation.

THE Nation
RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch, one insertion
Generous discounts for multiple insertions.
Write ur phone today for further information.
ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT
***The* NATION**
[illegible] VESEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.
BArclay 7-1066

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JUNE 16, 1951 NUMBER 24

The Shape of Things

THE WIND-UP OF SECRETARY ACHESON'S testimony last week left the Administration in a much stronger position both on the issue of General MacArthur's dismissal and on its record in the Far East. The first almost passed out of the area of argument. The second took on something like coherence, even though its new shape had obviously been influenced by the jabbing thrusts of the opposition. Perhaps the neatest trick of the week was Mr. Acheson's presentation of proof, in the form of a cable from General MacArthur, that the General in 1945 had advocated the policy he now so fiercely condemns—of trying to arrange a compromise between Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists. No more disconcerting rabbit ever came out of a hat. The General's only defense was to call the "inference" a "prevarication" and to denounce the Marshall mission as "one of the greatest blunders in American diplomatic history." But a child of ten, reading the cable and then MacArthur's 1951 interpretation of it, would recognize the latter as purest baloney. The incident will at least help puncture the MacArthurian legend of god-like consistency and infallibility.

*

BUT IT SHOULD NOT BE ASSUMED THAT THE General's star has set. The Republicans, it is true, were put on the defensive several times during Mr. Acheson's testimony, and at the end the Secretary of State seemed to have won at least partial acceptance of his view that if the Korean war could be ended on or above the Thirty-eighth Parallel, without accepting the political conditions laid down by the Chinese, that would be victory enough. Unification and other goals could be accomplished more gradually by political means. But if Mr. Acheson succeeded in shifting the emphasis from bombing Manchuria to a cease-fire on or near the border of South Korea, he did not show how the cease-fire could be brought about; and so in a fundamental sense he worsened his position. What the shift of emphasis really did was to underline both the desperate necessity and the difficulty of finding a way to peace through the strategy of limited war. On this point Mr. Acheson simply said he had no knowledge of any peace feelers from the Communist side or any peace efforts on ours. This negative report was backed up on Monday by Defense Secretary Marshall in Tokyo, who said his trip to the war area was strictly military and had nothing to do with a truce.

SECRETARY ACHESON FURTHER REDUCED the possibility of negotiations by expressing views on Formosa and Peking's acceptance into the U. N. which differ little if at all from those of MacArthur and the Republican opposition. He chiseled away the former Administration stand at two crucial points: Formosa's final disposition would *not* be left to the United Nations—although it was submitted to the U. N. by the United States; and if the Peking government seemed likely to be given China's seat in the Security Council, the question of using the veto would be submitted to the World Court. To spell out such rigid terms in the course of proposing to end the fighting on the Thirty-eighth Parallel seems paradoxical; it fits better with the "victory" strategy of MacArthur. If it doesn't work, if the see-saw war goes on, if Mao ignores an invitation to a truce which offers him no hope of gaining his two primary aims, then who can say that opinion will not swing back to MacArthur? The General's strongest point—that unlimited stalemate would be unendurable—has not yet been answered by the Administration spokesmen. The fact that peace rumors continue, here and in Europe, provides the only suggestion that Mr. Acheson's public testimony did not tell the whole story.

*

IT IS AN INTERESTING FACT, AND ONE meriting closer attention by the Kremlin than it seems to have been given, that fear of Russia alone serves to mute the discords existing among the Western allies. Let Moscow give any really convincing sign that it wants the peace it demands so insistently, and a clamor of disagreements would break out at once in the West. We are not now referring to the cruder sorts of anti-British and general anti-foreign sentiment prevalent among the Republican stalwarts and displayed with such garish effect in Senatorial hearings, but to the effect of some of the Administration's own policies. Mr. Acheson's new formulation of the American position on Formosa and China differs even more sharply from that of our Continental allies and most of the Asian countries than did the position we assumed during the Assembly debate last winter. Another difference, potentially just as troublesome and almost as profound, is revealing itself in the discussions in France and England over the proposed Japanese peace treaty. Even if the Western powers are now reconciled to the American strategy of preparing a treaty without a conference—a method Russia is bitterly protesting—they have other, more intimate worries

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 549
Strait-jacketing Free Speech 552

ARTICLES

Acheson Foils the Wolves *by Willard Shelton* 553
"For What" Franco? *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 554
France Shies from the Right *by Alexander Werth* 556
Our Town in Turmoil *by Carey McWilliams* 558
School's Out in Pawtucket *by Roger Williamson* 561
Greece: Portrait of a Failure *by Constantine Poulos* 562

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Shaw's Last Play *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 565
How to Read a Poem *by Howard Doughty, Jr.* 565
The Knight, Death, and the Devil *A Poem by Randall Jarrell* 566
A Preference for Palaces *by Alfred Harbage* 567
Some Political Novels *by Irving Howe* 568
The Mind and Art of Goya *by S. Lane Faison, Jr.* 569
The New Cosmology *by Charles Spielberger* 570
Gothics and Some "Fellers" *by Harvey Swados* 571
Books in Brief 572
Art *by Manny Farber* 572
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 573

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 417

by Frank W. Lewis 576

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

related to the terms drawn up by Mr. Dulles. In Iran, British resentment over various moves made by the American Ambassador bubbles just under the surface, while the whole direction of Western defense in the Mediterranean is a subject of open controversy. These difficulties will no doubt be resolved somehow, if not by compromise then by the sheer weight of American power, but the latter element would lose half its force if Moscow were not always on hand, ready to back United States diplomacy with its own unfailing and provocative ineptness.

*

DISQUIETING INFORMATION CONCERNING the caliber of diplomatic personnel abroad raises the doubt whether the State Department understands the full gravity of the international situation. A *Nation* correspondent last year interviewed the much-talked-of Mrs. Perle Mesta in Luxemburg. Kindly and friendly as a human being, she was evidently quite incapable of dealing with a political proposition. Walter Gifford, former president of the violently anti-union American Telephone and Telegraph Company, is now ambassador to Laborite Britain. Equally disturbing is the current custom of kicking inept people upstairs. Our prospects in Greece after an expenditure of nearly two billion dollars are hardly encouraging (see Portrait of a Failure p. 562), largely because of the coddling of reactionaries by former Ambassador Henry Grady and the embassy's first secretary, Karl Rankin. (Only last week the favors extended to the monarchy culminated in the Greek Premier's purchase of a yacht for King Paul.) Americans who for many months have complained to the State Department about these men have finally obtained the removal of Rankin. But evidently his incompetence in dealing with social problems in Greece was not considered a permanent handicap. He has been promoted to the rank of minister and been sent as chargé d'affaires to Formosa, an even more explosive area. A similar fate was meted out to Rankin's superior, Ambassador Grady, who now occupies the key post in strategic Iran.

*

AS IN THE INTER-WAR YEARS, THE SAAR IS again a subject of bitter controversy between Frenchmen and Germans and an obstacle to the political and military integration of Germany with the rest of Western Europe. The recent statement by Gilbert Grandval, French High Commissioner for the Saar territory, that the Saar must remain linked to France in order to provide a balance to the power of the Ruhr under the Schuman Plan, has created a new storm in Bonn. Even before that, on the occasion of Herbert Morrison's visit to Bonn, when the British Minister tried to assure Chancellor Adenauer that there had never been any question of "sacrificing the West German government" in the four-power talks, Adenauer asked about the Saar, which was

not of course under discussion in Paris. By raising the issue the German Chancellor was notifying the powers that the nuisance value of the Saar issue was still high. Not wishing to antagonize the Americans, he has directed his entire strategy against the weakest link in the Atlantic chain—France. After Morrison's visit he sent a note to the French, British, and American governments demanding a revision of the Saar statute. The timing was clever. Chancellor Adenauer realized that it would be extremely embarrassing to the French government to have to discuss the Saar on the eve of the elections. By making German ratification of the Schuman Plan depend upon a satisfactory solution of the Saar issue he presented the French government with a dilemma: it must yield to German demands or admit that the Schuman Plan—its biggest diplomatic asset in the electoral campaign—stood little chance of ratification. However, M. Schuman escaped for the moment by saying that it was not for France to decide this issue but for the three Western powers together, and at the same time allowing the High Commissioner to speak his mind. Once the elections are over, the Saar controversy can no longer be avoided.

*

ACCUSING CERTAIN REPUBLICAN LEADERS OF playing "snide politics" over the MacArthur controversy, E. T. Weir, chairman of the board of the National Steel Corporation, has again demonstrated the independence and candor that characterized his recent pamphlet on foreign policy. To make his meaning quite clear, he quoted Webster's definition of snide: "spurious, deceptively inferior; tricky, mean, base." As a lifelong and active Republican, Mr. Weir condemns the Republican "Asiationists" on three counts: attempting to ride along with "the tide of emotion" which naturally greeted the return of a "great soldier"; identifying Republican policy in the minds of a large segment of the public with MacArthur policy; and, above all, failing to wait until all the evidence was in before taking a position. This, he said, was not well-considered action; "it was taking sides." Although *The Nation* has seldom quoted Mr. Weir, and even more rarely with approval, there is substantial merit in his opinion that in the investigation touched off by MacArthur's dismissal "the political leadership on both sides is not measuring up to its responsibilities . . . and there is widespread disgust among the American people."

*

THE RIOTS IN CAPETOWN, SOUTH AFRICA, on May 28 were the worst in the history of the city. Joining a parade of ex-servicemen from all parts of the Union, thousands of colored citizens converted the parade into an extraordinary demonstration. Racial segregation was momentarily forgotten as men and women of many colors and races, Malays in red fezzes and Negro women with babies on their backs, marched eight or more abreast in a three-mile-long procession. Gathered outside the Parliament, the demonstrators attempted to send in a deputation to protest against the Malan government's bill to take "half-castes" (as the Union's residents of "mixed race" are referred to by the government) off the election register. When the deputation was barred, the crowd became restive and the police charged with fixed bayonets. The demonstrators fought back with flaming torches and pieces of iron fence. As a sign of the deterioration in race relations and in the relations between the police and non-Europeans, the riots have aroused great disquiet in the Union. Yet Mr. Swart, the Minister of Justice, has refused an official inquiry and continues to refer to them as "rowdy demonstrations." And the Malan government continues to brand as "dupes and stooges" of the Communists all who oppose the Separate Representation of Voters bill under which the Cape colored will lose the common vote in fifty-five constituencies and will be given—perhaps as a joke—four white representatives in the Assembly and one in the Senate.

*

THE TIME-HONORED PAMPHLET STILL HOLDS a key position among the many tools that have furthered the communication of ideas. In 1936, in the wake of the great depression, a group of economists, educators, and political scientists met to discuss the nation's economic and social problems. Out of this meeting Public Affairs Committee was born. In the last fifteen years the organization has distributed seventeen million pamphlets on subjects ranging from How to Buy Life Insurance to The Races of Mankind. Providing vital information in readable form without prejudicial propaganda, the pamphlets have helped to bridge the gap between ignorance and knowledge in many different fields. *The Nation* is happy to recall that Maxwell S. Stewart, who has guided the committee with singular vision and care, was one of its editors for many years. Good pamphlets were never more needed than they are today, and the list of vital subjects was never longer. On its anniversary we congratulate Public Affairs Committee for its contribution to the democratic process.

*

A CALIFORNIA TEXTILE MANUFACTURER recently told an interesting story of how the manufacture of textiles is nowadays related to the raising of cattle. What happens is that a company buys a large acreage in the South, stocks it with a herd of cattle, and builds a modern textile plant on a corner of the property. A certificate of necessity, granted on a showing that production will be for the defense effort, has been obtained

which permits the company to write off the cost of the new plant in five years instead of over the usual twenty-to-twenty-five-year period. For example, if the company constructed a plant which cost $100,000, it would normally be allowed a deduction for tax-return purposes of about $4,000 a year until the facility was fully depreciated. Under a certificate of necessity the company would be permitted to deduct $20,000 each year for five years. In the meantime many items of expense are being deducted for the maintenance of the cattle, but nothing is credited as income from this source, since the calves will not be marketed for beef for some years. When last seen, the story-teller was hurrying to catch a plane back to California, aflame with enthusiasm for cattle and certificates of necessity. It is difficult to determine how much has been invested in new textile mills under certificates of necessity, but about $200,000,000 is being spent by the textile industry on new machines and improvements. A recent Congressional report terms certificates of necessity "the biggest bonanza that ever came down the pike." The report estimates that in five months certificates have been issued for some $5 billion worth of plants.

Strait-jacketing Free Speech

THERE is grim irony in the fact that the Truman law firm of Vinson, Minton, and Burton has fallen back on the clear-and-present-danger doctrine to uphold the Smith act. The doctrine was intended, of course, to establish the principle that only the existence of such a danger could justify any interference with the right of free speech guaranteed by the First Amendment. Yet in the decision upholding the conviction of the eleven Communist leaders Chief Justice Vinson has interpreted the doctrine as though its purpose were to sanction an abridgment of freedom of speech.

The convicted Communist leaders were not charged with committing overt acts of any kind designed to overthrow the government or with conspiring to do so. They were not even charged with saying or writing anything that might have this effect. "The charge," as Justice Black points out in his dissenting opinion, "was that they agreed to assemble and to talk and publish certain ideas at a later date: the indictment is that they conspired to organize the Communist Party and to use speech or newspapers or other publications in the future to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the government."

In view of the admitted facts, Chief Justice Vinson was compelled to adopt Judge Learned Hand's distinction between discussion and advocacy, to hold, that is, that a distinction exists between reading a book in a college library and reading the same book in the headquarters of the Communist Party; that an old-style soapboxer can be permitted certain extravagances of speech which must be denied Eugene Dennis. The distinction makes freedom of speech turn not on what is said but on the intent with which words are spoken. In the world of facts and men the application of this test usually means: who is speaking? In short, what the court has done is to formulate a rule of political expediency under which an obnoxious opposition can be suppressed by charging that it uses certain words and ideas with intent to violate the Smith act. "Once we start down that road," to quote from Justice Douglas's dissent, "we enter territory dangerous to the liberties of every citizen." "Once we start" is here polite parlance for "we have started."

APART from the flimsiness of the distinction between discussion and advocacy—even in the dark days of the Palmer raids the distinction attempted was between act and advocacy—the court has narrowly construed and perversely applied the clear-and-present-danger doctrine. The rule was intended to provide a practical test of the imminence of the danger that would justify interference with speech. To be practical, a test of this kind cannot be applied in terms of the intuitions, anxieties, speculations, and apprehensions of one person; it implies measurement by objective standards. Yet the court has ruled that the trial judge shall determine whether the danger is clear and present, and it has approved Judge Medina's method of applying the test to the facts of this case. If a group intends to overthrow the government, argues the Chief Justice, and if it indoctrinates its members to this end, then the danger is to be measured not by "the probability of success" but by the trial judge's appraisal of the total situation, including the discipline of the group, the inflammable nature of world conditions, and "the touch-and-go nature of our relations with countries with whom petitioners were in the very least ideologically attuned." But to consider factors of this character is to shift the test from the immediate context in which the words are spoken to the realm of international power politics. The test becomes not whether specific words, spoken in a specific context, create a clear and present danger of the overthrow of the government but whether there is a clear and present danger, say, of war with Russia.

Just what was the political atmosphere which prevailed in the United States when the indictment was returned? A good answer may be found in Robert Bendiner's article in *The Nation* of October 22, 1949: "It is difficult to see how a party that is hardly more than half as strong as it was fifteen years ago can suddenly be deemed to present anything like an imminent threat to the established order. It is hard to see how a party that appears to have lost its grip even in the trade-union movement, where it has recorded its only real successes, offers . . . 'sufficient danger of a substantive evil . . . to justify the application of the statute.' " The year 1948

marked the end of a decade of Congressional investigation of Communist activities which were even then enveloped in an atmosphere of profound and widespread hostility. Yet the court holds that the reorganization of the party, in this atmosphere, and the other acts alleged constituted at that time a clear and present danger that the government would be overthrown.

Some years ago Alexander Meiklejohn pointed to the obvious but neglected fact that the First Amendment says nothing about dangers, clear or present, and warned that the clear-and-present-danger doctrine would prove to be a pitfall. This prophecy has been fulfilled. First dismissing the doctrine as "a shorthand phrase" never intended as "a semantic strait-jacket," the Chief Justice ends by using it to strait-jacket the First Amendment.

In his fine dissent Justice Black expresses the hope that "in calmer times, when present pressures, passions, and fears subside," this or some later court will restore the First Amendment liberties to the preferred place in a free society from which they have been removed by the decision of the majority. But only a people aroused by a sense of the clear and present danger to their liberties which this precedent creates can generate the social and political energies which will reverse it.

Acheson Foils the Wolves

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, June 9

NOW that Secretary Acheson has been on the Russell committee witness stand for eight days, it is apparent that the Republicans who hoped to eat him alive are finding him a very tough dish. He has done a remarkably competent job in handling his critics, and though in the past he has gone farther than was wise or necessary in appeasing political enemies, there has not been a trace of appeasement in his current approach. I do not know whether he has salvaged his job; too many Democrats, shedding crocodile tears, have written him off as a "casualty of war" and a "political liability." But the Republicans who anticipated that they would break him down and through cross-examination force him to admit the truth of Joe McCarthy's hysterical charges have fallen flat on their faces.

Several years after the event it has been easy for second-guessers like the one-time missionary, Representative Walter Judd, to blame the American State Department for the collapse of Chiang Kai-shek's "nationalist" government of China. Since American policy has suffered a colossal defeat in China, the natural temptation is to fall back on a kind of personal-devil theory of politics, and to brandish accusations that such a defeat would never have occurred if we had not "sold Chiang down the river." Partisanship in the "great debate" over China policy is as obvious as it was in the Senate fight over American ratification of the League of Nations Covenant in 1919 and 1920—and some comment from liberals about government policy has been as perfectionist and suspicious as it was then.

The anti-Acheson Republicans in the McCarthy and China-lobby groups originally hoped to prove that the Secretary of State was primarily responsible for the firing of General MacArthur; or alternatively that the British were responsible. They also hoped to prove that Chiang Kai-shek got kicked off the China mainland only because we "tried to force him to accept a coalition" with the Communists, or "surrendered China to Russia" in the Yalta agreements, or "pushed Chiang over the cliff while letting it appear he was merely falling." Not one of these bizarre theories has stood the test of the Russell hearings, and the McCarthy Republicans have had even less luck in their effort to boil Acheson in oil than they had with the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

It was Acheson, for example, who brought out that Chiang Kai-shek himself approved the Yalta agreements, which granted Russia rights in Port Arthur and other regions, as offering a chance to stabilize his relations with the Soviets. It was Acheson who revealed that General MacArthur, as well as other commanders, believed in 1945 that a coalition regime would afford the best chance of saving China from full-scale civil war. And as for Mr. Judd, who claims special knowledge by virtue of his missionary residence in China, he too previously approved a coalition government. Finally, it was Acheson who showed that Chiang Kai-shek was warned not to over-extend his forces by a campaign against the Communists in Manchuria, and that he ignored the American advice and saw his armies disintegrate.

The performance of the McCarthy group of Republicans, confronted by these facts, has bordered on the ludicrous. Senator Brewster of Maine, unable to make a case against Acheson in committee, has taken to the floor of the Senate to deliver speeches which consist mainly of quotations from a book on China by Freda Utley—mortal enemy of Owen Lattimore. It appears that Brewster did not even bother to check the statements in the Utley book, and the only other expert witness to support his allegations about our China policy is a retired army officer who turns out to have been on Chiang Kai-shek's pay roll for several years. Senator Knowland of California, who is jestingly referred to occasionally as the "Ambassador" or "senior Senator" from Formosa, has questioned Acheson diligently in cross-examination but has not struck pay dirt yet.

There is a valid criticism of the State Department which the Republicans have not yet made. The theory held by our intelligence groups a few years ago was that even if Chiang were driven from the mainland, the Chinese Communists would not be able to consolidate

their regime and the real power would be exercised by local war lords. This theory has proved incorrect: our intelligence grossly underestimated the strength and capacity for leadership shown by Mao Tse-tung. If we are hunting scapegoats for ancient blunders, our intelligence service would offer a likely candidate. But the Republicans prefer to try to prove that Acheson—the first top State Department official to testify publicly that Russian post-war foreign policy was "aggressive and expanding"—is a pro-Communist or a Communist tool.

Another valid criticism, but one which would never occur to the Brewsters and Knowlands, is that Acheson still has not been able to reemphasize the fundamental thesis of correct American policy toward China which he enunciated brilliantly in January, 1950—namely, that our principal long-term objective should be to detach China from Russia. This is not an easy thesis to champion when the Chinese are fighting American and other U. N. forces in Korea, but its accuracy would be recognized by every master of *Realpolitik*. To talk about a permanent "veto" of Communist China's membership in the United Nations, for example, is to play into Russia's hands. Our diplomacy should be designed to end the fighting, to try to find a modus vivendi with whatever Chinese regime actually holds power on the mainland, and to make sure that this regime is not forced to turn to Russia as its only powerful foreign friend. Events may prove that this objective is unattainable, but it is clearly desirable, and the sooner Acheson or his successor is able to restate the proposition, the better for the United States and the whole Western community.

The Administration made good use of an opportunity presented this week by Senator Wayne Morse for a full-scale investigation of the so-called China lobby. Acheson quite properly told Morse, in response to questions, that the State Department is not the agency charged with enforcement of the Lobby Registration Act or the Foreign Agents Registration Act, and therefore has only "fragmentary" information about the personalities, finances, and expenditures of the curious group of Chinese and Americans that has conducted a major pro-Chiang campaign. But information certainly is available in other government agencies, including the Department of Justice and the Treasury, about this group that has pressured Congressmen for "aid" to Chiang, and about the Americans who have diligently propagated the suspicion that certain government officials are Communists or pro-Communists and thus have undermined confidence in our own government in order to advance Chiang's cause.

The China lobby should have been investigated last year by the Tydings committee, which had evidence in its files that charges against the State Department had been cooked up by Alfred Kohlberg, New York textile importer who backed the defunct *Plain Talk* and the confidant of Joe McCarthy and other pro-Chiang Americans. It should be investigated this year either by the Russell committee or by some other Congressional group with powers of subpoena and cross-examination and with a non-partisan determination to get the facts. If the Administration, as Acheson now indicates, throws its full resources behind an investigation into the activities of Chiang's paid lobbyists and their American friends, it will have a better chance of squelching critics who interpret Mr. Truman's reluctance to air the fight as an evidence of timidity.

"For What," Franco?

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

FOR some time there has been talk that a former follower of Franco had written a book whose publication in Buenos Aires was being blocked by the Spanish embassy. The book has now appeared, and one can understand why Franco's propaganda service was so eager to suppress it. It is called "Para qué? . . ." ("For What?"); its author is Juan Antonio Ansaldo, who after the Spanish war was Franco's air attaché in Vichy, Paris, and London. A picturesque, brave, but harsh and aggressive personality, Ansaldo is certainly no friend of the Republicans. He says in his book that from the day that the Spanish Republic was proclaimed, in April, 1931, he had but one thought—to destroy it.

Being a man of action he was not satisfied with damning the government in officer circles and in La Peña, the club of the Spanish aristocracy, but participated in every anti-Republican plot; when there was fighting he was in the front ranks, careless of his own life. Pretending that his goings and comings were connected with private aviation business, Ansaldo worked both inside and outside Spain as one of the most active agents of the groups trying to overthrow the Republic. His brothers were also aviators and shared in many of his adventures. He was the liaison officer, he tells us, for the generals who were conspiring against the first Republican government even while they were benefiting from its generosity —if the government cut the excessive perquisites of higher officers, it granted them ample retirement pay. In the spring of 1932, four years before the outbreak of war in Spain, he flew a number of high Spanish officers, enemies of the Republic, to Italy for an interview with Marshal Balbo and to enlist Mussolini's aid.

The first serious attempt to stage a coup d'état against the Republican government was made on August 10, 1932. It was preceded by a long period of preparation, during which the conspirators studied military strategy —their deficiency in this respect became miserably apparent later—held secret meetings in obscure places, and led a gay social life, going to parties where they drank,

danced, and enjoyed themselves while waiting for the zero hour, each saying to the others, "Tonight I may die." Ansaldo was one of thirty officers chosen to invade the War Ministry, with the complicity of some of the guard, and to seize the Minister, Manuel Azaña, afterward President of the Republic. The government, however, learned of the scheme, and Ansaldo and his companions were received not with open arms but with gun-fire. Elsewhere in Spain the conspirators were similarly frustrated. Ansaldo fled from the country but returned as soon as possible and resumed his work. The pre-fascist government of 1934 viewed his activities with favor. He took part in the fascist movement headed by José Antonio Primo de Rivera, founder of the Falange, not because he felt any special sympathy with it but solely because it was against the Republic. Primo de Rivera was too intellectual and literary for his taste, but when the Popular Front was victorious in the elections of February, 1936, he immediately began to plan how to prevent the installation of the government chosen by the people.

In the period between the February elections and July 18, 1936, when the rebellion against the Republic was launched, Ansaldo was a leader of the "action squads" which fought our people, the Republicans, in the streets. The struggle was not carried on with arguments, as in a Town Hall forum, but with rifles and revolvers. One day we would lose a man; the next day they would. Ansaldo gives the details of this continuous violence.

THE July rebellion was the dramatic climax of his exciting life, and he describes it in the most moving and impressive section of his book. His first mission was to fly General Sanjurjo into Spain from his refuge in Portugal; Sanjurjo was the real head of the movement, and he, not Franco, had been selected as the future head of the Spanish state. The plane crashed and Sanjurjo was killed. Ansaldo was badly burned trying to save him and was taken to a hospital. Three days later, still wrapped in bandages, he escaped by plane into rebel territory and for the rest of the war was a pilot with Franco's forces. When the fighting stopped, Franco made him air attaché.

His book is devastating to his former chief. It also shows up mercilessly the present Spanish ambassador in Washington, José Féliz de Lequerica, who was Ansaldo's superior in the Spanish embassy at Paris—our author always calls him *von* Lequerica. Lequerica was pro-German, while Ansaldo, who had many social contacts with the French and British, was pro-Ally. To quote from Ansaldo's book (page 237 of the Spanish edition):

> José Féliz Lequerica was happy. More German than the Germans, deeply involved in French domestic politics, apparently successful in the job he had undertaken on his arrival in Paris in 1939, before the outbreak of the World War—to foster Franco-German collaboration against the British—he bathed daily in attar of roses. Laval was his intimate friend and buddy; Abetz [Hitler's ambassador] and De Brinon his assiduous colleagues.

Farther on (page 256) we find:

> His [Lequerica's] anti-Yankee animus vibrated in a swelling diapason. "For God's sake, let no member of the embassy hold out his hand to a North American," he repeated constantly. With his peculiar dialectical cleverness he offered a reasonable historical basis for the national hostility toward the United States. The greatest catastrophe ever suffered by the Hispanic world, he said, was the United States' annexation of Texas, which was torn from the secular Spanish throne by the greedy imperialism of the country of skyscrapers.

When Franco created the Blue Division and sent it to the eastern front, Ansaldo thought of having a group of Spanish officers join the Filipinos fighting against the Japanese, in order to counterbalance the Caudillo's aid to the enemies of the Allies. Soon he became convinced that Franco had not only accepted Hitler's help in defeating the Republican forces but was heart and soul for Nazi Germany and hated the Allies, especially Great Britain and the United States. An ardent Monarchist, Ansaldo began to consider Franco a traitor to the royalist cause. "The result of the nationalist insurrection had dispelled all illusions about it." Franco was not a patriot; he was an ambitious dictator who had cheated the Monarchists, delaying for day after day, month after month, and year after year the return of Don Juan to the throne. Franco had wanted Hitler to win the war, first because he admired Hitler and secondly because



Courtesy *Franc-Tireur*

"OUR FATHER WHO ART IN HEAVEN . . ."
(A mass was recently celebrated in Madrid in memory of Adolf Hitler.)

Hitler would never try to drive him from his position of power. Ansaldo began to feel a profound contempt for the Caudillo, finding in him few of the qualities of a true Spaniard.

The Monarchists' disillusionment with Franco increased as the years passed and the new head of the Spanish state showed no inclination to share his power with the Pretender, Don Juan, or to allow the monarchy ever to be restored while he lived. Franco made the Falangist state a parody of a monarchy, with himself its uncrowned king. He created dukes, marquesses, and counts, utilizing the appeal which royalty has even today for high society, and appointed a Royal Council over which he presided. He systematically deceived the followers of the Pretender, implying that some time, when he, the Caudillo, so decided, the monarchy would be proclaimed. The Monarchist generals who had supported his coup d'état against the Republic in 1936 felt fooled and betrayed. Ansaldo exulted when Franco's enemies were joined by General Kindelán, who was in command of the rebel air force during the war and who cast the deciding vote for the election of Franco when Sanjurjo's death made it necessary to choose a new leader.

Since 1948, when General Kindelán came out openly against the regime and lost his high post in Franco's service, the number of Kindeláns, little and big, in the army has increased daily. The impatience with which they await Franco's downfall has been intensified in the last two months by the strikes and organized protests which have shown that the majority of the Spanish people are in potential rebellion against the dictator. With his military experience Ansaldo expresses amazement that responsible persons in the Western democracies imagine that Spain could be mobilized for war under Franco's leadership, and that Franco Spain would be a dependable ally. As recently as last week one of the prominent Monarchists now trying to "guide" Franco, José Larraz, formerly Minister of Finance, begged the Generalissimo to step down and permit Don Juan to occupy the throne so that another revolution in Spain might be avoided. Franco was as contemptuous of the idea as he used to be in the days when he had reason to feel he was firmly in the saddle.

One has only to read Ansaldo to understand what the monarchy in Spain would be like if it were restored—antiquated, based on the support of the privileged classes and the great landlords, without a trace of popular control. A republic, a truly democratic republic, is the only solution. But while the Monarchists are not strong enough to turn back the clock in Spain, their growing hostility to Franco, if only by solidifying the opposition of a large part of the army, is one more factor in the process of disintegration which will finally liberate Spain from its present infamous and un-Spanish ruler.

France Shies from the Right

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, June 8

AFTER ten days of the election campaign the outstanding fact to be reported is that De Gaulle is not doing nearly as well as was expected a fortnight ago. The danger that France will take a sharp right-hand turn of which I wrote in an earlier article seems less acute.

De Gaulle has played his hand badly and has also been unlucky. After his May Day speech, Gaullism seemed to mean adventure and revolutionary change, and the mood for that just isn't there. No explaining away has removed from the minds of millions of Frenchmen the implications of the General's reference to a "rendezvous in the Champs Elysées." Moreover, the more the Gaullists talk, the clearer it becomes to the electorate that they have no constructive financial or economic program and are simply asking to be taken on trust.

Three other extremely important factors are working against them. (1) The Gaullist plan to dissolve the trade unions has made the big employers very nervous; although many of the workers are Communists, there have been few strikes and very little social unrest, and any action against the unions would start no end of trouble (2) The Vatican's *Osservatore Romano* recently came out with an article virtually calling on good Catholics in France to vote for the M. R. P., the "Third Force" Catholics, rather than for De Gaulle. This is offset, however, by the evident reluctance of a certain part of the French clergy, true to their independent Gallic tradition, to accept the Vatican's advice, especially in view of De Gaulle's promised aid to Catholic schools. (3) De Gaulle has hardly any press except the two weeklies, *Carrefour* and *Rassemblement*, and some local sheets. There is no Gaullist national daily; even papers like *L'Aurore* and *Le Parisien Libéré*, which were unmistakably Gaullist in the past, have become more cautious, and *Figaro* is outspokenly critical of De Gaulle.

When General Koenig, a Gaullist candidate, announced that his party favored extending the term of military service from eighteen to thirty-six months, it began to appear that De Gaulle's lucky star was setting, for no move could be more unpopular in France today. After this inept declaration came the attack by Gaullist "commandos" on the headquarters of the pro-Communist General Confederation of Labor, complete with bashed heads to give the people a taste of the civil-war atmosphere that a Gaullist victory would create.

At a number of Gaullist meetings in Paris I was struck by the defensive tone of many of the speeches. The candidates seemed to feel obliged to spend a lot of time excusing the *gaffes* of the General's May Day speech and went out of their way to demonstrate that De Gaulle

was *un bon républicain.* At election meetings in the south De Gaulle himself has been insisting with a kind of petulant arrogance that it was he who in 1945 "gave France the Republic"—a phrase that must irritate real republicans and bewilder his more extreme followers.

The meeting held the other night in the northwest sector of Paris for Professor Vallery Radot, the Gaullist candidate, was poorly attended and one of the tamest I have ever seen. Except for exalting the sound management of the city of Paris by its Gaullist town council, which should be "a model for all France," the speakers had little to say of their party's economic plans. The hecklers were local conservatives who, anxious to punish De Gaulle for his refusal to gang up with them, accused him of having cooperated with the Communists in the past and having been responsible for the nationalizations carried out soon after the Liberation. The Gaullist candidate had to apologize in a confused and painful manner, saying that, after all, the Communists *did* represent 25 per cent of the French nation and couldn't be ignored during or just after the war, and so on.

Nobody today seriously expects De Gaulle to get 200 seats. Most forecasts now say that each party will get about 100 seats: Gaullists, 100; other right parties, 100; Radicals, 100; M. R. P., 100; Socialists, 100; and Communists, 100—with possibly the Gaullists, the Communists, and the right slightly exceeding this number. The center of gravity in the new Assembly will be rather more to the right than it was in the last one, and the favorites for the premiership are ultra-conservatives like Paul Reynaud or right-wing Radicals like René Mayer or Daladier. "Strong Man" Daladier, who intends to be very tough with the Communists, is said to be the Americans' first choice.

•

HOW, meanwhile, are the Third Force parties, and particularly the Socialists, faring? Thanks to the *apparentements,* and with the encouraging example of Italy before them, they are fairly confident of not doing too badly. A typical Socialist meeting was held on Saturday in the Latin Quarter for Robert Verdier, editor of *Le Populaire,* who heads the Socialist list in Paris-sud. It is curious that, except for the Communists, no party in France really "talks big"; rather each boosts itself as a lesser evil. Even the Communists are conducting a very quiet campaign, content to benefit from the steadily rising cost of living. The Socialists also were constantly apologizing: of course they had done their best, but allowances had to be made for the fact that they were in a coalition government and in all matters had to fight against their more conservative partners.

Here are some of the main points made by Verdier and other speakers:

> The Socialists were not exactly planners, but they believed in "a modest form of empiricism." In the matter of wages they favored the sliding scale, which their Radical and M. R. P. partners had always opposed, and a stricter control of capitalist profits. The shining example of Britain should be followed.
>
> Peace had to be won but not by the methods advocated by the Communists. Soviet imperialism was the greatest menace to peace, and the Stockholm Appeal, which by prohibiting the atom bomb was only going to facilitate "small wars of liberation," was a swindle. Even so, the division of the world into two blocs must not be accepted; European union must be the first stage in an all-round unification of the world.
>
> Gaullism had nothing to recommend it except the personal prestige of the General. Besides, there were dangerous people in the R. P. F., men who had led the revolt of February 6, 1934. The Socialists had to fight on two fronts—against the Communists, who, as the People's Democracies showed, were the enemies of all self-respecting Socialists and of personal freedom, and against the Gaullists, who were fascists in disguise.

The audience was almost entirely middle-class. Some Gaullist students made a lot of incoherent noise during the speeches, but when called on to speak they had little to say except that the Socialists had "neglected the French army"; this produced the reply that M. Moch was, on the contrary, "a great Minister of Defense." More embarrassing to the Socialists were a couple of Communists and a Trotskyist, all of whom accused the Socialists of "condoning colonialism" and "encouraging the war in Indo-China." One Communist asked what the Socialists thought of "Mr. Bevan, who knew you couldn't have both rearmament and social welfare." The question got no reply. Instead, M. Verdier again said that the Socialists, as members of a coalition, could not be held responsible for all that had happened in Indo-China; great mistakes had been made in the past, but it was true, nevertheless, that the war was started by Ho Chi Minh; some good chances of negotiating a peace settlement had been missed, but now it was very difficult, since the other coalition parties had different views on the subject. The hecklers had certainly touched on the French Socialists' sorest spot. One can only hope the party will do well enough to save what social welfare persists in France from being wrecked by the Reynauds and the Daladiers.

Despite disparaging remarks by the Socialists, great interest is expressed in intellectual quarters in Claude Bourdet's "independent left" or "neutralist" group. If Bourdet and his five colleagues win seats they will become the center of attraction for many Radical, Socialist, M. R. P., and even Communist deputies, as the cost of rearmament and the threat of war increase. The question now is: will the election produce a Third Force government, a Gaullist government, or something in-between—an ultra-conservative Cabinet without staying power, which can only arouse country-wide commotion and inspire new groupings of the left?

Our Town in Turmoil

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

MOST of its 23,500 residents, particularly the well-heeled ones who live "on the hill," would agree that Englewood, New Jersey, is beautiful, wealthy, conservative, well-mannered, and exclusive. The elaborate Tudor-style high school, with grounds spacious enough for a college campus, is named after Dwight Morrow, long the community's most distinguished citizen. "The bedroom of Wall Street," Englewood once had great attraction for bankers, brokers, and corporation lawyers, who enjoyed commuting down the Hudson shore and ferrying across to their offices in Wall Street. Like most communities of great wealth, Englewood changes slowly and is conservative in its acceptances.

At the turn of the century there were few Jews or Negroes or Catholics in the population, which then stood at 6,000, and as late as 1930 most of the people were at least second-generation Americans. Today, Englewood has roughly, 5,000 Negroes, 4,000 Jews, and 2,700 Catholics—together, about half of the total population. Today's transit puts Englewood within easy commuting distance for working-class Negroes, lower middle-class Catholics, and middle-class Jews, as well as for Wall Street brokers. Since 1940 the Jewish population has doubled and the Negro population has shown a comparable increase. Since 1940, also, quite a number of small industrial plants have appeared on the outskirts of the community.

In the meantime some of the families on the hill, plainly annoyed by the "invasion," have moved to Tenafly and other nearby communities. And quite a number of the sons and daughters of families remaining on the hill have been forced to move, after marriage, for lack of suitable low-cost housing. The transition from the old to the new Englewood really dates, so some hill dwellers believe, from the 1920's, when parvenu wealth first began to invade the hill. A second "invasion" was noted in the early 1940's, when a long-standing gentlemen's agreement was broken and a few Jewish families managed to buy homes there.

Officially there is no segregation in the schools. But Englewood has a separate Negro grammar school and high school, the parochial grammar school and high school of St. Cecilia parish, the regular public schools, and two exclusive private schools on the hill, one for boys, one for girls. In point of fact, therefore, students are segregated to some extent on the fourfold basis of sex, race, religion, and social status. The hill dwellers, who have politely and efficiently bossed the community for generations, have at all times been in the strange position of running a public-school system which many of them personally boycott.

Currently "our town" is in turmoil. Vile charges and counter-charges are printed in the press and echo in the streets; civic violence has brought ugly and long-hidden realities to the surface; old religious antagonisms are being revived. No one knows the precise cause of this agitation although many residents think they know who started it—a man they call "the Creature," who in turn calls them even harsher names.

Well-informed residents believe that the trouble began in June, 1946, when the Catholic War Veterans protested against the scheduled appearance of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam to deliver a high-school commencement address. Public opinion rallied quickly in defense of free speech, but Englewood was left with a sense of division and of injury. When such things happen, there is usually an earlier "incident" that people have almost forgotten. The earlier incident in this case was an attempted textbook purge in the late 1930's, which was finally averted after months of intense agitation.

Shortly after the Oxnam incident the Jewish community announced the formation of a forum program as a contribution to the civic life of Englewood. Among the speakers were Pierre Van Paassen, J. Raymond Walsh, and Norman Thomas. William S. Gailmor, brother of Rabbi I. Margolies of Englewood's Temple Emanu-El, was scheduled to wind up the first year's series on May 14, 1947. The moment this lecture was announced, the Catholic War Veterans protested to the Mayor and threatened to picket the meeting. Again public opinion quickly rallied in defense of free speech, and Gailmor spoke without any trouble. The next year, however, the opposition was better organized and far more truculent. Nevertheless, the attendance at the forum showed a sharp increase. Realizing that the series had been somewhat weighted to the left for Englewood and disturbed by the mounting opposition, the Jewish leaders proposed, at the close of the 1948 season, that the forum be taken over by a representative group of citizens and operated as a community project. Such a plan was worked out, and tentatively approved by certain leaders of the Catholic War Veterans, but was finally voted down by a narrow margin at a community meeting. The forum was then discontinued. The leader of the opposition at this meeting, as at the forum sessions, was Frederick G. Cartwright.

Although Cartwright has lived on the hill for several years, and has some support there, he probably would

not win a popularity contest among his neighbors. A middle-aged investment broker with three daughters who attend the exclusive private school, Cartwright was born in England but has long since become a superpatriot who feels that his zeal alone sustains the civic and moral fiber of Englewood. Intemperate in speech, he is a man of vast energy. Although not a Catholic, his current relations with the Catholic War Veterans are so intimate as to make it difficult to say whether they are using him or he is using them. He admits having contributed money to Allen Zoll's National Council for American Education, which has been termed by the Public Education Association "the most notorious among the enemies of the modern school program."

The decision to drop the forum aroused considerable resentment among Englewood's Protestant ministers. Annoyed by the Oxnam incident, they had been again aroused when the same group that had opposed Bishop Oxnam charged that the Protestant clergymen who had sponsored the Planned Parenthood Federation had helped create "more prostitutes." Protestant sensibilities were also ruffled when an anonymous leaflet warned "all true Americans" to stay away from the First Presbyterian Church—which has more ivy and millionaires than any other church in Englewood—on a special occasion when Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, nationally known theologian, occupied the pulpit. Disturbed by these happenings, the Reverend James A. Mitchell, rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, preached a thoughtful sermon in September, 1950, on The Menace of Communism:

> A negative attitude is not enough. Labeling people with whom we happen to differ politically as "Communists," and denouncing them, does not really harm communism; it harms only democracy. . . . Denying indiyiduals a right to earn a living by the smear technique and character assassination is not only malicious but a denial of the first principle of Anglo-American jurisprudence—the assumption that "a man is innocent until he is proved guilty."

THE stage was now set for a major incident. Both the American Association for the United Nations and the United World Federalists have fairly strong followings in Englewood, drawn mostly from the hill. The A. A. U. N. scheduled a meeting at the Junior High School for October 17, 1950, at which Louis Dolivet, then an editor of the *United Nations World*, was to speak. Dolivet, who was in France, was denounced as a "red" by the Chicago *Tribune* shortly before the meeting and was barred from reentry to the United States. Thus when Dr. T. H. P. Sailer called the meeting to order, Constantin Stavropoulos, special political adviser to the United Nations Commission on Korea, had been substituted as the principal speaker.

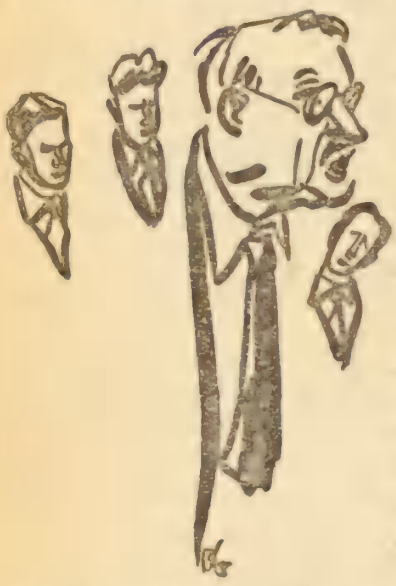
Scarcely had Rabbi Margolies pronounced the invocation, in the presence of the Mayor, when Cartwright started for the platform, spouting denunciations and quoting the Chicago *Tribune*. For twenty minutes the wildest confusion prevailed. Protesting against the appearance of Dolivet, who had not appeared, and attempting to speak before the question period, Cartwright was clearly out of order. When Dr. Sailer, aged seventy-two, was unable to obtain quiet, Dr. Hugh C. Wolfe, the distinguished atomic scientist, walked to the platform to lend a hand. In the meantime someone had called the police; Cartwright was placed under arrest on the complaint of Dr. Wolfe, and Dr. Wolfe, in turn, was charged with assault by a seventeen-year-old student from St. Cecilia High School. Cartwright then stormed out of the meeting, with some seventy-five followers. As they were leaving, a firecracker was exploded in the hall with a terrific bang, and a young girl fainted as rumors swept through the auditorium that a shot had been fired.

In the wake of this meeting Cartwright and certain leaders of the Catholic War Veterans laid down a systematic barrage of criticism against the World Federalists and the United Nationists. As a climax to this campaign George V. McDavitt, a former investigator for the House Committee on Un-American Activities, was brought to Englewood for a meeting on December 7. McDavitt echoed the familiar theme that "less than 1 per cent of humanity have caused the world's major troubles" and went on to attack "the effeminate rule of diplomatic homosexuals" and "the easy-mannered, cocktail-loving" people who make up "morally decadent" fashionable society. Accusing the United World Federalists of "Communist-front activities," he took a crack at the magazine *Scholastic*, denounced a number of textbooks (including a 1932 pamphlet by Dr. George S. Counts), and managed to work in fairly vigorous comments on Eleanor Roosevelt, Secretary of Defense Marshall, Anna Rosenberg, and General Eisenhower. The chairman of the meeting, a leader of the Catholic War Veterans, accused the school authorities of refusing to permit school children to sing "Christian" Christmas carols, "due to pressure" from certain groups—a charge which he later withdrew. Out of this meeting came the Englewood Anti-Communist League, Inc., organized by Cartwright and his Catholic allies, which has published several pamphlets, including a torrid tirade entitled "Red Influences in Englewood and Vicinity."

For weeks the local paper was full of letters from members of the Anti-Communist League attacking a long list of individuals, such as James Carey, Dr. Christian Gauss, and Louis Bromfield. Anonymous leaflets were distributed; a clergyman was denounced, on his own premises, as "a nigger-lover and Jew-lover"; and Mrs. Dwight Morrow—the first lady of Englewood—was called "communistic" at the conclusion of a telephone call. In recent months the Anti-Communist League

has sponsored a series of meetings at which Dr. T. H. Chang, consul general of Nationalist China in New York, Howard Rushmore, who accused the Truman Administration of "treason," Rabbi Benjamin Schultz, and Alfred Kohlberg, China lobbyist, have spoken. Schultz is now head of the Kohlberg-financed American Jewish League Against Communism.

Within a week of the riotous A. A. U. N. meeting, the Catholic War Veterans demanded an investigation of the Englewood public schools, and Cartwright promptly took up the issue. Three teachers and various texts were attacked. At a hearing on March 21, 1951, the school board waited patiently but vainly for Cartwright to produce evidence in support of the charges and then cleared the teachers. But the damage, of course, could not be entirely repaired. Two months later the *Press-Journal* pointed out that many teachers "will admit that they feel unsure of themselves, afraid that certain children have been set to watch for anything that sounds off-color. The Board of Education itself is afraid of what Cartwright might do." In another editorial the paper said, "The board should not permit itself to be intimidated by Cartwright." A good many citizens apparently reached much the same conclusion. Under the leadership of Mrs. Malcolm MacKay fifty or more "respectable" residents issued an excellent statement in support of the schools.



Before all this happened, however, the cases of Cartwright and Dr. Wolfe, five times postponed, were finally called for hearing by Magistrate Henry J. Bendheim. Lined up two deep along the walls of the little courtroom, the spectators heard Cartwright say, "Before I get through there will be fighting in the streets of Englewood." As a Jew, Judge Bendheim faced a rather difficult extra-judicial problem. After listening to nine hours of testimony he found Cartwright not guilty, while "deploring and disapproving" of his conduct, and dismissed the charges against Dr. Wolfe.

NO CLEARER blueprint of the fake "anti-Communist" movement which seeks to rise to power in this country could be found than in Englewood's civic brannigan. To call the movement "anti-Communist," even in quotes, is to misname it. It is anti-internationalist, anti-World Federalist, anti-intellectual. Clearly authoritarian, it is based on a pathological hatred of democracy. It threatens the independence of the public schools and uses fear and hatred as stepping-stones to power. It has the support of powerful veteran, nationalist, and religious groups; it ties in with the China lobby; it has important spokesmen in Congress; it uses the House Committee on Un-American Activities to intimidate its opponents. To equate this movement with democratic opposition to communism is to permit anti-Communist sentiment to be exploited for authoritarian purposes.

The movement exploits inter-group tensions of the type which exist in nearly every American community. In Englewood, for example, the Catholic War Veterans play the aggressive role that they do, not because they are Catholics, but because they belong largely to a social group that has known discrimination and is now rising in status and power. Similarly the Jews of Englewood arouse opposition not merely because of their intellectual interests but because they too are rising in status and increasing in numbers. That Negroes are frustrated in Englewood probably accounts for the fact that Cartwright has been able to recruit a local Negro minister as an ally. Some hill dwellers, resentful that "old Englewood" is changing, are doubtless inclined to support Cartwright out of what might be called historical pique. Then, too, the Catholics tend to be townspeople while Jews and Protestants make up the bulk of the commuters; so that ethnic and religious divisions are sharpened by other alignments.

The situation is naturally aggravated by national and international tensions. But just as the liberals and the real conservatives or traditionalists combined to scotch the textbook purge of 1939, so they are now uniting to end Englewood's civic turmoil. The leadership is coming from conservative elements on the hill who have a responsible sense of community—local, national, and international. Their social vision may not be too acute, but they detest vulgarity in politics as in social conduct.

The local paper was at first inclined to take a neutral position. But after Cartwright's open praise of Allen Zoll at a recent school-board meeting—Zoll is scheduled to speak soon in Englewood—and the appearance of Cartwright and a leader of the Catholic War Veterans on a television program, the *Press-Journal* revised its attitude. It said recently: "Make no mistake about it. Englewood is heading for trouble. . . . It is one thing to be on the alert against our Number One enemy, communism, and against the lesser but none the less insidious enemy, fascism. . . . But let us stop this vigilante approach that is gaining ground here like a cancer. This menace lies not only in the suspicions, the accusations, the recriminations. . . . There is a deeper menace in the fact that it is rousing religious hatred. . . . If allowed to spread, it will destroy the quality of our town." And as everyone knows, our town is our America.

School's Out in Pawtucket

BY ROGER WILLIAMSON

Providence, June 8

WHEN a corrupt, long-intrenched political machine begins to break up, no one is safe as the bosses search frantically for a way to save their power. The brassy, high-handed nineteen-year-old Democratic administration of Pawtucket, R. I., is in just such a state. Those who are getting hit hardest are the city's 8,175 public-school pupils and 534 public-school teachers. The pupils have lost vital weeks of schooling, and the teachers are temporarily without livelihood. The occasion is a strike forced upon the teachers on May 14 by the Pawtucket School Committee. It came after six months of negotiating by the Pawtucket Teachers' Alliance, an A. F. of L. local, for a flat $410-a-year annual pay raise. There is good reason to suspect that the committee was not really negotiating but was merely stalling.

The fact that Pawtucket's schools have been closed for so long—the fact that they are closed at all—relates directly to the desperate financial situation of remnants of the Democratic administration.

Pawtucket has been ruled since 1933 by one of the most ludicrously cavalier machines in the country. Two brothers, the late Tom and Ambrose McCoy, held the reins until early this year. Tom was mayor from 1933 until his death shortly after World War II. Ambrose succeeded him and lasted until he was nosed out of City Hall in last fall's election by an independent, Lawrence A. McCarthy. McCarthy's support came from disgruntled Democrats, the nearby Providence *Journal-Bulletin*, arch-enemy of the McCoys, a growing number of outraged Pawtucket residents, and the handful of Republican voters.

Although McCarthy won the mayoralty, the Democrats kept control of the City Council. McCarthy's first move, upon taking office early this year, was to demand an independent audit and long-overdue publication of the pay roll. The City Council immediately responded with a series of resolutions depriving McCarthy of practically all his executive powers. These maneuvers were not altogether successful. For one thing, the city of Pawtucket customarily gets cash in the spring of the year by issuing tax-anticipation notes. McCarthy refused to sign, and Pawtucket's Democratic leaders, who include several General Assembly members, turned to the state legislature for help. A number of bond bills were introduced which would permit the city treasurer to issue $3,900,000 of new bonds without further authorization. Eventually, during a farcical Assembly session, the bond bills were passed in compromise form. Pawtucket Democrats got their bond bills but only on the condition that the city's books be submitted to state audit.

The Democrats got help from another source. On April 17 the largest taxpayer in the city, the Blackstone Valley Gas and Electric Company, paid its 1951 taxes of $168,000 two months in advance of the due date. Soon the second largest taxpayer, the J. and P. Coats Company, a thread firm, paid its $110,000 tax in advance. Democratic officials were busy indeed. David Daly, president of the utility company, acknowledged payment of the taxes but denied he was taking part in the City Hall controversy. It has been common knowledge for years that the great strength of the old McCoy machine lay in its support by the city's big taxpayers in exchange for a low tax rate, $21 a thousand at present. But the public exposure of this happy cooperation between big taxpayer and big politician was a real experience for the citizens of Pawtucket. This was the situation, then, when the teachers struck.

Francis E. Welch, chairman of the Schools Committee with which the alliance had been so patiently trying to do business, has played an important role in the strike. Welch is an accountant who came to Pawtucket in 1924, established an accounting firm in Providence, and became "financial adviser" to Tom McCoy. Later, he was "financial adviser" to Ambrose McCoy. He was "financial adviser" to the city of Central Falls until he was fired a couple of years ago. Welch is also the owner of a firm known as Welch Industries, Inc., which instals soda-dispensing machines. Five of his machines were installed in Pawtucket schools a couple of years ago, and one day several pupils got sick after drinking soda from one of these machines. Pawtucket Parent-Teacher units, with the help of the *Journal-Bulletin*, managed to force Welch to remove the machines from the schools. Welch has been charged by the teachers with extravagance in running the junior and senior high schools and with political domination of the schools.

On January 21, 1949, the Superintendent of Schools, Alfred J. Maryott, a man with a reputation for integrity but conservative social outlook, resigned in protest against what he called political domination of the school department. He was succeeded by Dr. Percy R. Crosby, who is said not to be troubled by political domination.

The strike has produced some interesting sidelights. A mediation plan advanced by eight Roman Catholic

ROGER WILLIAMSON is the pseudonym of a Rhode Island newspaperman.

priests—later indorsed by a Jewish rabbi and a Protestant minister—was rejected by the School Committee but accepted by the teachers. The committee was praised editorially by the *Journal-Bulletin* for its stand. The *Journal-Bulletin* is vigilant when it comes to separation of church and state and may have suspected a dangerous precedent, but since it had condemned the strike, it was certainly being consistent in its stand.

The most recent development was praise for the teachers from the Most Rev. Russell J. McVinney, D. D., bishop of the Roman Catholic diocese of Providence, who upheld the action of his eight priests. "Their good will," said the Bishop of the teachers, "was not matched by a corresponding compliance of the School Committee seeking refuge in legal technicalities."

With this kind of pressure, it is difficult to see how Welch can refuse to accept a mediation offer from Governor Dennis J. Roberts already accepted by the alliance.

Greece: Portrait of a Failure

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

MODERN Greek history is becoming drearily repetitive. On Sunday, April 15, ten years to the week since he fled before the wrath of the Greek people, Constantine Kotzias, the six-foot-four, 286-pound Nazi-phile bully and close collaborator of Dictator John Metaxas, was elected Mayor of Athens. In 1936, when Metaxas seized power, dissolved Parliament, and banned all political parties, he created the post of Governor of Athens and placed in it the faithful Kotzias. Together with Metaxas' ruthless policeman, Maniadakis, Kotzias fashioned and applied the indispensable tools of totalitarianism—suppression, terror, and brutality. Just before the Dictator's censorship clamped down on news out of Greece, one brief item on Kotzias appeared in the New York *Times* (February 12, 1937):

> *Athens, February 11.*—Prominence is given in today's newspapers to speeches delivered in various parts of the capital by Constantine Kotzias, Governor of Athens. . . .
>
> The speaker praised to a sensational degree the use of physical violence against those among the people who, through being out of harmony with the regime, spread rumors of disaffection.
>
> "Use your hands," the Governor cried in accents as loud as his insistence on the present regime's strength and durability. "We are and shall remain in power forever," he declared.

In the United States there was a slothful tendency to gloss over the fascist dictatorship of the late King George and John Metaxas, but in pre-war Germany Metaxas' flattering imitation was more than appreciated. The second anniversary of the Metaxas dictatorship (August, 1938) was appropriately celebrated in Berlin with the publication of a large, attractive book entitled "Immortal Hellas." The introduction was written by Alfred Rosenberg, chief of the Nazi movement's foreign-policy department. Kotzias, the Dictator's liaison man with the Nazis and a personal friend of Hitler, Göring, Goebbels, and von Papen, contributed a lengthy article on Greek youth. Concerning the Nazi youth of Germany, Kotzias said: "The writer of this piece, one of the most enthusiastic defenders of the organization of youth, cannot conceal his admiration for the German youth; for how they accept subordination, believe in higher ideals, adopt for themselves the ideals of the ancient Greeks, and go forward to meet the goal of the German people with heads raised high and firm looks toward the future." One of the illustrations in the German volume showed the organized, uniformed Greek youth, founded in imitation of the Hitler Jugend, marching past Kotzias, their arms raised in the fascist salute.

The significance of Kotzias' return to a position of influence in Greek affairs was increased by the support given him by the old political leaders. The Liberal and supposedly republican Premier, Sophocles Venizelos, the royalist Populist Constantine Tsaldaris, the amorphous Democratic Socialist Vice-Premier, George Papandreou, and all the rabid right-wing groups rallied around this survivor of the dictatorship and in so doing confessed their own weakness. By their abject failure to solve, or even attempt to solve, the country's many problems, these same old party leaders had created the vacuum into which Metaxas, Maniadakis, and Kotzias stuffed their vicious pre-war authoritarianism. The war wiped out the dictatorship—and there was a new vacuum. It was the Stalinists, with their well-organized underground movement, who then moved in and filled the void. With the help of the Tito-Cominform break and the Truman Doctrine, the Stalinists were erased. Again the old parties had a chance, and again, weak and corrupt, they failed to combat the misery of the people. And so, once more, the old party hacks are giving way to the fascist totalitarians. In the three gravest crises of

---

CONSTANTINE POULOS is an American journalist who has spent many years in Greece. His reports on Greek politics have appeared frequently in The Nation.

modern Greece—the dictatorship, the occupation, and the post-war period—the old political parties have failed the Greek people completely.

ON PAPER the war with the Stalinists ended more than a year and a half ago, in the fall of 1949. Rather than succor a potentially dangerous, Cominformled enemy in his back yard, Marshal Tito withdrew his support of the Greek guerrillas and closed the frontier. At about the same time the Kremlin decided to liquidate its stalemated Greek adventure in order to concentrate on the more important conflict in Yugoslavia. The end of the armed struggle in Greece was then inevitable.

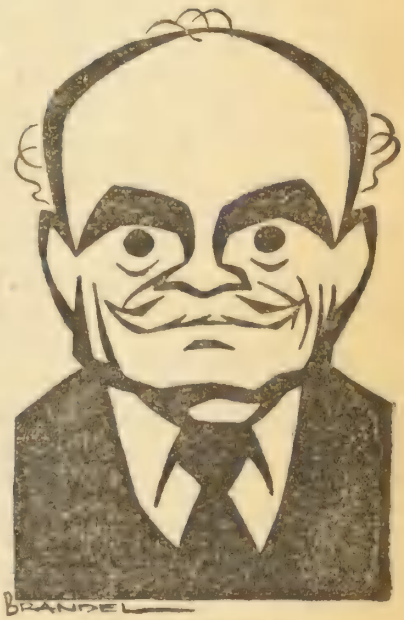
For the Greek people the cessation of the guerrillas' resistance heralded the first respite from war in many years. A period of peace and security, of reconstruction and rehabilitation, seemed about to begin. Of course a program was necessary. But a breathing space had been provided, and democracy should have been given a chance—for a change.

Unhappily, modern Greek affairs seem to follow the pattern of ancient Greek tragedy. The very efforts of the Greek people to extricate themselves from the misery, poverty, and backwardness of their fate only involve them more deeply. At the second post-war elections, held on March 15, 1950, five months after the end of the civil war, the majority of the Greek people repudiated the men who had governed Greece during the previous four years. The Democratic Group, composed of the Socialist Party, a collection of left republicans, and some fellow-travelers, swept the big cities. A new spontaneous centrist grouping, named the National Progressive Union and headed by General Nicholas Plastiras, made a surprisingly strong showing. The elections destroyed the American State Department's pet myth that the Stalinists and the Athens cabal were the only alternatives and proved that the Greek people were as fed up with reaction as with communism.

Although the American officials in Greece had not supported General Plastiras, they rejoiced when he took over the government in April, 1950. An abortive attempt by the oligarchy to deny him the post was frustrated by American intervention. Time would be needed to clear up the entire mess, but here at least, was a start. The strict enforcement of economic regulations was a welcome novelty. The abolition of political persecution, summary executions, and torture of political prisoners promised to put an end to the debilitating cycle of terror. From both the American and Greek points of view, the resumption of diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia was salutary. Most important, there was a psychological change. People were no longer afraid, and they dared to hope. It appeared that the United States would eventually be able to claim that it had not only saved a gallant little nation from Stalinist domination but helped it achieve a state of political and economic health.

The Americans cheered too soon, and the hesitant smile of the Greek people died on their lips. Using the Korean war as an excuse, the Athens oligarchy, with the help of Sophocles Venizelos, who pulled the Liberal Party out of the government, overthrew General Plastiras in September, 1950. Soon the old crowd was back, doing business at the old stand.

General Plastiras' government had stepped on too many toes. As he had promised, the Premier started to expose the fantastic corruption of the previous regimes. The preliminary reports of the accountants and inspectors who began to check the records of the various ministries and independent agencies were shocking. The investigation of the Piraeus Port Authority was to disclose graft totaling nearly $6,000,000. Barely scratching the surface, the probe revealed systematic embezzlement on the part of officials in key administrative posts. Scandal followed scandal, as the men in power were shown to have callously misappropriated and misused the American money that was intended to help win the civil war and to rebuild the country.



General Plastiras

In the sphere of civil liberties the Plastiras government did not move as fast as the left wanted or as slowly as the right demanded; it would have moved somewhat faster if the state machinery had not been so thoroughly royalist-ridden. But it did lay down a policy of "leniency," which was intended gradually to restore civil rights to all citizens without endangering the security of the country or antagonizing a still over-sensitive population. Perhaps the actual measures taken by the government during its short tenure were less telling than the clearing of the charged atmosphere brought about by the mere existence of that type of government.

Nineteen days after the Plastiras government was overthrown, a special military court in Athens sentenced five men and three women to death for "treason." The Extraordinary Measures Act of 1946, which removed practically every civil right, was revalidated. Courts all over the country resumed the vendetta which had been recessed while the Plastiras government was in power. By the beginning of 1951 arrests without warrants were

being made again, individuals were being held incomunicado, jailed without charges, and shot. On January 3 a forty-seven-year-old woman, Evangelia Floria, died after "jumping" from a third-story window of a police building in Athens. The police explained that Mrs. Floria, who had been held in solitary confinement for nine days, had "evidently repented of her Communist crimes and, conscience-stricken, decided to end her life." In part, this resumption of political terror was motivated by the oligarchy's ruthless determination to discourage popular opposition and forestall any repetition of the 1950 elections.

When the Plastiras government fell, the independent liberal Athens daily *To Vema* commented: "Until yesterday there was still hope that the culprits would not escape punishment. But now what will happen? Will the Populists be absolved? Will the Greek people be left with the feeling that the crooks are above the law? Will the crooked and corrupt punish the people for having believed they could get rid of them at the polls?" The obvious answer to all the questions is yes. Only a few minor crooks have been jailed. The people are being punished for their electoral independence. Wages have been frozen, prices rise unchallenged, unemployment increases steadily, and the profiteers continue to salt away their gains in other countries. All these developments provide grist for the Stalinist mill.

ONCE again Greece has failed to break the circle. Those who grasped at the emergence of a political center as a last chance, "reckoned without the innkeeper," as an old Greek saying goes. The dominant groups were not inclined to give up so easily and resorted to the proved formula—anti-communism. There were no guerrillas in the mountains of Greece in September, 1950. The Yugoslav frontier was secure. Internal order was well in hand. But there was Korea. Korea happened just in time—before the Plastiras government could get started on policies that would disturb the "business and banking cabal," and before the nation's political complexion could be altered.

So the existence of a Communist peril had to be reestablished. Without a Communist peril American dollars would stop pouring into Greece at a rate of roughly $300,000,000 a year. With one, the rulers of Greece can justify their repression and cover up their exploitation and corruption. An example of this tactic was heard over the North American transmission of Athens Radio on April 17, when in announcing the results of the municipal elections the commentator persistently described the opposition to the "nationalist" candidates as "the extreme left." Two years ago the Stalinists were "the extreme left." Today, with the Stalinists legally banned, "the extreme left" encompasses the ill-assorted combination of Socialists, trade-unionists, left republicans, and dissident Liberals who offer the only militant resistance to the oligarchy. When these men have in turn been imprisoned or exiled, the phrase "the extreme left" will be used as a smear epithet against any remaining opposition.

The entente between the Stalinists and reaction is in effect again. The two buttress each other; the existence of one is advantageous for the other. Ironically, United States assistance, which was sincerely planned to help the people of Greece, has contributed to this unholy alliance. It has done so, partly, because of the misplaced class sympathies of the American representatives in Greece, who with notable exceptions have either disbelieved in the existence of democratic forces there or distrusted them. As a result, we aligned ourselves with the one element of Greek society that could not possibly restore stability in Greece.



Brandel

Prime Minister Sophocles Venizelos

Moreover, by allowing the oligarchy to believe that it was the only element we could support, we lost our power to bargain with it. In the broad sense our practically limitless aid to Greece has been unconditional. Once we became exclusively committed to the oligarchy, reprimands, withholding of supplies, and minor reductions of funds were but slaps on the wrist. We were powerless to prevent the misuse and waste of United States aid and shall be powerless to prevent the eventual collapse of the Greek government. When that happens, when the government has completely dissipated the confidence of the people and pushed them into the waiting arms of a Communist movement it has rebuilt, the State Department will not be able to claim, as it did in the case of China, that our policy was essentially right but that the result was beyond our control. The 1950 elections in Greece proved that our policy had been essentially and disastrously wrong; at the same time they offered to the United States a way out of its predicament. For a brief moment—in correctly analyzing the 1950 election results as a popular expression of disgust and using its influence to bring the center parties to office—the United States acted boldly and wisely. Then it wavered and reverted to support of the oligarchy and its puppet politicians. In this the State Department ran true to form. And coming events in Greece will do the same.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Shaw's Last Play

THIRTY YEARS WITH G. B. S. By Blanche Patch. Dodd, Mead and Company. $3.

BUOYANT BILLIONS. By Bernard Shaw. Dodd, Mead and Company. $3.

MISS PATCH, who was Shaw's typist from about 1920 on, estimates that he averaged fifteen hundred words a day for seventy years and that his total output therefore came to approximately forty million words. He was, nevertheless, thrifty enough to collect scraps from the files, and some such are used to fill out the present, presumably last, volume of his plays. His fame would hardly suffer if they had remained unpublished, but "Buoyant Billions" is another matter. Like all the dramatic work after "St. Joan" it is rambling and extravagant, but it is also as pyrotechnically brilliant as the writing of his prime. The most unperceptive critic who read, for example, the opening dialogue between a conservative father and a revolutionist son would not need, like the critic in "Fanny's First Play," to be told whether or not it was by a good writer. Indeed, he could not possibly need to be told what particular good writer had written it, since any one of a score of pages, so characteristically slashing and at the same time so wonderfully compact and as transparent as glass, could have been written by no other man living or dead. Even the two-page preface to the puppet play "Shakes Versus Shav" is a marvel of efficiency which manages, among other things, to dispose of the Baconian heresy in two of the best paragraphs ever written on the subject.

Apropos "Buoyant Billions," Shaw remarks, "I can hardly walk through my garden without a tumble or two; and it seems out of all reason to believe that a man who cannot do a simple thing like that can practice the craft of Shakespeare." Yet so far as one would be able to guess from many individual pages, the nonagenarian Shaw had not lost his grip either upon the ideas he wished to express or upon his power to express them. He is still a utopian, a revolutionist, and a "metabiologist." He still has no faith in parliamentary reforms, because "the class war is rushing on us with tiger springs"; he is still delighted by the divine absurdity of sexual love, which can, as one character puts it, make "unreadable poems like the Song of Solomon" delightful and transform "bagatelles by Beethoven into great sonatas"; he is still sure that we know nothing about God except that "He leaves much of it to us"; still capable of satirizing himself in the portraits of Old Buoyant's brilliant children, who are "too much for him as talkers and generally arrive at wrong conclusions by talking their feet off the ground."

Nevertheless, to read the play as a whole, to read even the first act, is to realize how far he had lost something he began to lose a quarter of a century ago—namely, the ability to focus on any given subject either his attention or his powers of expression for more than a few minutes at a time. If his vivacity, his enthusiasm, or even his comic sense had declined to an equal degree, he might possibly have written later works more satisfactory as wholes, however much weaker in other respects they might have been. But the very virtues which always threatened to run away with him could no longer be kept under any sort of control. "Buoyant Billions" is, in some ways, not unlike "Heartbreak House," but it is without the coherence of that play—which by the way he is said by Miss Patch to have regarded as his best. The plot of the new "trivial comedy, which is the best I can do in my dotage," would defy summary and, like most of the other half-dozen last plays, stops rather than finishes after having got nowhere as anything more than a series of improvisations so loosely connected as almost to suggest that the author forgot what he had written as he went along.

Moreover, even when the scenes are taken by themselves, it is evident that though Shaw could still write philosophical dialogues on the one hand and brief farces on the other he could no longer write that something which is not quite either and is therefore a Shavian play at its best. Fancy tends to run riot, imagination as well as all sense of form to fall short. Even such characterization as, in the ordinary sense of the word, he had once been capable of, he is capable of no longer, and his dramatis personae have abandoned all pretense to membership in the human race. Passion and wit remain; nothing else which goes to the making of a play does. Yet there is one surprising paradox still unmentioned. If "Buoyant Billions" alone survived as the work of an unknown author, one would guess it to be, not the work of an old man, but of a youthful genius who had still to learn almost every sort of disciplined coherence except that of the individual sentence and paragraph.

As for "Thirty Years with G. B. S.," it is certainly of less than world-shaking importance, partly because the author does not appear to have seen much of her employer *en pantouffles*. There may be some mild interest attached to the fact that Shaw typed with two fingers before he learned to write slowly in shorthand and took to using it when he composed plays, but one needs to be far gone in hero-worshiping to care what his harpsichord brought at auction. It is chiefly of such tidbits that the volume is composed. More important, in view of some anecdotes which have been told by others, is the fact that Miss Patch, though not a disciple, testifies to her employer's considerateness and to his generally kindly ways.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

How to Read a Poem

INTRODUCTION TO POETRY. By Mark Van Doren. William Sloane Associates. $4.

THIS anthology, introduced by a hundred-odd pages of commentary on thirty of its poems, should be a godsend to any teacher at all able to bend the bow of its compiler—though one thinks of it as an admirable textbook only because nothing could be less textbookish in tone. The anthology itself is a sifting of the pure grain of English

lyric from the Cuckoo Song to Dylan Thomas and Robert Lowell. The poems chosen for comment range from George Peele to Hart Crane; though some of them fall into thematically connected groups, the explications are wholly in terms of the poem itself—"a poem," says the preface, "exists only when its writer and its reader meet inside it and conspire to ignore everything but what it says." This soundest of principles realizes itself in practice as textual analysis of the closest sort: "I . . . have talked about [each poem] in the faith that it was worth all the attention and devotion I could supply. In no other way can poetry be understood. It is a difficult art unless we are willing to give it as much as it gives us—and this is no less true of a song by Burns or a pastoral by Herrick than it is of any modern poem."

Doctrine and method, then, would seem to be those of the current orthodoxy. But actually Mr. Van Doren's approach is very different from that of the dominant school, with its emphasis on certain attributes of thought or feeling—complexity, irony, ambiguity, paradox—as criteria of poetry. These are a part of poetry as they are a part of life, but they are not differentiating characteristics of poetry as such: to make a fetish of them too often leaves us, in spite of the most laborious textual wrestlings, no farther "inside" the poem than when we began. A poem, on the contrary, lives as a poem by that which makes it a poem and not some other thing; and this is the region in which Mr. Van Doren operates: "I have considered nothing but what a poem says and how it says it. It says it with music, and so I have emphasized the contribution in each case of rhythm and sound. But not as if that were everything. The subject matter, the idea, the feeling is of course the important thing. And yet it isn't either. The music that makes it manifest is itself a part of what we know, and at times would seem to be as indistinguishable from it as beauty is from virtue, or virtue from truth."

There is of course no fool-proof method of reading poetry, and what this approach yields at Mr. Van Doren's hands depends largely on his innate sensitiveness, tact, and finesse. Yet the effect his commentaries leave of having put us at the heart of the poetic process; of having sent us back to a poem, whether "simple" or "difficult," familiar or unfamiliar, with an enormously enriched sense of what accounts for its success as a poem—these triumphs of explication depend too on his assumptions as to the nature of poetry. It is instructive here to compare this "Introduction" with Cleanth Brooks's "The Well Wrought Urn," or rather to compare the explications in both books of Wordsworth's Westminster Bridge sonnet, a point where the paths of the authors happen to cross. There is not space to go into details, but in spite of Mr. Brooks's insights, the limitations imposed by his theory become acutely apparent when we put the two side by side; for light on what specifically converts to poetry the raw material of emotion and perception, of paradox and ambiguity, Mr. Van Doren begins, we feel, where Mr. Brooks stops short. Nothing could seem more obvious than an approach to poetry by way of "rhythm and sound"; actually, as Mr. Van Doren employs this approach, nothing could be more novel or illu-

The Knight, Death, and the Devil

Cowhorn-crowned, shockheaded, cornshuck-bearded,
Death is a scarecrow—his death's-head a tectotum
That tilts up toward man confidentially
But trimmed with adders; ringlet-maned, rope-bridled,
The mare he rides crops herbs beside a skull.
He holds up, warning, the crossed cones of time:
Here, narrowing into now, the Past and Future
Are quicksand.
A hoofed pikeman trots behind.
His pike's claw-hammer mocks—in duplicate, inverted—
The pocked, ribbed, soaring crescent of his horn.
A scapegoat aged into a steer; boar-snouted;
His great limp ears stuck sidelong out in air;
A dewlap bunched at his breast; a ram's-horn wound
Beneath each ear; a spur licked up and out
From the hide of his forehead; bat-winged, but in bone;
His eye a ring inside a ring inside a ring
That leers up, joyless, vile, in meek obscenity—
This is the devil. Flesh to flesh, he bleats
The herd back to the pit of being.

In fluted mail; upon his lance the bush
Of that old fox; a sheep-dog bounding at his stirrup
In its eyes the cast of faithfulness (our help,
Our foolish help); his dun war-horse pacing
Beneath in strength, in ceremonious magnificence;
His castle—some man's castle—set on every crag:
So, companioned so, the knight moves through this world.
The fiend moos in amity, Death mouths, reminding:
He listens in assurance, has no glance
To spare for them, but looks past steadily
At—at—
a man's look completes itself.

The death of his own flesh, set up outside him;
The flesh of his own soul, set up outside him—
Death and the devil, what are these to him?
His being accuses him—and yet, his face is firm
In resolution, in absolute persistence;
The folds of smiling do for steadiness;
The face is its own fate—*a man does what he must*—
And the body underneath it says: *I am.*

RANDALL JARRELL

minating, or, in the current state of affairs, more salutary. Such, indeed, is the current state of affairs that this return to the mere essentials of the art has all the excitement of a prime discovery.

But perhaps more important is Mr. Van Doren's assumption that reading poetry—and writing about it—is a civilized activity, the worth of which is the achieving of a style, of an attitude sure enough of itself not to have to prove its seriousness by parading it. His "Introduction" demands from anyone who would work its vein a highly personal and delicate discipline of attention, and one a great deal harder to catch the trick of than paradox hunting. But however exacting the difficulties, the training is that of an athlete for economy and cleanness in performance, and the game is played strictly for the fun of it. For Mr. Van Doren, that is, the reading of poetry is an art, like the writing of it—a point of view that for a long time has led a somewhat subterranean existence. One can only wish this "Introduction" the widest use as a textbook.

HOWARD DOUGHTY, JR.

A Preference for Palaces

THE ENGLAND OF ELIZABETH: THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY. By A. L. Rowse. The Macmillan Company. $6.50.

THIS volume describes the surfaces of Elizabethan civilization—the agricultural, economic, and legal procedures, the church but not its creed, the schools and colleges but not their curricula, the social classes but not the social life. A soul for the body is promised in a second volume which will deal with Elizabethan thought and art, as well as colonial and other achievements. Ideally a work on such a scale would be worthy of a place beside Coulton's "Medieval Panorama" and might supersede Raleigh's "Shakespeare's England" and the parallel portion of Trevelyan's "Illustrated English Social History." Mr. Rowse, a Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, who has written a number of well-received books, has the industry and exuberance for the great endeavor. Unfortunately he does not have the sanity and taste. This reviewer can recall reading few other works with such swiftly dwindling enthusiasm as this first volume of the "portrait of an age."

The early chapters are best. Mr. Rowse describes Elizabethan monuments in modern England with artistic effect, then pays a warm and informative tribute to the old cartographers, chroniclers, and antiquarians who painted their age from life. From the third chapter on, the use of obsolete terms and the massing of details will impede the progress of most readers, but the defect is not very serious. The subject is so important that we should welcome plenitude and be willing to make an effort. The author's style has at least the virtue of unflagging animation.

The book's great defect is Mr. Rowse's personal intrusion upon this great stage, like a chorus with a petulant falsetto voice. We do not mind being told that the gentry were more influential than the burgesses, that the nobility were not really declining, that land inclosures have been overemphasized, and the like, but we do mind the unmannerly prods. Mr. Rowse tells us that the "idiot people" hated beauty and genius, that Parliamentary elections returned the right members in spite of "that simple fool, the freeholder, with his vote," that the quality wanted schools for their children, but "thought education less important for the people, and they were right." Mr. Rowse feels that Christians should display a cultivated skepticism and indifference instead of the "hateful spirit of a Savonarola"—like "loathsome Luther" or "horrid Prynne" and other "nasty Puritans." The Established Church (not one of whose bishops was really a "bad man") kept its middle course in spite of "fools (or knaves) arguing for their own idea of liberty, Catholic or Puritan. . . ." Tawney's is too big a name to use in chiding the author for thus dismissing the spiritual conflicts of an age. An unpretentious little book, Bindoff's "Tudor England," recently added to the Pelican series for a shilling, sixpence, could give Mr. Rowse instructions in good manners and good sense. He feels the constant compulsion to crack heads, usually lowly heads, and to pat backs, usually great backs. If there is anything Elizabeth and Burleigh no longer need, it is an apologist. Mr. Rowse views their greatness as his discovery, and in the glad certainty that he is backing winners, comports himself like a rooter for the Yankees or Notre Dame.

It is difficult to understand why the author's friends could not have persuaded him to remove some of the gaffes. Nicholas Udall, miscalled here "the creator of English comedy," was removed from his teaching post as a confessed pederast. Mr. Rowse does not mention the nature of the offense, but signifies his knowledge of it in a classic remark: "His relations with his pupils were not what those of a schoolmaster, *or at least a headmaster,* should be" (italics the reviewer's). After noting that the fires of Smithfield were relit for "a couple of Dutch Anabaptists," he remarks, "The truths upon which society rests must be maintained." The reader must take his choice: whether Mr. Rowse is being ironical—at the expense of a government he has assumed could do no wrong—or whether he really believes that burning is the only suitable thing for "a couple of Dutch Anabaptists." He certainly condones the torturing of the Jesuit missioners—though, like Lewis Carroll's Walrus, he does sympathize a

Ten Great Economists

By JOSEPH A. SCHUMPETER

A great economist, late Professor of Economics at Harvard, presents his evaluation of the men most influential in shaping economic thought during the past century—including Marx, Pareto, Taussig and Keynes. These essays, gathered in book form for the first time, are biographical in character but critical in approach. His stimulating and challenging interpretation of the capitalist process makes this an important contribution to American economic thought. Illustrated.

$4.75 at all bookstores

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

114 FIFTH AVE., N. Y. 11

little: ". . . but oh the human tragedy of the necessity of it!" It should take no historian to tell Mr. Rowse there was *no* necessity, that it proved a bad business even from a tactical viewpoint. Comparative statistics on Elizabeth's torturings and burnings have tripped warier men than Mr. Rowse. She was more merciful than most Renaissance monarchs, and should be honored for so being—but those who were burned were burned.

The book is studded with flattering little portraits of certain exceptional members of the non-gentry, and even with reproofs of "snobbery," but we are not placated. The Puritans, who the author was certain would have no friends, are beaten persistently. The longest discourse on the subject begins, "The chief difficulty in writing about the Puritans—apart from the unattractiveness of the subject and the usual nimiety of material (for they have been too much written about, disproportionate to their place in society)—is one of definition." He achieves no definition, his only way of correcting the supposed imbalance having been to read very little of what has been written about the Puritans and practically nothing of what they wrote themselves. In content his discussion resembles a student theme, and its tone may be gauged from sentences like the following: "So like the Puritans, so like their tact: that did them no good: they got nowhere that way"; and again, "No historic sense, no conception of historical development; but no Puritan ever had much historic sense." This sounds less like a judicious historian than like Great-Aunt Agatha complaining of her non-conformist nieces. If these judgments seem harsh, the author cannot complain. He calls William Perkins a "horrid barbarian" who "fortunately died young." He may be surprised to learn that Perkins is still read—and by others than *Puritans*. These will be able to contain their impatience for that second volume which is to expound the artistic and spiritual values of the age.

Mr. Rowse lowers his gaze to the England of his own day only to deplore the "octopoid sprawl" of London, the "horrid agglomeration" of an urban and industrial civilization, and the building of tenements instead of palaces. Let us hope that most of his readers will discount it less completely. All of us glory in Elizabethan England, its great deeds and great poetry still stirring our hearts, its service to free institutions in a time of hazard, still claiming our homage. And we know that Elizabeth was a great queen. We should recognize, however, that she had great advantages—the body of enlightened humanistic doctrine informing her age, the enemies divided against themselves, the thinly populated and geographically favored realm, the untouched natural resources, the chances for expanding foreign trade, the new continent awaiting colonization, in a word practically everything that modern England does not have. The present government of England assumed a far heavier burden in 1945 than did Elizabeth's government in 1558, the chances of success much smaller, the consequences of failure much greater. The leaders now, like the leaders then, may be described as parvenus. They too are trying to steer a middle course. If by some miracle they should succeed, and preserve England as a political and industrial democracy, then 350 years from now a historian—some spiritual descendant of Mr. Rowse—may start waving his hat. It will then be a little late. ALFRED HARBAGE

Some Political Novels

BARBARY SHORE. By Norman Mailer. Rinehart and Company. $3.

THE BURNED BRAMBLE. By Manès Sperber. Translated by Constantine Fitzgibbon. Doubleday and Company. $3.95.

THE CASE OF COMRADE TULAYEV. By Victor Serge. Doubleday and Company. $3.

AT THE drop of a memory, literary people will tell you that the critics of the thirties sinned in judging novels by political rather than aesthetic standards. Some of these very people are now attacking Norman Mailer's new novel on grounds that are almost entirely political, and in a few reviews attacking with invective and bad faith; only Maxwell Geismar in the *Saturday Review* has discussed the book with some considerateness. "Barbary Shore," as it happens, is a bad novel, but not because Mailer has chosen to defend an unpopular political point of view.

Apparently Mailer has taken to heart the dubious notion that naturalism is "exhausted" and Kafkaesque symbolism the only recourse for a serious novelist. "Barbary Shore" is crammed with symbols and can be read as a political allegory, but it does not do the first things a novel should: create dramatic tension and arouse interest in its characters. Since one cannot become involved with the weird collection of disembodied voices Mailer has brought together in a Brooklyn rooming-house, one does not care what they "stand for." The meaning of symbols in a work of art matters only when they enchant, disturb, or otherwise arouse us in their own right.

Another trouble is that Mailer writes badly. His lumpy and graceless prose is strewn with quasi-intellectual chatter and stiff with echoes of radical jargon, "progressive" journalism, and WPA living-newspaper skits. Once a writer has been exposed to such influences it is hard for him to develop a style, but there is no evidence in "Barbary Shore" that Mailer is even aware of the problem.

Because its action is merely a lifeless posturing and its prose is savorless, the political message of "Barbary Shore" does not seem to me very impressive. And for another reason: if the critic has no business judging a work of art in terms of political opinion, he has every right to judge the *quality* of its thought. Though I roughly agree with Mailer's position of intransigent socialism, I find myself embarrassed by his crude formulations and the tone of pious, apocalyptic certainty with which he delivers them. It is one thing to say that capitalism and Stalinism are both reactionary societies and that a political identification with the first may lead to a political victory of the second; but it is sheer cant to suggest that the absolute dictatorship of Russia and the limited but real democracy of the United States are, or are soon likely to be, "two virtually identical forms of exploitation."

I cavil at Mailer's tone not because doubt is necessarily good "in itself" or because the sort of "open mind" some liberals affect is particularly admirable. It is simply that if one is to try to remain a radical these days and not surrender to cynicism or weariness or atomic hysteria, one *must* be torn by doubts, one must reexamine every scrap

of doctrine and every step of action to see where and why things went wrong, one must engage in the "soul-searching" that is scorned equally by the kind of dogmatic Marxist who is content to have predicted catastrophes he did not avert and by the kind of complacent liberal who now boasts, after years of guilt over his timidity, that he was never "taken in." (The kind of liberal, I mean, who has discovered that the end does not justify the means but is reconciled to the probability of an atom war.)

The trouble is that Mailer has come to his radicalism a little late: he does not really know in his flesh and bones what has happened to the socialist hope in the era of Hitler and Stalin, and that is why he can refer so cavalierly to democracy and carry on like a stale pamphleteer. He is sincere and he is serious; I admire his courage in writing a book he must have known would bring him grief and attack. But I can only say that his relation to his material, like his presentation of it, is not authentic. Otherwise he would not seem so sure.

Authenticity is precisely what "The Burned Bramble" does have. Manès Sperber, an old European political who broke from Stalinism in 1937, is not really a novelist by training or instinct, but he does know how political people talk. "The Burned Bramble" is one of those revolving-stage affairs with dozens of characters roaming about, none of them very distinct, and with complex shifts of scene and time—the amateur novelist is always tempted by forms that would try a master. One never quite remembers which of the German Communist leaders Sperber is writing about; one only acknowledges the speculative intelligence with which he records their patterns and nuances of reflection. Sperber would have done better to use his material for a memoir or an essay in political psychology; still, I found his book moving. But I suspect that what moved me was less an experience in reading than a recall of history set off by the mere announcement of Sperber's subject.

Victor Serge's novel has many of the same faults as Sperber's. He too has chosen to write a multiple-decker novel, which turns out, however, to be too conventional for his material: in its stately shuttling from milieu to milieu it is hardly suitable for the vertiginous extremities of modern political experience. And too often Serge falls back on romantic rhetoric, effective in his pamphlets but here pretentious and hollow.

None the less, "Comrade Tulayev" is the best fictional portrait we have of Stalinist Russia, richly credible in atmospheric detail and bound by a coherent view of what Stalinism means. Serge is uncertain in his treatment of the commissars, for like everyone else he is guessing at what goes on in their minds, but he is superb in his portraits of the oppositionists. There is Ryzhik, a veteran Old Bolshevik, hard and strong, who in his unrelenting opposition to the regime lives out the original passion of the revolution. As a thinker he is unimpressive, merely repeating some of Trotsky's less valuable formulas, but he is something better than a thinker—a man of total commitment and selflessness. It is good to have this portrait, to be reminded that there were Old Bolsheviks who did not crawl but remained firm to the end.

Even better realized is the capitulator Rublev, an erudite and witty man apparently based on Bukharin. Rublev is cleverer than Ryzhik; in his uncertainty he has to be. In one great scene he and his entire generation are realized with passion and pathos: Rublev arranges a meeting in the Moscow woods with two old comrades to discuss their forthcoming arrest by the regime. They quarrel a bit, engage in some desultory controversy—and suddenly they come to trembling life, stirred by the cold of the snow, the warmth of this, their final meeting. They begin—not to talk of purges, politics, programs; it is too late for that. They begin throwing snowballs at each other, laughing like boys and for a moment innocent and forgetful. "They leaped, laughed, sank into snow up to their waists, hid behind trees to make their ammunition. . . . Wladek stood where he was, firmly planted, methodically making snowballs to catch Rublev from the flank, laughing until the tears came to his eyes, showering him with abuse: 'Take that you theoretician, you moralist, to hell with you,' and never once hitting him."

Here knowledge and imagination fuse, and the result is an image of the misery of our day.

IRVING HOWE

The Mind and Art of Goya

FRANCISCO DE GOYA. By José Lopez-Rey. Harper and Brothers. $3.

THE forty reproductions in this new addition to Harper's Art Library cover very representatively the vast field of Goya's activity, from the early Crucifixion in the Prado, a strange compound, as it were, of Correggio and Thomas Eakins, and the St. Louis Self-Portrait at Twenty-five, to the Milkmaid (Prado, 1825-28) painted during Goya's last years in Bordeaux.

Professor Lopez-Rey eliminates from his account all the merely legendary aspects of Goya's career. He is concerned, he says, with "the lifelong process of creation." He guides the reader's attention, therefore, to the pictures themselves. He provides a thread through the development by a preliminary definition of the rococo tradition. For this purpose he borrows heavily from Edmund Burke and the treatise of Antonio Palomino. The latter is actually visible

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS from the U S S R
Just Arrived! VLADIMIR POPOV
STEEL and SLAG
Novel, Prize Winner 1951
In English — 648 pp. — $1.25
Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
1951 SUBSCRIPTIONS OPEN FOR ALL SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES
Write for Complete Catalogue P-51
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

THE SCARECROW PRESS
3341 Prospect Avenue, N.W.
Washington 7, D. C.
LITERARY PROPERTY IN THE UNITED STATES, by Ralph E. Shaw, Ph.D. 1950. $6.00
A HISTORY OF LIBRARIES, by Alfred Hessel, tr. with supplementary material by Reuben Peiss. 1950. $4.00
A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING, by Samuel Spielvogel. June 1951. $5.50
INDEX TO PLAYS IN COLLECTIONS, by John H. Ottemiller. 2nd ed. revised and enlarged. September 1951. $6.50
DICTIONNAIRE DE BIBLIOGRAPHIE HAITIENNE, par Max Bissainthe. Introduction by Luther H. Evans. Sept. 1951. $20.00

PUBLISHERS' OVERSTOCK
Original Editions, New—Order Now!
Paul Rosenfeld: Mellquist & Wiese..... 1.00
My Old Kentucky Home: Elliot Paul..... 1.00
Ghost Town on Yellowstone: E. Paul..... 1.00
The Nine Young Men: Wesley McCune..... 1.00
On Active Service: Henry L. Stimson..... 1.25
D. H. Lawrence Manuscripts (Frieda Lawrence collection) E. Tedlock, ed., Univ. N. M. 1.25
Devil in Massachusetts: M. L. Starkey..... 1.25
Condor & Cows: Christopher Isherwood..... 1.25
Makers of Mathematics: A. Hooper..... 1.50
Days With Bernard Shaw: S. Winsten..... 1.50
From Beethoven to Shostakovich: Max Graf..... 1.50
Universe of G. B. S.: W. Irvine, $5 list..... 1.75
Arthur Rimbaud: Enid Starkie, $5 list..... 2.00
James Joyce, 2 Decades Criticism: Givens, ed..... 2.00
Mexican Heritage, 116 photos: H-Huene (Augustin) 3.00
Postpaid U. S. A.
DOWNTOWN BOOK BAZAAR
212 Broadway, corner Fulton, New York 7, N. Y.

among the paraphernalia of an early portrait, that of the Count of Floridablanca (1783). It is true that the rococo conception of beauty, as expressed in Burke and Palomino, was Goya's point of departure; but I do not think that Lopez-Rey carries this good idea far enough. Take, for example, his consideration of the full-length portrait of the Marchioness of Pontejo, a fine early work in the National Gallery, Washington. Here is a figure painted with courtly virtuosity and with a touch of humor in the over-brittle crook of the finger and the balance of the pose slightly askew, somehow suggestive of Beatrice Lillie. It is clearly a Gainsborough figurine appraised by a bolder and deeper mind. Not a parody à la Miró, but rococo with a wry twist.

Such, at least, is my impression of the Marchioness of Pontejo. Lopez-Rey, however, finds in it only an example of a point he is making, that in the early period Goya "represents the sitters [*sic*] as both graceful and dominating." After demonstrating this not very remarkable fact, he concludes as follows: "This corresponds to the rationalist concept of man as being capable of an accurate comprehension of his own stature as well as of the ascendant role he is to play in the natural world." If it were not bad manners, I would just say applesauce.

This kind of ersatz criticism—philosophical capsules instead of a proper response to the forms of art—is fortunately not the main stream of Lopez-Rey's approach to Goya, but it occurs rather too frequently. Even the nude Maja emerges as "an expression of natural, or picturesque, beauty," instead of the most highly charged female in the history of nude painting and the first which can properly be called a portrait. (It makes no difference who the model was.)

In considering the late works of Goya, Lopez-Rey might have made more of the extraordinary amount of time it took Goya to reach his full stature. If Goya had died at forty, he would have gone down in history as a court painter of uncommon brilliance, and no more. There is little indication of the profundities to come. Even Rembrandt, another late developer, had painted the Night Watch before this time in his life. Lopez-Rey might have emphasized, too, the violence of technique in the late works, with its extraordinary prophecy of expressionism—whether of Daumier or of Rouault—as well as its invocation of late Rembrandt. Goya's famous statement in his old age that his only masters had been nature, Velasquez, and Rembrandt is in the text of this book, but not its application as regards Rembrandt himself.

On the whole, the book gives a sense of Goya as responsive to the prevailing ideas of his time, and rather passively so, but not as one of the great minds who helped create those ideas and who evolved through a process of his own artistic logic. S. LANE FAISON, JR.

The New Cosmology

THE NATURE OF THE UNIVERSE. By Fred Hoyle. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

THE "intelligent layman" who studied cosmology with Jeans and Eddington and Gamow will probably be shocked by this new design of the universe. Hardly one basic principle of the "old" theories is left standing. The moon no longer derives from the earth—it "used to" lie in the space now occupied by the Pacific Ocean; the center of our planet is no hotter than a wood fire; the sun has ceased being the parent of the solar system; the number of planets in existence, inhabitable and otherwise, has now been immeasurably increased, the Milky Way alone having contained 10,000,000 during its brief history; and finally, there was no start to the universe a few billion years ago, and in fact there was no start altogether. Hoyle, who is a young and brilliant astronomer at Cambridge University, sounds at times like an a posteriori God.

Before taking up at least a little of what he calls the New Cosmology, let us be clear where it differs from "the Old Cosmology." It was held until recently that the solar system came about in one of two ways: either the sun was approached by another star whose gravitational pull tore off vast portions of the sun (the Buffon theory, as modified by Jeans), or the sun, as its original mass cooled, increased its rotational speed and by centrifugal force discharged the stuffs that we know today as the planets (the Kant-Laplace theory, formidably revived in 1943 by the physicist Weizsäcker). Intrinsic to both these views is the belief that the universe is of relatively recent origin. Hoyle and his fellow modern astronomers, however, start from an entirely different assumption.

Hoyle shows us that the materials composing the sun, which consist almost entirely of hydrogen and helium,

THE NOVEL IN FRANCE

by Martin Turnell

One of the richest periods of all literature—the modern French novel—is brought into new and brilliant focus in this scholarly yet very readable study of Proust, Balzac, Flaubert, Stendhal, Constant, Madame de Lafayette and Choderlos de Laclos. Illustrated. $4.25

THE PRINCESS OF CLEVES

by Madame de Lafayette

This classic love story of the fatal passion of the dashing Duc de Nemours for the wife of his best friend at the Sixteenth Century court of Henri II in Paris has often been called "the first modern novel" and is one of the glories of French literature. $1.50

NEW DIRECTIONS, 333 SIXTH AVENUE, N. Y. C.

could never have been used to create the earth, where elements of much higher atomic weight are predominant. He then argues that the sun was at its inception one of a pair of stars, a so-called binary system, which is a very common event in the universe. And the sun's twin was not an ordinary star but a supergiant, which was immensely larger and brighter, and which ended in a cataclysmic explosion known as a supernova. Now, when a supernova occurs, an unimaginable heat is attained, a heat so intense that nuclear transmutations become possible. The interior furnace of the sun permits hydrogen to be converted into helium, but the supernova can alchemize hydrogen—which is the building stuff and protoplasm of the universe—into magnesium, iron, uranium, and in short into exactly those heavier elements found here on earth. Hoyle maintains that the sun's twin, directly before it vanished into space, breathed out a cloud of gas that clung to the sun and that was later fashioned into our solar system.

The significance of this idea is that it frees astronomy from any inherent need to conceive of a start to the universe. If the Buffon-Jeans theory is upheld, the meeting of the two stars could in all likelihood have taken place only when stars were much nearer to each other—that is, soon after their creation from the primordial gas that has been assumed. The Kant-Laplace theory likewise requires a birth to the universe, for it cannot explain the presence of heavy elements on earth without placing their origin in the extreme densities and pressures of a non-material age. The New Cosmology does away with all logical cause for insisting upon any single gigantic creative act. But if the universe always existed, how can the loss of energy, the destruction of elements, be accounted for? No supply is infinite.

This question is the most damaging one to the new theory. Hoyle's personal answer to it is that, as the need arises, nature creates its own new forces—from nothingness. The principle of "the expanding universe," according to which the galaxies are in continual flight from each other, would eventually sweep bare our night skies, save for the visible portions of the Milky Way; but Hoyle insists that nothing of the kind will ever happen, for the vanishing galaxies will be replaced by new ones in a process of "continual creation." The universe is made up almost entirely of hydrogen, and if the universe is of infinite age, as the New Cosmology proposes, the best explanation for this element's prevailing is that nature has replenished it—from nothingness. And if this sounds fantastic, Hoyle asks, is it any more fantastic than the belief that the universe was brought into being at a certain particular time and had never existed before then?

Even the rankest amateur at cosmology will be annoyed at the oversimplifications running through this book. Actually these pages are quoted from lectures read over the B. B. C., and they have just that mixture of flat statement and chatty enthusiasm one would expect in a radio script. But what is said here in "The Nature of the Universe" is too important and too challenging to be dismissed on literary grounds. If Hoyle and those modern astronomers who share his thinking are wrong, they have at least made a magnificent guess, and it is in human nature to welcome such a guess, and to believe that from it some measure of proved truth must one day derive.

CHARLES SPIELBERGER

Gothics and Some "Fellers"

MAN AND BOY. By Wright Morris. Alfred A Knopf. $3.

ALL ABOUT H. HATTERR. By G. V. Desani. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.

THE new novel of Wright Morris, an original and interesting craftsman, describes in fine pictorial detail an important day in the lives of Mr. and Mrs. Warren Ormsby, who leave their Pennsylvania home for the Brooklyn Navy Yard to dedicate a destroyer escort named after their dead sailor son. We have met the Ormsbys before, in the paintings of Grant Wood: indeed, if we could imagine a secret key turned behind one of that painter's Gothics so that the figures began to move slowly and stiffly, comically and yet sadly, we would have Mr. Morris's Ormsbys to the life. His technique has both the merits and the deficiencies of the Grant Wood attitude: as caricature it is delightful, if somewhat overdrawn; as social commentary it is idiosyncratic and labored.

In the earlier pages, by far the most whimsical and amusing, Mr. Ormsby is seen as the perfect henpecked husband, tiptoeing about the bedroom in the early morning, "carrying his shoes," following "the throw rugs to the closet, like a man crossing a swift stream on blocks of ice." His tyrannical wife is the by now legendary Mother, fanatically self-centered lecturer on Bird Calls and devourer of all who cross her path. But by the time they reach the Navy Yard, Mother has been invested with a mystical kind of greatness, and much of the sharpness of the original caricature has faded beneath Mr. Morris's determina-

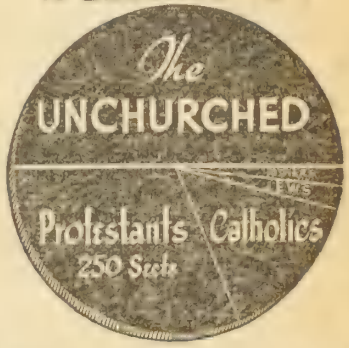
—— Get Your Copy Now ——



USE fairly TODAY'S AMERICAN TAX DOLLAR

collected by local, state and federal agencies from *all the people* including those who do not wish to support a religious teaching contrary to their own

IT BELONGS TO:



NEW GRASS ROOTS STUDY

"SCHOOL ROW STIRS WISCONSIN" —Boldly Facing Some Religious Liberty Threats to PRESERVE OUR GREAT AMERICAN TRADITION including Equality Before the Law for Religious Groups by Ellis H. Dana

(Please Tear Off Here)

Second Edition Booklet — 42 pages of basic materials and illustrations.

To: ELLIS H. DANA
308 Washington Building, Madison 3, Wisconsin

Please forward postpaid _____ copies of SCHOOL ROW STIRS WISCONSIN at 50¢ per copy, for which I enclose $_____ in check or in _____ money order.

_____ NAME

_____ STREET

_____ _____ CITY

DATE

tion to fill out the picture and impress us with the symbolic weight of the Ormsbys' situation.

Mr. Desani is more than an original. "All About H. Hatterr" can hardly be adequately summarized, but one might think of this guffawing Indian writer as a lunatic hybrid by S. J. Perelman out of James Joyce. In England he has already been bestrewn with such adjectives as "remarkable" and "amazing" by T. S. Eliot and others, whom his H. Hatterr would probably refer to as high-powered literary fellers (all males are fellers, from the Bard of Avon to the meanest chiseler). He is also boring in long stretches, but since the same can be said of other literary greats, both Oriental and Occidental, H. Hatterr would probably be happy with with that characterization also.

H. Hatterr is a kind of Indian Everyman who tells us of his misadventures as lover, holy man, husband, man of affairs, and so on, with the aid of his "pal," Nath C. Banerji, in a cascade of headlines, quotations, and pidgin slang that tumbles across the pages in incredible profusion. Puns in half a dozen languages are interspersed with erudite and hilarious references to Shakespeare, Bing Crosby, John Bunyan, the Quiz Kids, and the Bible. My favorite episode—they are numbered and captioned, like the paragraphs in a work of systematic philosophy—is LIFE-ENCOUNTER 7, entitled PUNCHUM AND ANOTHER, WITH CONTEMPT, wherein a young feller is taken to the cleaners by "a pious gatherum of some twenty fellers" presided over by a naked recluse named Punchum.

It all adds up to a kind of Joycean acceptance of life and the continuity of human experience, but the dogged reader is warned by H. Hatterr himself that "the trump card of us Balaamite fellers is the mumbo-jumbo talk: the priestcraft obscurantisms and subtility . . . by the Pharisee Desani: see the feller's tract 'All About H. Hatterr,' publisher, the same New York company: a language deliberately designed to mystify the majority, tempt 'em to start guessing, and interpreting our real drift, and allegory, what the hell we mean: miss the issue, and dash our heads against the crazy paved rock of confusion."

To which exhausted Westerners, whether in New York or in "South Dakota, You Essay," will only be able to nod meekly. HARVEY SWADOS

GOOD USED BOOKS
50¢—$1

Thousands of librarians and bargain-wise book buyers regularly receive our famous lists. Literature, fiction, detective, history, philosophy, arts, juvenile, etc. Just drop a card!
Editions, Dept. N, Hempstead, N. Y.

OUT-OF-PRINT and HARD-TO-FIND BOOKS
supplied. All subjects, all languages. Also Genealogies and Family and Town Histories. Incomplete sets completed. All magazine back numbers supplied. Send us your list of wants. No obligation. We report quickly at lowest prices. (*We also supply all current books at retail store prices—postpaid, as well as all books reviewed, mentioned or listed in this issue of The Nation.*
AMERICAN LIBRARY SERVICE
117 West 48th Street, Dept. N, New York 19, N. Y.
N. B. We also BUY books and magazines. Please list.

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

Books in Brief

ONCE AROUND THE SUN. By Brooks Atkinson. Harcourt, Brace. $4. From Walden Pond to Broadway is a long journey, but the biographer of Thoreau and drama critic of the New York *Times* has made it without apparent discomfort. His diary of reflections and observations in the city and at his country home owes a considerable debt to Thoreau's journals. The writing lacks the bravura of the master, but in tone and content it is not unworthy of the comparison. A delightful book, but fie on the publisher for providing no index.

CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE. A Memoir by Vladimir Nabokov. Harper and Brothers. $3. An evocation of the scenes of an exile's progress from a fabulous pre-revolutionary Russia through university years in England and literary life in Berlin and Paris to a haven in America. The detachment with which Mr. Nabokov unreels this cinema of upheavals has a little the air of a tour de force, and so sometimes has the ornate prose of his scenarios. Yet often enough the manner is extremely effective, and the impressions of persons and places —the sketches of life on the family estate, of St. Petersburg, icy, gaunt, and enigmatic, of the love affair with Tamara—make the Russian part an iridescent recreation of a vanished world.

Art

MANNY FARBER

TOP comic-strip artists like Al Capp, Chet Gould, and Milt Caniff are the last in the great tradition of linear composers that started with Giotto and continued unbroken through Ingres. Until the Impressionists blurred the outlines of objects and diffused the near, middle, and far distance into a smog of light and dark, design had been realized in terms of outline and the weight of the inclosed shape. Today the only linear surgeons carrying on the practice—except for some rear-guard opportunists like Shahn—are the pow-bam-sock cartoonists, whose masterful use of a dashing pen line goes virtually unnoticed in the art world. (Once in a lifetime a curator takes time off from Klee, Disney, and Dadaism to throw up a slipshod "retrospective" like the recent show "American Cartooning," at the Metropolitan.) The rococo, squiggling composition of the average comic strip is too intricate, difficult, and unorthodox for cultured eyes grown lazy on the flaccid drawing-with-color technique and the pillow-like form of modern painting.

The comic stripper—a funereal-faced craftsman who draws with his hat on and usually looks like an ex-saxophone-playing Republican—has good reason to wear a Ned Sparks expression. To start with, he has to meet over four hundred deadlines a year—one daily plus two on Sunday—while serving up his uniquely personal Karakters in a format squeezed to a fraction of its original size because his colleagues multiply like rabbits. He is bedeviled by aesthetic and moral do-gooders for contributing to a "debauch in flamboyant color and violent drawing," for his "fishing about in

the murky depths of mass reactions." His earliest slapstick creations were rebuked for glamourizing "the cheeky, disrespectful child"; then the girlie-girlie strips were hounded by cheesecake censors; some of the religious newspapers run his stuff but jerk out pipes, cigarettes, and clouds of smoke; the newer strong-arm brigade catches monthly blasts from psychiatrists like Wertham and psyched-up little magazines like *Neurotica*. Worst of all, he is continually criticized for not being "funny"—when from the beginning, from the first "Yellow Kid" strip in the 1890's, his humor has been of a jaundiced, whiplashing, Goyaesque type, too sour for articulate emphasis.

The key to the success of cartoons is not the vulgar, violent subject matter but the dinky, cocky pen stroke, which unfortunately gets less virile every day. Gilbert Seldes's complaint about the weak conception and execution of the "Katzenjammers" was an apt damnation of Knerr's designs but completely unjust to the small, beautifully well-fed details: readers drool over Knerr's just-baked pies drawn rather sloppily but with bloated, seductive lines that stream taste and texture out of the page; his plump and sassy roadster tires, his stylish oval rumble seats have more aesthetic kick than the effects of his most industrious competitor—Peter Paul Rubens. Despite their latter-day shortcomings, the strippers still have a full grasp of the objects in our world and throw them up with a quick spendthrift exhibitionism delightful to Americans who have been raised on the idea that drawing skill is hard won.

At that, the comic creators start with stolidly traditional tactics. ("First learn how to draw—then go to a good art school and get a firm foundation in the arts"—Billy DeBeck, Barney Google's accoucheur.) Bisect almost any box from "L'il Abner" with two diagonals and you will find the lines crossing all important details: bosoms, hag's face, fleeing bachelors, six-shooter barrel peeled back like a banana. Capp, a veteran of four art schools, also spots his darks in a circular path with a firm anchorage in one corner or another—a typical student maneuver. Another old-master orthodoxy is his serpentine pattern of figures across the page, each slob turned this way or that so as to contrast and link with his neighbor. Yet every panel is distorted into life because Capp plays enough rage and gloom into each Dogpatch person and thing to bury his conventional moves under a forest of weird lettering and decisively stylized curiosities.

Unfortunately, Capp and his contemporaries have softened cartoonism by overdrawing figure and overworking the intellectual-literary vein. The old standbys were arrogant show-offs who confounded their fans with ambiguously brilliant-bitter touches. George McManus stuck a hideously aggressive face on Maggie and then gave her a beautiful body and legs; this insidious combination was drawn with the clean sharp elegance of a Botticelli nude. Another unforgettable resolution of contradictions was DeBeck's sagging, ponderous Spark Plug, who always found graceful fluid motion in the home stretch.

There have been three major "periods" in American cartooning, and each step has been a change for the worse. The founding fathers—Swinnerton, Outcault, Dirks—were strictly caricaturists, hardly bothering about backgrounds: their stock in trade was exposing the smashable character of ordinary people with a style based on doodles. When adults started reading the funnies, style changed to suit their timid suburban outlook. Domesticity and illustration crept in for the benefit of the henpecked and the lovelorn; rooms were drawn in perspective, lamps were drawn with a ruler, potbellies shrank, and everything suggested a solid hunk of marital doom. The most dispiriting change was ushered in by "Tarzan" in 1929. With this, funnies turned into pseudo-movies—taking over close-ups, tricky lighting, and the rest. There have been some miraculous cinematic inkers like Caniff ("Terry," "Canyon"), who draws incredibly sharp and delicate faces with a crowquill pen and exciting clothing with a shadow-nicking brush; yet even Caniff fondles his troubled adventurers like a cosmetic man making up a glamour girl.

Good or bad, uphill or down, comic strips are read by sixty or seventy million daily devotees. They satisfy a demand for inventiveness, energetic drawing, and a roughneck enthusiasm for life that other plastic arts cannot meet.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

MOZART'S Piano Concerto K.453, one of the most marvelous examples of the genre, and the Concerto K.459, which I again find to be a beautiful work of lesser stature—both not available on records for some time—are now to be had on an LP record, but in performances by Leonid Hambro and the Oklahoma City Symphony under Alessandro that are without grace or sensitiveness in pace, phrasing, and touch. Surfaces are gritty (Allegro).

K.459 gets more sensitive treatment from Clara Haskil and the Winterthur Symphony under Swoboda; but both orchestra and pianist play without force in the powerful opening movement of K.466 and parts of the later movements.

25% Less than List on LP Records
Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:
DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB
DEPT. N-25
Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.
Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges (50¢ minimum) SAME-DAY SHIPMENT

* from "Bach-Gesellsch."
† from "Urtext" ed.
Pocket-Sized, Low-Priced Editions
BACH* Well Temp. Clavier, 2 vols., each..... .98
BEETHOVEN† Violin Sonatas, 2 vols., each.... .98
& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG
Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From
LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138 New York 32, N. Y.

30% to 50% DISCOUNT ON ALL LP RECORDS
Up to 75% on 78 rpm Records
Write for details to
ELAINE MUSIC SHOP
EAST 44th STREET bet. Fifth & Madison
NEW YORK CITY 17 MUrray Hill 2-6154

PULITZER PRIZE and [illegible]
RICHARD RODGERS & [illegible]
present in association with
LELAND [illegible] & [illegible] LOGAN
RAY MIDDLETON
MARTHA WRIGHT
IN
South Pacific
Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from [illegible] A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with MYRON McCORMICK • MITZA CASTELLO
MAJESTIC, 44 St. W. of B'way • Air-Cond.
Evenings 8:25. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:25

The piano sound lacks resonant brightness and solidity (a small instrument?); and the orchestral sound is heavy (Westminster).

Haydn's brilliantly high-spirited Trumpet Concerto in E flat (1796) is excellently performed by Helmut Wobitsch and the Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Heiller; and the moderately engaging Horn Concerto in D (1762) gets a good performance by Franz Koch and the same orchestra and conductor (Haydn Society). Less interesting is another Horn Concerto in D, and mostly uninteresting are the Handel Concerto Grosso in B flat and Double Concerto in C, well played by the Janssen Symphony and soloists (Capitol).

Clara Haskil's playing in Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 3 is good, but its effect is lessened by her toneless instrument; also there is questionable monkeying with tempo, the orchestra is coarse, the sound of the violins strident (Westminster).

In Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 5 we get the best playing Serkin is capable of—the melodic line clear and fluent, but with no force or momentum created by phraseological inflection, and in fact with occasional weakness produced by things like an accelerated swell to a melting diminuendo. The performance is reproduced with good balance between a piano sound which lacks solidity down below and an orchestral sound which is agreeable but would not be recognized as that of the Philadelphia Orchestra (Columbia).

Another performance of the work offers stronger playing by Victor Schioler, better-balanced piano sound, and good playing by the Danish State Radio Symphony under Garguly which is reproduced with less than present-day spaciousness and brilliance. Surfaces are gritty (Mercury).

The *Adagio* section of Schubert's Fantasy Opus 15 ("Wanderer") is very beautiful, and is played by Curzon with sensitive delicacy; the rest of the work I find unimpressive, and while Curzon's playing of the vigorous portions is effective his flat undifferentiated *p* in the quiet portions is not. Surfaces are poor (London). Kempff's performance of the great Sonata in B flat (London) and Kraus's of the beautiful Sonata Opus 42 (Decca) are things to skip.

Schumann's Etudes Symphoniques, one of his finest works, is excellently played by Casadesus (with no repeats in the early variations and some repeats in the later ones). The piano sound is unresonantly cold and glassy on top and needs stepping up of bass down below; and there is a hum. On the same record is Beethoven's Sonata Opus 110, of which the first two movements are played without the force that Casadesus imparts to the Arioso in his beautifully articulated performance (Columbia).

Schumann's charming "Papillons" Opus 2 is well played by Gyorgy Sandor; and the piano sound is the truest achieved by Columbia, but unenriched by resonance and in need of stepped-up bass. Also on the record are the brilliant Toccata Opus 7 (its sound shallow, wooden, glassy), the strange "Vogel als Prophet," and several Brahms Intermezzi which I like no better this time—all well played (the Kempff performances of Brahms Intermezzi and Rhapsodies (London) are something to skip, as are the pieces themselves).

Schumann's great Fantasy Opus 17 is badly played by Robert Weisz (London); the fine Sonata Opus 22 by Jacqueline Blancard, whose treatment of the charming "Scenes from Childhood" is a little better, though occasionally too robust and with excessive distentions (Vanguard).

Schumann's "Waldszenen" Opus 84, well played by Casadesus, are uninteresting. On the same record and well played is Debussy's "Children's Corner," of which I like only *Doctor Gradus ad Parnassum, The Snow is Dancing,* and *Golliwog's Cake Walk* (Columbia). Kapell's performance of *Golliwog* (Victor 78) is heavy-handed and fussy.

Backhaus has surprised me with good performances of Chopin's Ballade in G minor, Waltz Opus 34 No. 1, and three Mazurkas (London).

Griffes's "The White Peacock," one of his best works, is well played by Amparito Iturbi (Victor 78). Bloch's three pieces for cello and piano, "From Jewish Life," well played by Zara Nelsova and Bloch himself, are effective examples of a familiar style; Copland's Four Piano Blues and Barber's Adagio for strings on the same record I don't care for (London). Nor do I care for Debussy's Suite Bergamasque, well played by Frank Glazer (Polymusic; with Ravel's "Gaspard de la nuit"), and the piano music of MacDowell that is well played by John Kirkpatrick (Columbia).

Of the waltzes for two pianos beautifully played by Gold and Fizdale I have enjoyed some of Virgil Thomson's bland and at times amusingly parodistic Synthetic Waltzes and a few of Rieti's Second Avenue Waltzes, but not those of Auric, Sauguet, Tailleferre, and Bowles (Columbia).

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

The NATION — **Money-Saving Magazine Combinations**

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine . . . . . $9.50 **You Save $2.50**

☐ *with* Consumer Reports . . . . . $10.75 **You Save $1.25**

These club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION BY ITSELF:

☐ **One Year $7** ☐ **Two Years $12** ☐ **Three Years $17**

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years. ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations listed below.

_____

_____

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

6/16/51

RESORTS

BREEZEMONT PARK
ARMONK, N.Y.

A Wonderful Place for Children— and Parents

If you—like many modern parents—prefer to watch your child develop, here is the ideal combination for you. Breezemont Park and Camp Alyssum offer gracious hotel accommodations—including golf and all sports facilities—for parents, together with an outstanding camp that children love! Since 1936, intelligent parents have shared a delightful summer's adventure here with the children. Recommended by Child Study of America. Ages 4–11 only. Season Starts July 1. *Only 35 miles from N. Y.*

PHONE ARMONK VILLAGE 3-8155, 3-3162

What'll you have in June?

CHESTER'S ZUNBARG,
In Woodbourne, N. Y.,

offers all sports, informal entertainment, dancing, tavern and television . . . plus fine food and modern accommodations. The nicest people ever. Inviting low spring rates.
Write or phone Woodbourne 1150 for brochure.

SUMMIT LODGE
ROSCOE, N. Y.

Elevation 2,500 feet

- Famous for our Viennese Home Cooking
- The Continental Cafe On The Green
- Spacious, shady lawns
- Swimming & boating
- Sports
- Library, recordings

Rates from $43 up with semi-private bath $50

Request folder
N. Y. tel. LO 8-1745
6–10 p. m.

CHAUTAUQUA LAKE—near Chautauqua Institution and four symphony concerts weekly. Private house, acre of beautiful lawns and gardens, beach. Excellent cooking, garden-fresh vegetables. Room and meals $50 weekly. **Anderson, Lighthouse Point, Mayville, N. Y.**

MUSIC INN for any mood—Concerts at Tanglewood next door; inquiries into Jazz; 100 acres, tennis and two lakes. Write for detailed programs **Music Inn, Lenox, Mass.**

GLORIOUS MUSIC in the Berkshire Hills at Tanglewood, July 5–August 12. Write for complete program and accommodations. The H. Ningers, Canaan, New York. "20 minutes from the Shed."

VACATIONS

AN UNUSUAL VACATION—Folklore, Creative Writing, Language Workshops for all ages. Music and Sports. **ELAN International Center,** Vancouver Island, B. C., Canada. Box 230, c/o The Nation.

SUMMER RENTAL

LAKE CARMEL, 55 miles N. Y., 3-room commodious cottage on my grounds; all improvements, swimming, boating. Suitable small family. $450. DAyton 3-5024 after 4 P.M.

FARMS & ACREAGE

BUY IT FOR ONLY $2000.00! 6-room Cape Cod house, 2 acres, picture-book village. Prodigious cleaning, restoring needed, but worth it! David Barrett, Acworth, N. H.

CONTRIBUTORS

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH is drama critic of *The Nation* now on leave.

HOWARD DOUGHTY, JR., is at work on a biography of Francis Parkman.

RANDALL JARRELL will publish a new book of poems in the fall.

ALFRED HARBAGE is the author of "Shakespeare's Audience" and "As They Liked it. An Essay on Shakespeare and Morality."

IRVING HOWE has recently published "Sherwood Anderson," a critical biography.

S. LANE FAISON, JR., on leave as chairman of the Art Department of Williams College, is director of the central art-collecting point at Munich.

CHARLES SPIELBERGER is a writer whose stories have appeared in the *Partisan Review* and the *Yale Review.*

FOR SALE

TWO adjoining Adirondack cottages, (Keene Valley), fully equipped; fully electrified; fireplaces, shower baths; two-car garage; mile from village, on mountain side, with view. G. F. Bowerman, The Ontario, Washington 9, D. C.

OFFICES FOR RENT—NEW JERSEY

JOURNAL SQUARE, 24 Concourse E Bldg., Hudson Tube Station. Desirable offices; single or suites; also store, low rent. Supt. or owner, AL 4-1080 (N.Y.C.).

PUBLISHING SERVICE

ATTENTION ALL WRITERS! Do you have an idea suitable for story or book? We will develop that idea for publication. Complete cooperation. No "stuffed shirt" reception but friendly sympathetic discussion over editor's desk. Phone or write today! **Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).**

WE print, publish and distribute your manuscript in pamphlet or book form. *Send for free folder.* WILLIAM-FREDERICK PRESS; Pamphlet Distributing Company, 313 West 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

PERSONALS

CABINET MAKING, PICTURES, FRAMING. Large selection prints, choice frames and finishes. Furniture built to suit your needs. Radio–Phono–Tele cabinets built, designed to engineering specifications. BERAN-ORBAN – OR 4-6123, 22 Astor Place, upstairs (near Wanamakers). Open Mon.-Sat. 6-9 P.M., by appointment.

THE *Nation*

RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

$7.42 per inch, one insertion

Generous discounts for multiple insertions.

Write or phone today for further information.

ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT
***The* NATION**
20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.
BArclay 7-1066

RESORTS

SCHROON CREST
IN THE ADIRONDACKS

a resort that is "different"

Pottersville, N. Y.
On Schroon Lake

OSCAR BRAND & Complete Staff in a Season-Long Festival of FOLK SONGS, ARTS, DANCE MUSIC & DRAMA
ANITA & JULES ADOLPHE, Folk Dancers,
All Sports—Private Beach, Boating—Canoeing.
5 Championship Clay Tennis Courts.
Dance Orchestra—Cozy Bar—Excellent Food
CAMP PHONES CHESTERTOWN 2930 or 9681
City Office: 142 Montague Street, Brooklyn 2, N. Y.
Phones: MAin 4-8570 or MAin 4-1230
LEAH OKUN, Director

A Forest-Farm-Lake-Mountain Paradise
For ALL Races, Faiths, Convictions

WORLD FELLOWSHIP

CONWAY, NEW HAMPSHIRE
Food, Rooms, Bath, $4 to $7 daily
Evening FORUM, July–Aug., SPEAKERS ..
274 Acres, 2 Lakes, Trout Stream
Forests, Mountains, Excursions
Boating, Swimming, Games, Music
Free FOLDER, Photos, Rates, Transportation

Stonegate LODGE

Informal Resort Estate in the Adirondacks
Limited to 90 • 14-mile Lake • Pollen-Free
Tennis • Fishing • Golf • Motor Boating
Folk-Sq. Dances • Concert Trio • Dance Band
Bachelor Club Rate $60-$65
N. Y. Office: 250 West 57th St. Circle 6-6380
• 10% less to July 10—Louis A. Roth, Dir. •

MERRIEWOODE

A CAMP FOR ADULTS
HIGHLAND LAKE • STODDARD, N. H.
Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation. Enjoy beautiful 10-mile lake. All Land and Water Sports. Interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails. Arts and Crafts, Square and Folk Dancing Instruction. 4 hours by train from N. Y. $50 for Opening Week June 23-30.
OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
Write Dept. N for literature. Tel: Hancock 98-Ring 13

Timberland
POTTERSVILLE, N. Y.
AN ADULT CAMP IN THE ADIRONDACKS
SPECIAL SPRING RATES NOW!
Limited to 100 • Dancing • All Sports
New York Office: 33 W. 42 St. LO 5-3674
The Rare Charm of an Intimate Congenial Group

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Your Spring vacation will be truly an unforgettable one, in this gay resort-paradise. Forest House achieves new levels of relaxation, rest and happiness. Superb food, fine quarters, congenial hospitality. Two grand lakes, all sports.

FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449

THIS ADULT CAMP in Picturesque Gloucester

CAMP ANNISQUAM — a bit of rugged land and seashore — swimming, sailing, boating and fishing on premises. Dancing, tennis, planned trips and all sports. Write for booklet and rates ■ Abram Resnick, Dir. Gloucester, Mass.. N. Y. Office Phone: RE 2-9640.

"An Artist in the Kitchen"
pody's LOCUST GROVE FARM
Hopewell Junction, N. Y.
Accommodations for 20
Beautiful colonial home on 100-acre farm, 55 miles from N. Y. 15-mile mountain views. Acres of lawn, century-old shade trees, private lake, sports, counselor. Complete carefree summer including gourmet meals, informal fun, art classes if you like. Low season rates.
N. Y. Infor.: FL 8-2486, Box N, 459 W. 21 St., N. Y.

RESORTS

Lakecrest
On Hunn's Lake Stanfordville, N. Y.
Our 100-acre estate in the heart of Dutchess County offers the utmost in comfort, excellent food, sports, cultural pursuits—or just plain restful lounging. An adult resort, only 90 miles from New York City.
Attractive Rates
EVA BERG, Director Stanfordville

the dream resort you've been looking for and looking for and looking for!.
THE NEW
Glenmere
PRIVATE GOLF COURSE
Chester, N. Y. in the beautiful Ramapos
Phones: 2151 — N. Y. REctor 2-5047

WINDY HILL
ON ORANGE LAKE
A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Books, Records, Ping-pong, a two-mile lake for boating, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity.
Pre-Season: weekly, $7 daily
65 miles from N. Y. C.
JANE C. ARENZ, R. D. No. 1, Walden, New York
Phone: Newburgh 115W2

Year 'round Adult Activities
Hathaway Lodge
Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate. Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Swimming pool, tennis, handball, badminton. Horseback riding, walking, hiking—magnificent mountain trails. Recordings, ping-pong, library, informal dancing. Delicious American-Jewish food. Easy transportation. Attractive Rates.
For reservations or booklet "N"
HATHAWAY LODGE
Haines Falls, N. Y. • Phone Tannersville

Island Point Lodge
NORTH BRIDGTON, MAINE
The Ultimate in Recreation and Relaxation
Lodge and cottages on the shore of Long Lake. Fishing, boating, swimming, fine beach. Golf course and theaters nearby. Excellent home-cooked meals. Opening date June 15. Folder and rates on request.
P. O. Box 97, North Bridgton, Maine
Oman Goldie, Proprietor

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK

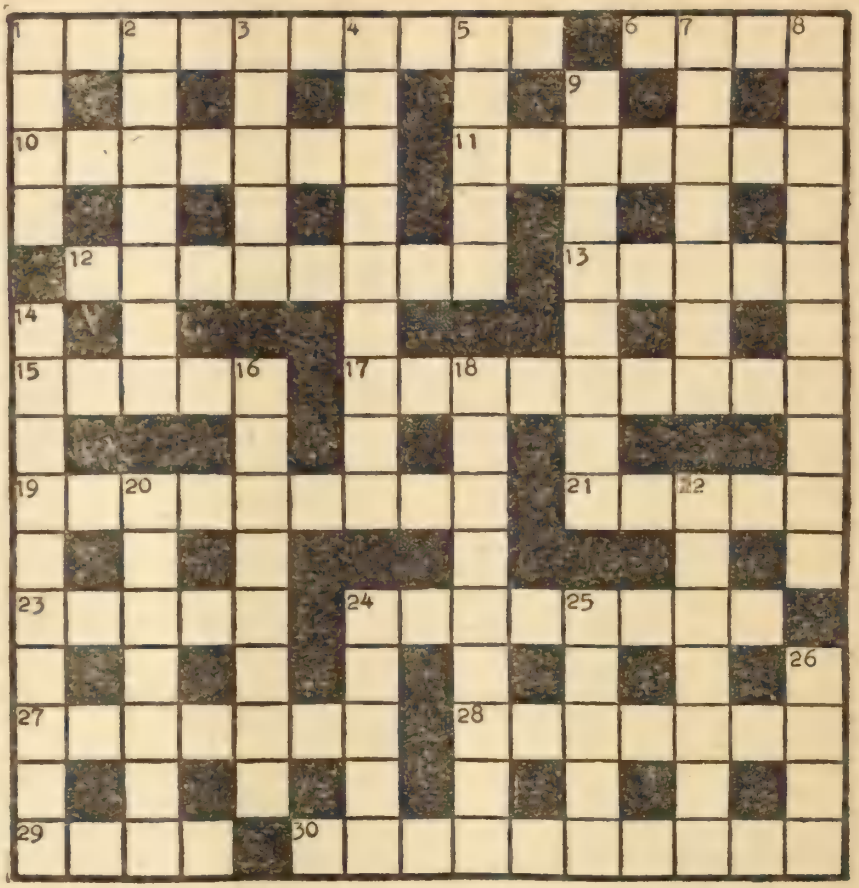
MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
RIDGEFIELD, CONN.
Phone 6-7000
A beautiful country estate converted into a delightful retreat for vacations and weekends. All outdoor activities. Mile-long lake. Tennis. Golf nearby. Informal, congenial atmosphere. Television, recordings. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates.

Green Acres
LODGE
CENTRAL VALLEY, NEW YORK
Open All Year • New Cocktail Lounge
Swimming Pool, Golf, Tennis
DELICIOUS FOOD
45 Miles from N. Y. C. Tel.: Highland Mills

OAKWOOD
Unexcelled food
53 MILES FROM N.Y.
You'll love the charm and informality of this gracious colonial estate. Private lake, all sports. Golf nearby. Acres of flowers, velvety lawns. TV. Excellent American-Jewish cuisine.
Accommodations for 60 Adults
Reserve Now for July 4
New Windsor, N. Y. Newburgh 4477

Crossword Puzzle No. 417

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 It sounds like a comfortable couch at the back of the roof. (4, 6)
6 Knock 'em over in your best uniform! (4)
10 and 23. Sounds like Howard the writer and Henry the publisher are playing coy! (4, 3, 5)
11 Shake well, if you take it in quartz. (7)
12 Honest! It's on the surface of the stars! (8)
13 Invigorating keynote. (5)
15 See 4 down.
17 Certainly not an underhanded way to seize power! (9)
19 No hips? (9)
21 The 5 of animals. (5)
23 See 10.
24 Storms. (8)
27 Stridently, but not extremely tricky! (7)
28 and 29. Hammer and sickle ---- by the numbers, perhaps! (7, 4)
30 Occupation of Scott's last man. (10)

DOWN

1 Not out in the vault. (4)
2 and 3. An armorer might, in style. (7, 5)
4 and 15. Fraternity man from middle Europe longs to be out on the western ranges. (9, 5)
5 Fox gave a single solitary 15 one. (5)
7 Link, perhaps, with the air force. (7)
8 He doesn't sound sound like much of a hero at Christmas time! (4, 6)
9 The boss isn't quite like Hitler when he does this. (8)
14 Meditates on the curb, perhaps. (10)
16 Such land might have been viewed in transit. (8)
18 A fast buck or so to Fritz? (4, 5)
20 One might find this wearing. (7)
22 Purposeless contraction embedded in stone. (7)
24 A sign that the orchestra should get together. (5)
25 Mr. Berry's churchly title? (5)
26 Mud found in many political campaigns years ago. (4)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 416

ACROSS:—1 VICIOUS CIRCLE; 10 TOPIC; 11 KITTIWAKE; 12 TEASPOONS; 13 SUSIE; 14 BERING STRAIT; 19 PULL TOGETHER; 22 CHEAP; 24 BENCHWORK; 25 FRANCONIA; 26 PUT UP; 27 LETTER PERFECT.

DOWN:—2 IN PLAY; 3 INCIPIENT; 4 UNKNOWING; 5 COTES; 6 RAIDS; 7 LEADSMAN; 9 RESENTS; 15 GATUN LAKE; 16 and 8 THE SHIP OF STATE; 17 SPECIFY; 18 ALIENATE; 20 COPTIC; 21 SKIPS; 23 PICOT; 24 BONER.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JUNE 23, 1951 NUMBER 25

The Shape of Things

BY SUSPENDING FOR NINETY DAYS THE operation of the Kem amendment to the Supplemental Appropriations Act, the National Security Council has postponed a near débâcle. But only postponed it. With the fire-eaters in Congress already shouting treason and sell-out, the Administration will have to move fast to produce a workable substitute plan within the three months' period of grace. The Kem amendment would deny American aid to all countries that continue to ship to countries in the Soviet bloc any of a vast catalogue of materials whose export to that area we ourselves have banned. The list includes thousands of items whose relationship to war could not be discerned even by the eagle eye of a Republican Senator. Strictly interpreted, the amendment would permit just one country now getting American aid to continue to receive it—namely, Yugoslavia, which has been subjected to a ruthless trade boycott by its Cominform neighbors. Not only would the Kem ruling strangle the economy of Austria and Norway, as the Security Council specifically pointed out, but it would throw a brand-new monkey wrench, at this most critical moment, into the economic machinery of Europe as a whole. Even without Senator Kem's help existing restrictions on East-West trade, by cramping and distorting the normal commerce of the Continent, have forced the United States to absorb unneeded goods and dispense dollars to a point that has justifiably alarmed many of the Senator's fellow-Republicans. The amendment would make a bad economic situation much worse, quite apart from its devastating effect on our relations with friendly powers and on the hope of a peaceful way out of the cold war.

*

THE REVELATIONS OF MISTREATMENT AND starvation of South Korean draftees and of unbelievable graft in the Korean army caused hardly a ripple in the American press or in the United Nations. Brigadier General Kim Yeun Keun, head of the South Korean National Guard, and several other officers now await trial on charges of having looted funds earmarked for the training of draftees to the amount of some $4,000,000. General Kim is also accused of having sent recruits on a 300-mile "death march" in the bitter cold and snow of the Korean winter; Korean sources estimate that 25,000 men died along the way. General Ridgway has sidestepped the issue by terming it "an internal Korean affair" of no concern for Tokyo. Nor has the growing opposition to Syngman Rhee in the South Korean assembly been accorded serious consideration. Coming on top of these military and political scandals, Rhee's declaration at Pusan on June 12 that the world should beware of a "phony peace" in Korea clearly registers the fears of a dictator who senses that time is running short.

*

HALF-CONCEALED BY THE SPATE OF WORDS over the roll-back in beef prices is some curious talk about a buyers' strike. With public attention fixed on O. P. S. ceilings and reduced runs of cattle to the markets, stories are circulating about sharp increases in the sales of cheese, eggs, chicken, and fish. Others tell of butchers who have more meat on hand than can be sold at current prices. There is, of course, an element of truth in these tales. Concern with inflation and high prices has led people to ignore a so-called "secondary recession" which became apparent early last month. High inventories and slow sales have produced a softening in the economy which is doubtless reflected in the "beef paradox"—though supplies have dwindled, sales continue to remain sluggish. But there is also some inspired propaganda in these stories of price breaks and buyers' strikes, an effort, that is, to give currency to the notion that the danger of inflation is over and that controls are no longer needed. President Truman, however, has warned the nation that price increases thus far "are only curtain raisers to what will come if the Congress fails to pass a stronger price-control law." The crucial fact is that the Defense Production Act, which authorizes price-wage-credit-production controls, expires on June 30 unless Congress acts to extend it.

*

THE HIGH POINT OF THIS YEAR'S AMERICAN Medical Association convention at Atlantic City was the appearance of Dave Beck, boss of the West Coast teamsters. A selected group of 500 delegates heard Beck

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 577
Controls or Catastrophe 579
Who Won in Italy? 579
France: No Problems Solved 580

ARTICLES

The McCarthy-MacArthur Axis *by Willard Shelton* 581
Voice of Humanity *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 582
The Chemicals We Eat *by Ruth E. Brecher* 584
Medicine, Religion, and Irish Politics *by Griffin Barry* 587
The Negro Teacher's Dilemma *by John S. Lash* 589

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

The Church, the State, and Political Freedom *by Norman Thomas* 590
Whitman: the Danish View *by Richard Chase* 591
Shaw's Political Novel *by Stephen Stepanchev* 592
What the Roll Call Shows *by Violet M. Gunther* 593
Books in Brief 593
Drama Note *by M. M.* 594
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 594

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 595

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 418 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 596

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

praise the A. M. A. as "a pretty good union" and denounce President Truman's proposals for national health insurance as "a dangerous socialistic trend that cannot be tolerated." Last year William L. Hutcheson, president of the A. F. of L. carpenters, was scheduled to speak but was prevented by a last-minute illness. Beck's appearance this year carries the unmistakable imprint of Whitaker and Baxter; a less hardy public relations counsel would have shied away from this bold departure from tradition. Some of the doctors were a bit upset. "Fellow like that oughtn't to yell so loud," one delegate was heard to say. "Red face, all tensed up; he ought to be careful at his age." Beck's speech to the élite of the A. M. A. was broadcast by 100 radio stations. Over the week-end Whitaker and Baxter, who have little enthusiasm for conventions, were resting in a suite at the Waldorf-Astoria. They had hoped, so they told *The Nation*, to be relieved of their $100,000 a year retainer from the A. M. A. but the doctors would not hear of it. Given a standing ovation, Whitaker and Baxter were asked to carry on, dynamically, against Truman and socialized medicine. Note for *Nation* readers: next year may see Whitaker and Baxter directing their first Presidential campaign.

*

A RATHER UNIMPORTANT TRESPASS CASE IN which Hyman Schlesinger represented one of the parties was called for hearing by Judge Michael A. Musmanno of the Common Pleas Court of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, on the morning of May 24. Before the trial started, Judge Musmanno, who is a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the State Supreme Court in next month's primaries, ordered the courtroom cleared of parties and witnesses but permitted newspaper reporters and spectators to remain. He then placed Schlesinger under oath and inquired if he was a member of the Communist Party or the Civil Rights Congress. When Schlesinger refused to answer Judge Musmanno denounced him from the bench as "morally unfit," found him in contempt, and issued a warrant for his arrest. The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania has now dismissed the contempt proceedings as well as Judge Musmanno's order barring Schlesinger from practicing law in the Allegheny County courts. "It need hardly be stated," said Chief Justice James B. Drew in his opinion, "that this court is as opposed to communism in all its manifestations as the respondent judge who instituted these contempt proceedings. But . . . what the judge has done in his zeal against communism is to adopt the detestable methods employed by Communists themselves in arbitrary and unjudicial proceedings contrary to all our cherished traditions of law and legal procedure." No sooner was Mr. Schlesinger released, however, than he was promptly rearrested and jailed without bond on a sedition charge preferred by Matthew Cvetic, a former

FBI undercover agent and informer. Demagoguery has often been tolerated if not approved in candidates for judicial office, but it has been generally assumed that once on the bench they should act like judges. "Detestable" would seem to be the right word to describe to Pennsylvania voters the conduct of a judge who is seeking still higher judicial office.

Controls or Catastrophe

WITH the Defense Production Act scheduled to expire on June 30, Congress has bickered and stalled to the very deadline. Members who profess the greatest horror at the war casualties and the most intense enmity toward communism are flagrantly maneuvering for partisan advantage in their struggle to avoid a clear-cut grant of power to the Administration. The same members who last summer insisted on giving the President authority to impose direct wage-price controls when Mr. Truman said it was unnecessary are now hesitating about his request for greater authority in the future. The anti-labor bloc, which used a national emergency last year to try to hamstring unions, is now seeking some way to undermine the progress toward workable wage stabilization achieved by means of Presidential directives.

The Ford Motor Company's intervention in the fight over renewed controls, though not completely objective or disinterested, was a welcome relief from the efforts of the otherwise almost solid special-interests' lobby in favor of business as usual. The Ford Company came out flatly for continued wage and price controls, continued allocation of scarce materials, and balanced credit controls. The automobile industry feels injured by present cutbacks of materials for motor cars and the impact of credit controls on its dealers, but Ford understands that we can ruin ourselves by unchecked economic inflation almost as easily as by losing a war, hot or cold.

Few other business spokesmen have had a kind word for the stringent controls the times demand. The National Association of Manufacturers' lobbyists have sent one set of witnesses to protest against direct wage-price controls and argue that we should rely on high taxes and credit restrictions, and another set to insist that corporation taxes must not be raised too much. They would, of course, be delighted to see the country pay its mobilization bills by a sales tax loading a disproportionate share of the cost on small-income families.

The situation in Congress regarding wage stabilization is particularly shocking. Despite shortsighted restrictions written into the 1950 Defense Production Act, the President was able to develop a feasible program by ignoring one section of the law, in which Congress unwisely undertook to write policy, and proceeding under another section, using the constitutional powers of the Executive. Now the anti-union bloc is protesting that Mr. Truman's program is illegal if not unconstitutional. The chairman of a House labor subcommittee considering the Defense Production Act, Wingate Lucas of Texas, worked hand in glove with conservative Republicans three years ago to scuttle the wage-hour law while maintaining that he was liberalizing it. Only the public members of the Wage Stabilization Board are available to try to explain the facts about wage controls to a Congress fundamentally hostile.

A few truisms should be recognized by the business-as-usual boys. If people don't have enough money to buy meat, the livestock lobby will not benefit by forcing Michael DiSalle to cancel roll-back orders. If soaring living costs force marginal families over the financial brink, agitation for higher wages and salaries will be intensified. If Congress thought last year that wage-price controls were desirable, it can have no excuse for pretending that such controls will not be needed in the future. Shortages of civilian goods will become much more stringent in 1952 and 1953, and a rounded program of direct and indirect controls will be even more essential than now. The longer Congress delays in writing a new Defense Production Act, strengthened in the general public interest, the more dangerously will our economy be thrown out of balance. And the people know it. They cannot be fooled this year—as they were in 1946—into believing that the way to check inflation is to destroy the anti-inflationary economic weapons available to a democratic government.

On these issues the President must stand and fight, and his direct appeal to the people last Thursday night indicates that he knows it. The more strongly he is supported by letters, telegrams, and personal appeals to Congress, the better the chances that consumers can get through the next two years without losing their shirts.

Who Won in Italy?

IF municipalities rather than votes are counted, the anti-Communist coalition won a victory in the recent Italian elections which apparently justified the note of rejoicing heard in most comment in the American press. Turin, Florence, Asti, Pisa, and other important provincial cities were captured from the left by the government parties in the third round of local elections, as were many previously Communist-ruled municipalities in the two earlier ballotings. In all, 230 towns, small and large, moved from the control of the extreme left to that of various center and right-wing parties. But the popular vote told a startlingly different story. The left bloc won a total of 36.9 per cent of all the votes cast, an increase of almost 6 per cent over 1948. Why, then, did it lose so many of the municipalities it had formerly administered. Americans who welcomed the result as a triumph for sound democratic principles should, in the

interest of objectivity, recognize that it was obtained only through a tricky "electoral reform" law which successfully defeated the popular will.

Another aspect of the elections worth pondering is that the increased vote of the left coincided very generally with improved conditions—brought about largely by a billion and one-third dollars in American aid—though the improvement, according to many documented surveys, had seriously reduced Communist strength. Neither the much-discussed defections from Communist Party leadership earlier this year which caused Togliatti to hurry back from Moscow to Rome nor the undeniable dissatisfaction of some members of the Nenni party found reflection at the polls.

A careful analysis of the Italian results will be printed next week in *The Nation*. Meanwhile we would suggest one explanation for the increased left vote in Italy: the leftist bloc successfully presented itself in these elections as the peace party, and concomitantly as the party of constructive work, agrarian reform, higher wages, reduced living costs, while making the government coalition appear to be the party of war—of armaments, higher prices, less food, and less power for labor. If this interpretation is correct, the Italian returns should be given close study by all thinking Americans.

France: No Problems Solved

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, June 18, by Cable

THE prevailing forecast, mentioned in my article in last week's issue of *The Nation*, that roughly one hundred seats each would be won by the main political groups—Communists, Socialists, Radicals, M. R. P., Gaullists, other right parties—was borne out by the election results now available. (As I write some fifty contests are still to be decided.) The Gaullists and Communists did slightly better than the Radicals and the M. R. P., who fell somewhat below the one hundred mark. Whether or not the system of *apparentements* is properly democratic or politically moral, it achieved its main aim by limiting "undemocratic" Gaullist and Communist representation. For if in the Paris area, where proportional representation applied, the votes were almost equally split among three groups—Communist, Gaullist, and center plus rightist parties—in the provinces large Communist and Gaullist votes were often rendered ineffective by the *apparentements* of the center parties, which grabbed all the seats in one-third of the constituencies. Figures so far available show that in France, as distinct from Italy, the Communists not only lost seats but obtained a smaller proportion of the total vote, dropping from 28 per cent in 1946 to 26 per cent today.

Intensive anti-red propaganda has succeeded in detaching from the Communists some peasant and petty-bourgeois elements, but the Communists nevertheless retain a practical monopoly of working-class allegiance. More significant, in view of the great flamboyance of their election campaign, is the relative failure of the Gaullists. This is due in part to De Gaulle's numerous tactical errors, from his May Day speech, which scared the voters with its anticipation of revolutionary violence, to his refusal to take part in *apparentements*. The Gaullist economic program, moreover, as I showed last week, was excessively vague, and, finally, the General had the bulk of the press against him. Even formerly Gaullist papers, with an eye toward their circulation, gave him only cautious support; *Figaro* became frankly anti-Gaullist, preferring to back outright conservatives.

In so far as American influence was reflected in the press, directly or indirectly, it clearly worked against De Gaulle, who appeared inordinately independent: his foreign policy, for example, demanded that no air bases be granted the United States without adequate guaranties for the land defense of France's European territory. On the other hand, the Gaullists scared some voters by their extravagant plans for building up a vast French army in order to safeguard France's "diplomatic independence."

On the face of it, democracy has won—even if the means used were doubtful. But what kind of democracy? It may have been relatively easy for the government parties and the rightists to collaborate to win the election, but can they make a coherent government majority? Although French Socialists are almost infinitely adaptable as coalition partners, the demands of Radicals and rightists for scrapping nationalization, cuts in social services, and so forth may make Socialist participation in the government intolerable. Certain elements of the M. R. P. will also refuse to go along with such reactionary schemes. If these two groups go into opposition, the government will depend on Gaullist support, and it is a question what condition will accompany such support.

One of the first tasks the new government will face is to bring order into the present financial mess. Today France has an annual deficit estimated at six to eight hundred billion francs. Another issue on which the rightists may provoke trouble is whether "drastic action" shall be taken against the Communist Party, but this may not come up immediately. Post-election strikes must be expected, and increased social unrest will become inevitable if the cost of living continues to soar. The unequal distribution of France's wealth remains the major difficulty. This is a problem that the kind of government which will emerge from last Sunday's election will scarcely be able to solve, since the big-employer class will now have a larger say than it had in the last Assembly.

McCarthy-MacArthur Axis

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, June 14

THE most important fact to emerge from the Republican Party's running attack on President Truman's Far Eastern policy is the extent to which the party has been taken over by General MacArthur and Joe McCarthy. From the Senate Republicans this year has come no "declaration of conscience" repudiating McCarthy's nauseating character assassination. Nor have other Republican leaders disavowed the manner or content of MacArthur's all-out assault on popularly elected civilian government. With the exception of Senator Morse of Oregon, no Republican on the Foreign Relations or Armed Services Committee appears anxious to challenge the Knowlands and Hickenloopers who have persuaded themselves that the highest loyalty of Americans is owed to Chiang Kai-shek and that anyone who disagrees is an appeaser, a pro-Communist, or a spy.

The testimony of Louis A. Johnson, former Secretary of Defense, before the Russell committee today confirmed a number of statements made by this correspondent, among others, immediately after the outbreak of the Korean war. It established the fact that Secretary of State Acheson, the so-called appeaser, took the initiative in urging the use of American force to defend the Republic of Korea against naked aggression from the north. It established the fact that Acheson had opposed the Pentagon's desire to bolster Chiang on Formosa but compromised after the Korean war broke out to the extent of supporting a "neutralization" of the island. Johnson was apparently quite happy to accuse the State Department of "dragging its feet" in building up Chiang but equally anxious to defend himself from charges that he had unwisely "cut muscle" from the armed services by economy moves.

Eight expert witnesses have now testified before the Russell committee concerning MacArthur's demands that we bomb Manchuria, blockade China and the Soviet Pacific ports, and "go it alone" in contemptuous disregard of opinion in other Asiatic countries and among our European allies. Not one of these witnesses has supported MacArthur—not Defense Secretary Marshall or any of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, not Acheson, Johnson, or even General Wedemeyer, who bewildered the Republicans as well as the Democrats by his confused views on what we ought to do now and what we might have done in 1945 to save Chiang. About all that Wedemeyer made clear was that in February, 1945, he had urgently recommended a deal to get the Soviet Union into the war against Japan, that he himself had called Chiang's regime "corrupt and incompetent," and that in August, 1945, he had wanted to throw seven and a half American divisions into Manchuria—a proposal rejected by MacArthur. The Wedemeyer policy had at the time, as it has today, the merit of candor; it recognized six years ago that an attempt to prop up Chiang on the Chinese mainland would require American troops in addition to the "logistical support" of which MacArthur spoke so optimistically. But in spite of the lack of testimony favoring MacArthur's position, G. O. P. policy still seems to be keynoted by MacArthur and McCarthy.

In his speech to the Texas legislature yesterday the ousted General spelled out the attack on the Administration at which he discreetly hinted in his April address to Congress. He had much to say about "spiritual" values, about the "moral deterioration" of politicians ruled by "expediency," about the necessity of ending national "confusion, disorder, and dismay." He appeared as a champion of free enterprise, an enemy of what he called the "arrogant mantle of oligarchic power" assumed by the federal government. It may be an invidious and perhaps unjust comparison, but the rise of the intolerant military mind in every nation where democracy has fallen has been marked by tirades against the "corruption" of the "old parties" and appeals for discipline and "tranquillity."

Mr. Truman is partly to blame for the fact that in this country generals have been elevated to the role of high policy-makers. He has named generals and admirals as ambassadors, appointed Marshall Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense, used Generals Eisenhower and Bradley as his spokesmen in regard to the North Atlantic Pact: to rescue Acheson from the embarrassment of having urged West German rearmament prematurely, Eisenhower stood up before Congress and declared that he wanted no "unwilling contingents" in an army under his command. Even when the President created a commission to investigate the danger that tyrannical laws might damage both our freedom and our security, he chose Admiral Nimitz as its chairman.

In this context it is not astonishing that even a mere three-star general on the eve of retirement like Wedemeyer should be seized upon by Mr. Truman's political opponents to further their ends, or that MacArthur should be welcomed as a Republican campaigner leading a direct assault upon the Administration.

Mr. Truman is also partly to blame for the fact that McCarthy has been allowed to retain enough standing to attack Marshall on the Senate floor as a knave whose "guilty intention" was to undermine his own country and further the interests of the Soviet Union. The President has steadfastly refused to turn his back on Acheson, who was the victim of foul slander last year, but he did not fight the November, 1950, election on the direct issue McCarthy had created by accusing the Secretary of State of treachery and malfeasance. He listened, instead, to the inept advice of the Democratic National

Committee, which bullheadedly dismissed McCarthyism as of no importance. Today McCarthy is a not too implausible candidate for the Republican Vice-Presidential nomination, perhaps as a running-mate for that model of sterling integrity Robert A. Taft, who no longer bothers to deny an alliance in which the Wisconsin Senator does the dirty work from which the Ohio Senator hopes to benefit.

Despite the optimism in some government circles about the military situation, it seems naive to suppose that Russia and the Chinese Communists will stop bleeding us while we are torn with dissension and while suspicion about the integrity of our leadership is deliberately aroused for partisan purposes. If a settlement should surprisingly be reached, MacArthur and McCarthy would swiftly fade away. But if the Administration faces a prolonged military stalemate in Korea, it must break the political stalemate in the United States by shifting from the defensive to the offensive against its domestic enemies.

Voice of Humanity

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

MUCH of the serious work done by the United Nations has gone unrecognized because the papers report chiefly the clashes of the Security Council and General Assembly. This emphasis on discord and on the failure to produce an effective policy in a grave crisis like the Korean war has led people to think of the United Nations as almost useless. The U. N.'s enemies, most of whom are found in the reactionary camp, rejoice to see the general public losing some of the faith placed in the organization when it was founded at San Francisco, and encourage the tendency. Their efforts to discredit the United Nations can perhaps best be counteracted by pointing to what has been accomplished outside the dramatic sessions of the Assembly and Security Council.

The first thing to be noted is that many more decisions have been made unanimously or almost unanimously than is generally supposed. The Genocide Convention, the Declaration of Human Rights, and various other resolutions were adopted without a dissenting vote. I have written from Geneva in previous summers about the excellent work done by the Economic Commission for Europe under the capable guidance of Gunnar Myrdal. For a long time this commission furnished a meeting place for East and West where they could discuss amicably the world's economic problems. It is a branch of the Economic and Social Council, which itself defies the skeptics and still offers some hope—even in this crazy time when any talk of a negotiated peace is considered subversive—that the gap between the two blocs may some day be bridged and a settlement reached.

The last report of the Economic and Social Council (August 16, 1950) provided abundant evidence of the very considerable results obtained by the twelve commissions and thirteen agencies into which it is subdivided. The most diverse economic and social problems have been studied: how to promote higher standards of living and full employment; how to improve the health of people all over the world (World Health Organization); how to prevent industrial strife and improve working conditions (International Labor Organization); how to increase and properly distribute the world's food supply (Food and Agriculture Organization); how to expand world trade (International Trade Organization); and how to further mutual understanding among the peoples of the world (UNESCO).

An interesting function of these agencies is to serve as a medium through which the hopes and fears of the common man can influence U. N. decisions, to give public opinion an opportunity to make itself felt. For example, I have before me the report (dated May 19, 1951) of Roger N. Baldwin, the extremely able chairman of the International League for the Rights of Man. Representing this organization and the American Civil Liberties Union at the recent ECOSOC meeting in Geneva, Mr. Baldwin initiated an effort to have the decision of the Commission on Human Rights reversed, so that individuals as well as organizations would be permitted to make complaints of violations of the declaration. He did not get what he wanted, but, as he declares in his report, "the issue isn't dead." He will raise the question again when the General Assembly meets next fall in Paris. The same report mentions other issues which were settled in accordance with the desires of non-governmental cooperating organizations—real victories for the U. N.

An extraordinarily well-documented book that will be useful to anyone who wants to know about the work of the United Nations has just been published—"International Non-Governmental Organizations," by Lyman C. White, a member of the U. N. secretariat.* In it Mr. White says:

> It was on the 21st of June, 1946, that the Economic and Social Council, in accordance with Article 71, put into effect arrangements for consultations with non-gov-

* Rutgers University Press, $5.

ernmental organizations. These arrangements, as since modified, went further in extending to non-governmental organizations opportunities for the presentation of their views than have ever been granted to such groups by any national government. The United Nations thus began a great experiment in relations between the governmental and non-governmental aspects of society—an experiment which was intended to bring to the United Nations public opinions as expressed by the organizations set up by the people themselves according to their different professions, vocations, and interests, and which was also intended to make available to the Council the expert technical advice . . . and information which many of these organizations had acquired through long years of work on particular economic or social problems. The United Nations thus took a great step toward the establishment of a true and full democracy on the international level.

THE director of the U. N. Division of Narcotics and Drugs is Dr. Leon Steinig, whom I used to know in Geneva in the days of the League of Nations, where he fought the powerful opium and cocaine ring with great zest and ability. When I met him recently, he expressed himself as vigorously as ever about a situation which contains all the elements of a novel of intrigue set in the underworlds of great capitals, where politicians consort with gangsters and people will pay any price for the drugs that will dull their despair.

He was gratified that a first step of immense importance for the control of the drug traffic had been taken: by international agreement legal and administrative measures dealing with narcotics had been made uniform in a large number of countries. Renouncing their sovereignty in the matter in a most encouraging way—both as an example and as a portent—these countries have signed a series of conventions creating independent international bodies empowered to exercise real control over the sale of narcotics and to apply sanctions against states and territories which exceed the set limits.

The system of control is very simple. Since the illicit traffic in drugs, which is destroying the health of millions of individuals and the collective welfare, is international, with captains of the vice industry and an army of distributors in every corner of every continent, the war waged against it must also be international. Before action on such a scale can be instituted, the drugs necessary to modern therapeutics and the quantity required must be determined. Each country therefore calculates how much opium, morphine, and the like it will need in the coming year and is allowed to import that amount—with a reasonable margin for error or unforeseen circumstances. If any country exceeds its allowance, an embargo is imposed, and all the other signatories are notified. The embargo is not merely on paper. It has been effectively imposed in sixty cases, and as a result international regulation has proved highly successful.

Those who profit from the illegal sale of narcotics lack neither imagination nor boldness. In 1940 the market in this country seemed almost wiped out. According to official figures, the number of addicts had fallen to as low as one in three thousand. So the vice-profiteers created a demand from a new quarter—teen-agers were induced to become habitués. For months the papers have been full of sensational reports of the situation in New York, Chicago, Detroit, and other cities. The New York police have estimated that the city has at least 5,000 teen-age addicts. At this very moment a state inquiry has uncovered pathetic and shocking stories of children whose addiction to drugs has led them into every sort of corruption—sexual and criminal. In many cities fathers' committees have been formed to cooperate with the authorities. The evil has also spread to rural areas, where the gravity of this threat to the nation's youth is perhaps not thoroughly understood. When heroin can be bought in Italy for $1,000 a kilo and sold in the United States for from $6,000 to $8,000, large quantities are bound to be smuggled in unless the U. N. controls are vigorously enforced.

With the development of international action signatory countries have given up their "sovereign" right to manufacture and sell narcotics. Times have changed since the Opium War in the middle of the nineteenth century when Gladstone, in the name of humanity, denounced Palmerston for defending the unlimited right of a sovereign state to further its own interests. For the sake of their health, peoples have pressed for a renunciation of sovereignty in this field. An intelligent approach to the problem treats narcotics like atomic energy, which can increase man's well-being or bring death and destruction according to the way it is employed. A century has been needed to reach this conclusion with respect to drugs, but experiments in international cooperation can be carried out by the U. N. in a much shorter time.

In the Commission on Narcotic Drugs of the U. N. Economic and Social Council everyone cooperates loyally and enthusiastically. I have often heard members praise the attitude of the Soviet delegate, V. V. Zakousov, professor of pharmacology at the University of Leningrad.

At present the scientists in the U. N. Division of Narcotics are trying to discover the point of origin of the shipments smuggled into the United States. If they succeed, their efforts to end the traffic will be greatly facilitated. Against the imagination of the opium ring is pitted the imagination of the international agency charged with protecting the collective safety and morale from the insidious evil of the drug habit.

WHEN UNRRA and the IRO have disappeared from the scene, and Point Four is talked about only to blunt the criticism of those who believe that some of the fantastic sums spent on armaments might be used to help the millions of people who are dying for lack of

a great international act of humanity, there will be some compensation in knowing that the UNICEF exists and is carrying on its work. These initials stand for the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, which has three guiding principles: (a) aid must be given without discrimination because of race, creed, nationality, or political belief; (b) aid will be granted only to make a permanent contribution to child welfare; (c) the sum spent in any country must be matched by the government or some voluntary agency. A glance at the Fund's financial situation provides encouraging evidence, reinforcing the instances I have cited above, that the people are participating in the work of the United Nations, for private persons have contributed more than governments. Australia, Canada, and New Zealand have cooperated most consistently. The United States furnished the money required to start the work, $15,000,000 in 1947, and recently gave another $5,000,000. But much more will be needed.

The directors of the Fund are rightly paying most attention to Asia. The difficulty there is that many countries are too poor to meet the condition laid down in point (c), that they must match any sum contributed by the Fund. It would be hard for them to spend even five cents for each child. Miss Ruth Crawford, one of the officials of the organization, has told me how, in spite of this and other obstacles, it has managed to operate. One of its makeshifts, for example, has been the use of a "midwife's kit," bought by the Fund for $72, which permits it to mobilize the services of a large number of girls—students and workers—to combat the terrible mortality among newborn babies until nurses and doctors can be trained to take over the work.

The Fund is also aiding in the prevention and control of children's diseases, in providing milk, cod-liver oil, and other protective foods, obtaining material for children's clothing and shoes, and supplying special care for handicapped children. By January, 1951, a million children in Ceylon, India, and Pakistan had been brought within the scope of an anti-tuberculosis campaign. An idea of the total aid rendered can be gained from the following figures: some 2,500,000 to 8,000,000 children and mothers have been given a glass of milk a day for many months, some of them for several years; 6,000,000 children have been given one or two pieces of warm clothing, a pair of shoes, and a blanket; 11,000,000 have been vaccinated against tuberculosis, and new thousands are being added to the number every day.

All that I have written here about the United Nations tells only a fraction of the story. It should be enough, however, to refute the contention that the international organization is a failure because it has not made peace secure; even in this sphere it has had some success, and in any case the blame must be borne by the governments of the member nations, which have lacked the imagination and courage to make a serious attempt to negotiate a settlement. When one thinks what could have been done in the six post-war years with a hundredth part of the money spent in one day on armaments, one does not know whether to be more astounded at the irresponsibility of governments or at the apathy of peoples toward the problem of assuring peace.

The Chemicals We Eat

BY RUTH E. BRECHER

A FEW years ago a chemist discovered that cut fruit can be prevented from browning by the addition of thiourea, a drug once used in treating hyperthyroidism. A packer of frozen peaches, apparently unaware that doctors had abandoned thiourea because it was too toxic, added it to his product. By sheer good luck, the Food and Drug Administration heard about it and picked up samples from the first shipment. The peaches were fed to rats one day; the next morning the rats were dead. The rest of the treated peaches were seized before they were to go on sale.

The narrow margin by which a possible tragedy was averted points up a frightening problem of the chemical age. During the past few decades an enormous number of chemicals have been introduced, or proposed for introduction, into food processing. The F. D. A. has a list comprising 124 preservatives, anti-oxidants, and mold inhibitors; 189 insecticides, fungicides, herbicides, plant-growth regulators; 90 emulsifying agents, wetting agents, "improvers," maturing agents, and flour bleaches; 51 wax coatings, resins, plasticizers, and other ingredients of packaging materials; 24 acidulants, buffers, and neutralizers; 274 flavoring materials and solvents; 24 artificial colors; 33 vitamins and minerals; 4 sugar substitutes; 29 miscellaneous chemicals—a total of 842, of which 704 are known to be in current use. Of the 704, the F. D. A. describes 428 as "probably safe as normally used." The other 276 are either known to be unsafe or have not been adequately investigated.

RUTH E. BRECHER is a free-lance journalist with a special interest in the science of nutrition. This is the second of a series of articles on abuses in the food and drug trades. The third, by Leonard Engel, will deal with laxatives.

The public has some safeguards. The F. D. A. is authorized, for instance, to limit insecticide residues, promulgate "standards of identity" prescribing what may be used in a given food article sold in interstate commerce, and seize as adulterated any foods containing substances which it can prove, to the satisfaction of a court, are harmful. Many manufacturers, of course, perform toxicity tests before they introduce new chemicals. The F. D. A., however, is chronically short of funds, and has not made really vigorous use of some of the powers it has: residue limits, for instance, have not yet been set on most of the highly toxic insecticides introduced since the war.

Moreover, manufacturers who test for toxicity often test for acute toxicity only—by feeding to laboratory animals large doses of the chemical which they plan to offer the public. Such a test may catch acute poisons but not chronic poisons. Large doses of these may be harmless when taken for a brief period, while very small doses may cause death or serious illness when taken over a long period. Tests for chronic toxicity are particularly important in the case of foods, which may be eaten daily for years.

FOR the past nine months a "select" committee of the House of Representatives, the Delaney committee, has been investigating the use of chemicals in foodstuffs with an eye toward strengthening the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938, the basic law under which the F. D. A. operates. The committee's hearings have made it abundantly clear that luck rather than science has averted a number of large-scale tragedies.

A case in point is Dulcin, a synthetic sweetening agent marketed also under the names Sucrol and Valzin. Dulcin is described as being 200 times as sweet as sugar and as lacking the bitter after-taste of saccharin. Since its discovery in 1898 Dulcin has been increasingly used as a sugar substitute, and nobody is known to have become *acutely* ill as a result. In 1947, however, the F. D. A. began to test Dulcin for chronic effects. The effects were found, all right. Rats fed even minute amounts of Dulcin day after day for two years failed to grow to full size, their blood was adversely affected, liver tumors were produced. By 1950 enough evidence had been accumulated to warrant an F. D. A. "Statement of Policy" branding Dulcin as a poison unfit for use in foodstuffs. How much chronic illness and how many liver tumors were produced by Dulcin in the fifty-two years before the F. D. A. was able to prove it toxic, no one will ever know.

In another instance, that of a vitamin preparation containing a synthetic emulsifier, the extent of the tragedy is well known, though the emulsifier has not finally been proved responsible. Here is the story, as told to the Delaney committee by Dr. Franklin C. Bing, chairman of the Committee on Chemicals Introduced in Foods of the American Public Health Association:

> *Dr. Bing*: . . . There is this condition of retrolental fibroplasia of babies born prematurely. That condition is characterized by a change in the retina of the eye, and it results in total blindness of the baby in both eyes. That condition was either not known or was observed so occasionally that it was not recognized, by and large, up until about 1941, and then the incidence of it increased so that from 30 to 40 per cent of the prematurely born babies in some nurseries, some hospitals, had this condition and became blind.
>
> Now the medical investigators looking into that have cast suspicion on the use of synthetic emulsifying agents present in a vitamin preparation which was administered to the new-born babies. They are not sure that it was the emulsifying agent or not, but they have called attention to the fact that when they changed from the preparation containing this synthetic emulsifying agent to the same vitamins without that particular material, the incidence went from 30 to 40 per cent blindness down to less than 1 per cent.



When benzene hexachloride (BHC), one of the newer insecticides was introduced, only good fortune prevented many cases of serious illness. A few years ago New Jersey farmers sprayed BHC on potatoes to combat pests that were resistant to DDT. Housewives found nothing wrong with the raw potatoes they bought; but when the potatoes were boiled, they emitted a musty odor which made them wholly inedible, and the crop had to be dumped. This was lucky, for benzene hexachloride is a chronic poison for men as well as insects.

Consider also Selocide, a selenium insect spray marketed by a Minneapolis concern. Selenium and its compounds are highly toxic; as little as three parts per million added to the food of rats produces cirrhosis of the liver. When a selenium compound is sprayed on fruit trees, according to the F. D. A., it can cause trouble in two ways. First, there is the selenium residue on the fruit itself, which may of course be washed off; and, second, there is the selenium which falls on the ground, builds up in the soil, is absorbed through the roots, and is carried to the interior of the fruit, where it cannot be washed off.

The F. D. A. issued its first warning against selenium

sprays as early as 1939. It notified the manufacturer of Selocide in 1942, in 1943, and again in 1947. Yet according to F. D. A. witnesses before the Delaney committee, Selocide is still marketed as a fruit spray for killing mites.

THE Delaney committee hearings have already shown not only that the F. D. A. needs a larger budget and more vigor but that there is a dangerous loophole in the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act. Under the present law, witnesses have testified, food containing potentially injurious chemicals can be seized only if shipped in interstate commerce, and by then it may be too late to avert a tragedy. Moreover, if the F. D. A. seizes a food shipment, it must be in a position to prove in court that the food is in fact adulterated or injurious or otherwise in violation of the law. In the case of many new chemicals being added to foodstuffs, the required scientific evidence does not yet exist. Such doubtful cases, says the F. D. A., should be resolved in favor of the consumer rather than, as is done at present, in favor of the food processor.

In the field of drugs the 1938 law gave the F. D. A. an effective weapon for handling doubtful cases. Before a new drug can be marketed, the manufacturer must file a "new-drug application" with the F. D. A., presenting evidence that when used as directed the drug will be safe for human consumption, and other relevant data. If the evidence submitted is satisfactory, the application is granted in sixty days. If for any reason the F. D. A. is not satisfied, the registration of the new drug may be suspended until adequate evidence is submitted. In the twelve years since the new-drug provision was enacted, more than 7,500 such applications have been filed. Only about 5,000 have become effective—presumptive evidence that 2,500 doubtful drugs have been kept off the market.

What is needed, says the F. D. A., is a similar clause governing new chemicals in foods. And it is supported in this proposal by powerful allies. One witness before the Delaney committee who urged a new-chemicals-in-food clause was Charles Wesley Dunn, representing the Grocery Manufacturers of America. Mr. Dunn is the recognized dean of food and drug lawyers; among his other clients are the American Pharmaceutical Manufacturers' Association—which opposed the new-drug clause in 1938 but apparently is satisfied with it now—and the Beech Nut Packing Company. Representatives of various medical, scientific, and consumer organizations have also advocated this addition to the law.

Unfortunately, with reform measures making but slow progress in Washington these days, the likelihood of legislation this year is slight. As a select committee, the Delaney committee cannot report out legislation but can only make "recommendations," which must then run the usual gamut of consideration by the standing committees of Congress. Hampered by its small budget, the committee has limited its hearings chiefly to testimony for and against the new-chemicals-in-food clause. But there are other aspects of the food-safety problem which need to be explored.

There is, for example, the question why the "residues" clause of the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938 is not more vigorously applied. This clause provides in effect that the F. D. A. may set a maximum tolerance for any poison or deleterious substance added to foods, and greater use of it could end many of the evils at which the "new chemicals in food" clause is aimed. Yet although it has been in force for twelve years, the F. D. A. to date has set a maximum tolerance for only one chemical, fluorine. Hearings have been held on tolerances for DDT and other insecticides since 1950, but they have a long way to go before actual regulations are worked out and enforced.

Why do F. D. A. hearings take so long? Does the agency need a larger staff? Should its procedures be modified? Should it have the power to subpoena witnesses and not rely on voluntary witnesses—chiefly industry spokesmen who fill the record with thousands of pages of redundant evidence? These are questions which a more vigorous investigating committee would surely have gone into.

The "standard of identity" provision of the 1938 act, which empowers the F. D. A. to set standards for our basic foodstuffs, should also enable the F. D. A. to achieve with respect to foods for which standards are in effect precisely what it proposes to achieve by means of a "new chemicals" clause. It can admit into a standard only those chemicals which have been proved to possess neither acute nor chronic toxicity; and once a standard has been promulgated, no food processor may add any new chemical to the food without first obtaining an amendment to the standard. A number of foods have been standardized, but for many others work on establishing standards has not even begun. The task, under current F. D. A. procedures, is gargantuan. For example, hearings on bread have been held off and on for the past decade; the record runs to more than 18,000 pages; yet the standard is only now being promulgated. It is perhaps unfortunate that concentration on the proposed new-chemicals provision has distracted the attention of the Delaney committee from these other avenues of inquiry.

The new-drug provision was enacted into law only after more than 100 lives were lost through the recklessness of a manufacturer who marketed sulfanilimide dissolved in a poisonous solvent, diethylene glycol. Then Congress acted without further delay. The present Congress has an opportunity to act before a large-scale tragedy forces its hand.

Medicine, Religion, and Irish Politics

BY GRIFFIN BARRY

London, June 14

IRISH politics came alive in the spring, after a long period of apathy; no ideas exportable beyond the parishes have sprouted in the country for a generation. Nineteenth-century Irishmen set off a train of consequences which, culminating in Easter Week and the civil war, remade the British Empire into the cooperating sovereign nations of the Commonwealth. Afterward the Irish had to turn into reality the ideas for which men had died—independence and democracy. It has been a lonely assignment. Ireland has disappeared from the news in the post-war years except when it has raised the hardly heeded cry to end partition.

One aspect of the Irish democracy has hampered it from the start. The constitution, framed in 1922 and adopted by plebiscite fifteen years later, gives the Roman Catholic church "a special position as guardian of the faith of the majority." The family possesses "rights" that are "superior to all positive law." On this doctrinal basis the Irish have been working out "Catholic democracy."

In property relations laissez faire governs. The church leaves that field to the politicians, of whom the influential are Catholic. "We are content to legislate for eternity," a learned priest told me. He meant, of course, by controlling education. Few non-Catholic schools are found in Ireland, though nothing in the law suppresses them. The exception is Trinity College in Dublin, which still dispenses a mellow classicism in College Green, even to some Catholic students, who must obtain a dispensation from their bishop to attend.

Protestants flock to the professions; formerly the ruling class, they have kept their property but are barred from national politics and have small outlet for their civic instincts. The judiciary contains only a "safe" fraction, in view of the danger of Protestant decisions in the matter of family welfare. Protestant physicians are more numerous.

In 1945 a number of Irish doctors, Protestant and Catholic, were drawn to an idea which had been imported from Britain—governmental provision of free medical treatment. To the church the idea gave off an odor of heresy. Yet Ireland had the highest infant death rate in Europe—83 per 1,000, or nearly treble that of England and Wales. Since 1900 those countries had nearly halved their rates, but Ireland's was still 75 per cent of the 1900 figure. A few Irish pediatricians have good international reputations, and many of the social workers who inspect the tuberculosis-breeding slums of Irish cities are well trained, but they are all subject to the rule of a priestly hierarchy which refuses to admit that modern medicine is a lay function.



Seligson

Dr. Noel Browne

De Valera, who had disobeyed the bishops in continuing the civil war until the moment when he could set up the Free State, was well aware of the church's attitude toward the care of the sick, but at the end of 1947 his government forced through the Dail an enabling act providing health service on the British model—including health education for mothers and children and state-administered and possibly state-supported gynecological care. In response, the hierarchy published a warning letter and then instituted a lawsuit seeking to establish that unless the act had the approval of the spiritual authorities it was "repugnant" to the constitution. Shortly afterward, while the judges were delaying their decision, the De Valera government fell.

Younger men in Costello's new coalition government promised to revive the health scheme. The name of one of them, Sean MacBride, Minister of Foreign Affairs, had a certain glamour for the older Irish: his father had fallen in the civil war, and his mother, Maude Gonne, had been the lovely symbol of Irish revolt. For the post of Minister of Health, MacBride proposed his protégé, Dr. Noel Browne, a Catholic graduate of Trinity College only twenty-nine years old. On the day after he was elected to the Dail, Dr. Browne entered the Cabinet.

Browne first set to work to implement the non-controversial provisions of the health act. Within eighteen months he had ended queueing for tuberculosis treatment, provided sanitoria for tuberculosis patients and financial help for their dependents, started cancer and

---

GRIFFIN BARRY is an American newspaperman now living in London. He has been Paris and Moscow correspondent for the London Daily Herald *and recently spent two years in Ireland.*

nutritional surveys, and with an initial fund made up of Irish-sweepstakes donations had begun a $56,000,000 hospital program that would give Ireland one of the best services in the world. By 1949 infant mortality had fallen by 30 per 1,000, and a further drop was indicated for 1950. To lower this rate still more Browne took the step that was to cost him his ministerial head. He announced a system of mother-and-child aid, available to all without a "means test," which would include obstetrical and gynecological care for mothers and health education for them and for their children. This was to be supported by general taxes.

THE hierarchy bided its time until last October, when Browne was asked to call at the palace of the Archbishop of Dublin. His proposals, he was told, were contrary to Catholic teaching, to the "rights" of the family, the church, the medical profession, and voluntary institutions. A written aide-memoire criticized state interference in a sphere "so delicate and concerned with morals as that of gynecology and obstetrics" and objected that families whose income allowed them to pay for medical treatment would have their self-reliance undermined. A free health service, the Archbishop pointed out, "deprived 90 per cent of parents of their rights on the pretext of relieving a necessitous or negligent 10 per cent." According to one bishop, the scheme "would constitute a ready-made instrument of totalitarian aggression."

Browne replied that at least 30 per cent of the population were already receiving free medical aid, public or private, because they lacked the means to pay, and that a considerable number outside this category could not afford care without inordinate sacrifice. He assured the bishops, furthermore, that education in the "delicate sphere" would be confined to telling expectant mothers about such matters as pre-natal diet and "smoking habits." Gynecological care would consist of dealing with mismanaged pregnancies, and the treatment would conform to Catholic principles. ("There is the additional safeguard," Browne later noted in a letter to the hierarchy, "that unlike the neighboring island, this country is predominantly Catholic, and its medical profession is predominantly Catholic also.") The doctor-patient relation, he insisted, would not be impaired; nobody was compelled to use the scheme; and despite the opposition of the Irish Medical Association, he had received enough assurances from private physicians to be convinced that the project would receive widespread support. Since no means test was required for other care provided under the act, no new principle was involved.

When his interview with the Archbishop was over, Browne believed, he said later, that he had won his case. He advertised the plan in the newspapers, published a pamphlet to explain its operation to the public, and spoke for it over the radio. The bill was to be introduced in the Dail in the spring.

After a period of tolerant silence the Archbishop summoned Prime Minister Costello to the episcopal palace. He had been pleased to note, he said, that "no evidence has been supplied . . . that the mother-and-child health scheme enjoys the support of the government." The Cabinet, in fact, had not as yet either approved or rejected the plan officially, and its Republican members, including MacBride, appeared to be losing their enthusiasm for it. Now, after meeting, the Cabinet informed the Minister of Health that his scheme would not be indorsed unless he satisfied the hierarchy.

Browne assembled support from trade unions and social workers. He still refused to believe he had not convinced the bishops, although a letter from the hierarchy finally made its position clear. A week later he was summarily dismissed, not by the Prime Minister, who alone is responsible for his ministers under the constitution, but by Sean MacBride. "For a year the Minister of Health has not been normal," MacBride told the electorate. The Prime Minister let the constitutional slip pass because Dr. Browne was "temporarily unfit for the post of Cabinet minister." If this was a poor diagnosis of Dr. Browne's mental balance by two self-styled psychiatrists, it proved to be an even graver miscalculation of political sentiment, for within three weeks the government, weakened by desertions from the leadership of MacBride, lost its majority.

In the elections of May 30, in spite of the opposition of the church, Browne triumphed: Costello's party lost eight out of ten seats in the Dail, MacBride barely winning in his own district, while Browne, running as an Independent, was handily reelected. The coalition obtained only sixty-four seats to sixty-nine for De Valera's Fianna Fail. Everything hinged on the Independents. On June 13 Costello lost the Premiership to De Valera by five votes.

The public-health plan is still a live issue. An English Catholic, upholding the church view, wrote to the Manchester *Guardian* as follows: "The bishops were expounding that theory of the state on which the Irish constitution is based. . . . In this matter of safeguarding health the distinction is between state association, which is dangerous, and private voluntary association, which is laudable. . . . Catholic sociology still speaks with enough authority in some parts of the world to see that its warnings are acted upon." The rate at which babies die in Ireland will be a warning of another kind. But the church does not give up easily, and it may take much more than Dr. Browne's temporary victory to put the mother-and-child health scheme into operation.

Erin's political quiescence has been broken in the quick Irish way. The political situation will be unstable for some time to come, and things will be livelier.

The Negro Teacher's Dilemma

BY JOHN S. LASH

THE Negro college professor is coming to be regarded as a split personality by professional crusaders for Negro advancement. When he obtains an appointment to the faculty of a white college or university, especially if he is the first Negro engaged, he is hailed as an example of what his race can accomplish. But when he points to the injustices that educational "integration"—as instituted under recent judicial decisions—has sometimes brought with it, he becomes suspect as a special pleader for racial segregation, a protector of a vested interest in an undemocratic system.

In a recent article in *School and Society*, for example, Virgil A. Clift, a Negro college professor, declares that segregation in education must be ended, whether or not "Negro teachers . . . become a 'vested interest' group for purely selfish reasons." The Negro professors at a municipal teachers' college have been rebuked by leading newspapers in a large border city for their "opposition" to a merger of their institution with a white municipal college. And Negro novelists are tending to portray the Negro college professor as playing a somewhat less than heroic role in the struggle to abolish segregation in education.

It must be admitted that the integration of white and Negro colleges may restrict the market for Negro college teachers. The dual system entails some duplication of instructional staffs, and integration may bring dismissals. The training and educational experience of Negro college teachers, however, are not as inconsiderable as is often assumed, and it is to be hoped that their qualifications will be recognized.

Negroes with the Ph.D. degree are not common, but the number of Negro college teachers with an M.A. compares favorably with the number of white college teachers holding that degree, a fact established by the National Survey of the Higher Education of Negroes (1942). Since the middle thirties, when existing Negro institutions began to open graduate departments, there has been a marked increase in graduate study among Negroes. The professional experience of Negro teachers averaged 8.59 years in 1942 and is steadily increasing. Their terms of service have grown longer since the establishment of equal salaries and tenure protection in Negro colleges. This means that even if Negro college teachers cannot boast distinguished pedagogical achievement as a group, their professional qualifications are such that their claims on teaching positions cannot be summarily dismissed.

Some of the institutions now serving Negro students can be utilized in programs of integrated higher education. If they could not, the current legal claim of most Southern states—that they provide "equal" educational facilities for the two races—would be false. In those institutions which are retained, nothing in the theory of educational integration demands a total replacement of their staffs.

Most thoughtful Negro college teachers agree that employment opportunities for them depend on the extent to which racism dictates employment policies. The right of Negro students to equal educational opportunity is legally safeguarded but not the right of teachers to equal employment opportunity. There is evidence, however, that the policies of white or mixed institutions on the employment of Negro teachers are undergoing redefinition. The presence of a Negro instructor on the faculty of an Eastern, Midwestern, or Western institution is no longer a very rare occurrence. Of course, employment opportunities are much fewer in sections of the country which have traditions of racial segregation in education and which categorically oppose efforts to guarantee fair-employment practices in any occupation.

The experience of Negro teachers in states which have begun to integrate white and Negro education is not hopeful. When integration at the higher level closed down a municipal college for Negroes in Kentucky, the staff failed to obtain employment in the integrated institution. In the common schools of lower Ohio, Indiana, Arizona, and New Jersey, all areas in which integration has been recently effected, Negro elementary and secondary school teachers have with difficulty retained a token representation on the faculties of the integrated schools. School boards have shown remarkable ingenuity in eliminating the Negro teachers.

Teachers in Negro colleges must certainly anticipate that the extension of integration to higher education in the South will endanger their jobs. Their real "vested interest," however, is in democratic integration at all levels. And when a system of teacher selection which minimizes racial factors is evolved for integrated institutions, it is not likely that Negro teachers will make any racist plea for the protection of their interests. As long as racial discrimination in employment practices persists, it is only natural for them to take reasonable action to assure job opportunities.

Negro college teachers helped to produce the Sweatts, the Fishers, the McCreadies who form the vanguard of Negro students enrolling in white universities. These pioneering students will not be regarded by their former teachers as monsters who are destroying their creators but as young people whose social conscience does not permit them to accept segregation in education.

JOHN S. LASH, with a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan, is chairman of the Department of English at Maryland State College. He has contributed to Social Forces, *the* Journal of Higher Education, *and other magazines.*

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Church, the State, and Political Freedom

COMMUNISM, DEMOCRACY, AND CATHOLIC POWER. By Paul Blanshard. The Beacon Press. $3.50.

THE WALL OF SEPARATION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE. By Conrad H. Moehlman. The Beacon Press. $3.

READERS of this review will all be aware of the important issue raised by Paul Blanshard in his earlier book, "American Freedom and Catholic Power." Most of them will also know of the existence of his new book, listed above, and the controversy that it has stirred up.

The second book under review, Conrad Moehlman's "The Wall of Separation Between Church and State"—the phrase is quoted from Thomas Jefferson—has attracted far less attention. It indulges in no comparison between the Vatican and the Kremlin, and it is concerned with a somewhat narrower range of issues than Mr. Blanshard has treated. Its position and argument, however, on the vital issue of separation of church and state put its author squarely and emphatically on Mr. Blanshard's side in the current controversy. Dr. Moehlman, in a careful historical analysis, presents a convincing refutation of the position argued by J. M. O'Neill and adopted by the Roman Catholic bishops in their pronouncement of November, 1948, to the effect that the First Amendment to the Constitution did not mean the kind of separation of church and state which the Supreme Court said it meant, and that the amendment was intended merely to guarantee just distribution of government funds among existing denominations.

Dr. Moehlman not only makes his case historically but presents an argument for its excellence in our own times. Thus he discusses the public-school question under the head, The Splendor of Public Education. He quotes the *Christian Science Monitor* with approval: ". . . the Christian conscience in society, not the Christian church in politics, holds the hope for the future." He concludes that Roman Catholicism is not winning the cultural race here and that Protestantism is not defeated.

In substance if not in form Dr. Moehlman's book is as controversial as Mr. Blanshard's, and the issue he raises is one which is likely to have a growing importance in American politics. Nevertheless, the present heated controversy centers about Mr. Blanshard.

It is that controversy rather than just the book which I want to discuss. I have been Paul Blanshard's friend for thirty years and during the twenties and early thirties worked closely with him in many tasks which involved us not in any controversy with the Catholic church but only in opposition to the Ku Klux Klan. I do not think my friendship with Mr. Blanshard impairs my judgment, and my knowledge of him should give weight to my statement that he did not enter this controversy with a desire for notoriety and quick success, or out of hatred of religion, or from any form of bigotry. I think he has been more successful in this book than in his first in avoiding even the suspicion of a superficial support of nationalism against a religion which seeks universality. Taking the book paragraph by paragraph, the reader will be impressed by the care with which the author qualifies his judgments both of communism and Catholicism and the praise he gives to devotion, selflessness, and other qualities in those whom he criticizes. For instance, Mr. Blanshard writes, "There is much to be said for the exalted nobility and high devotion of Catholic monasticism, but it cannot be denied that the life of a Catholic religious is almost devoid of personal freedom." He makes his comparison of the secular religion of communism and the most powerful of Christian churches under various heads, such as "thought control," "management of truth," "strategy of penetration," and so forth.

Mr. Blanshard's critics do not refute his general statements concerning the doctrines and practices either of the Kremlin or of the Vatican. The most they can say is that in the church's long history there have been some ambiguities of statement on the detailed relations of church and state, democracy, and other important issues, ambiguities to which Mr. Blanshard might have given more weight. His critics, in the main, tend to stress two other lines of attack. They say, with varying emphasis, that similarities between the Vatican and the Kremlin should not be discussed at a time when we need the help of the church in the struggle against aggressive communism. They bring a second charge that Mr. Blanshard is a secularist, a believer in political democracy, the philosophical base for which he has not sufficiently examined. The first criticism has been made by men who themselves are irreligious in a sense that Mr. Blanshard is not. Their one passion, however, is successful resistance to communism, and here they welcome the church as an ally, much as some of them would welcome Franco or Chiang Kai-shek.

I myself believe that the Roman Catholic and every other church with a high moral code has an important and legitimate role to play in the struggle against an aggressive Communist tyranny. How that role should be played by the church is the important question. Does it merely oppose one authority to another, or does it appeal to conscience and reason?

By no means did Mr. Blanshard invent the idea that there are similarities between the Kremlin and the Vatican. Over a period of years I have been asked repeatedly in forums and elsewhere whether the Vatican was not also a totalitarian power in the sense in which I was criticizing totalitarianism. It may actually be a service to the cause of reason against bigotry to have a responsible author bring the problem into the light and give us the available evidence. It is at least possible that consciously or unconsciously Catholics, both laymen and priests, will, as one result of the controversy, be more anxious to magnify those teachings of the church which serve a democratic society and to minimize its elements of authoritarian dictation.

In answering questions concerning the Vatican and the Kremlin I have replied that I have found no parallel in Communist theory or practice to the excellence of some of the papal encyclicals on peace and social justice; that the Catholic church in theory and certainly in practice limits the area in which the Pope is infallible, while Stalin is infallible in everything; and finally that in practice, at least in a country like America, the Catholic church permits its adherents a freedom of expression and action inconceivable to the Politburo. Both Mr. Blanshard and Dr. Moehlman argue that Alfred E. Smith's celebrated statement on the nature of his loyalty to his country and his church did not conform to church dogma. It should also be noted that his statement went unrebuked officially and, that he died within the church. The late Justice Frank Murphy was an ardent defender of American civil liberty and wrote or concurred in opinions—for instance, concerning liberty of propaganda for Jehovah's Witnesses—which must have been displeasing to the hierarchy. No discipline was meted out to him, and he died within the church of which he was a devoted adherent. Let apologists for the Kremlin point to any comparable cases in their ranks. There is, actually or implicitly, in both the books under review a recognition of such facts, but I think Mr. Blanshard could have strengthened his case by emphasizing them.

Neither author goes into the underlying philosophic problem of freedom and authority in church and state. Quite rightly for their purposes, they accept the value of democracy as it is practiced —not always perfectly—in America. In effect they say: Look around and tell us what is better. In his argument Mr. Blanshard criticizes religious dogmas when they are logically relevant to his theme. Hence arises an inescapable difficulty. Men, good men, on both sides of the religious controversy do not deal with dogmas piecemeal. For various philosophical and psychological reasons they feel constrained to accept or reject highly authoritarian creeds and the churches that interpret them. If they accept them they must incline to accept at least the moral intervention of their church in social affairs. Politics as well as religion is concerned with matters of morals on which a church claiming the keys to heaven must speak. It will always be a matter for judgment when and how it should speak.

To the problems that thus arise there is no easy and automatic solution. American history suggests that they may be worked out in practice on terms consistent with political freedom and individual responsibility. I for one do not want to forsake that way.

NORMAN THOMAS

Whitman: the Danish View

WALT WHITMAN. By Frederik Schyberg. Translated from the Danish by Evie Allison Allen. Introduction by Gay Wilson Allen. Columbia University Press. $5.

FREDERIK SCHYBERG was a Danish journalist and drama critic who died in 1950. While a member of the Danish underground during the Nazi occupation, he gave two radio speeches on Walt Whitman as a defender of democratic values. His interest in Whitman had been of long standing, for he had published in 1933 the book of which the present volume is a translation. Schyberg was obviously a highly intelligent critic and a profound student of America and American literature. His book is a valuable contribution to Whitman criticism.

A first chapter on America in 1850 is rather perfunctory, being based somewhat too exclusively on the observations of the Swedish writer Frederika Bremer, who visited this country in 1849-51. A second chapter treats Whitman's early years with a sane circumspection and is thoroughly aware of the myths Whitman so studiedly propagated about himself, beginning with the story that when Lafayette visited Brooklyn, he lifted little Walt, aged seven, up to his saddle and kissed him. Schyberg is doubtless right to look with so extremely jaundiced an eye at all the claims, including those of Whitman, that have been made for the "New Orleans" period of 1848 as a crucial episode in the poet's life. It is probable that Whitman brought back from New Orleans a smattering of French but no memories of "a rich and prominent lady of the South" or of children illicitly begot. Another dim period in Whitman's career, one of those concerning which he would never speak or would speak only cryptically, is the years just before 1860. Schyberg judges this "Bohemian period" to be of the greatest importance in understanding Whitman. He concludes that the Calamus poems and "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking" are "plain evidence of a tragic love affair, probably about 1859."

Whatever the facts, there is no doubt that Whitman came through experiences very dangerous and profound to produce the third edition of "Leaves of Grass" in 1860, with all that poignant talk of loneliness, darkness, and death which is in such striking contrast to the buoyancy and arrogance of the first edition (1855) and the second (1856). By 1860, as Schyberg says, Whitman, exhorting us to look for him under our boot soles, symbolizes himself not as a leaf of grass but as a "chance bit of wreckage thrown up on the shores of existence." The "Bohemian period" is thus as important, and as hard to grasp concretely, as the years just before 1855, which transformed Whitman from the journalist and writer of dubious romances into the poet of "Song of Myself."

The most valuable part of Schyberg's book is the long central chapter which traces the evolution of "Leaves of Grass" from edition to edition in the light of what is known or may be reasonably conjectured about the poet's life. This chapter treats such general matters as Whitman's attempts to bring thematic order into the whole under the "wander motif" or by rearranging and rewriting poems. It offers such suggestive ideas as that in Drum Taps "the 'I' is no longer he who 'is' but he who sees and relates," and that "Whitman, like Hegel, was really a natural conservative."

Even so fine an Americanist as Schyberg cannot help patronizing us a bit. He mollifies his European colleagues' indignation over Whitman's having written favorable reviews of his own poems by observing that after all Whitman is the most American of Americans and that this need be his only apology. He cannot help sometimes thinking of the poet (but who can?) as a kind of wonderful, brilliant, irresponsible child whose utterances are among the most "sublime" in world literature. And when you examine that word "sublime"

Available
AT A LOW PRICE:

Government by Whitaker and Baxter

By CAREY McWILLIAMS

An eight-page reprint of three articles which appeared in recent issues of *The Nation*, giving the inside story of the American Medical Association's gigantic scheme to defeat a national health-insurance plan, and the advertising apparatus used to persuade the people to sell out their own health — the story of a new political phenomenon, namely, government by public relations.

One copy 15¢; ten copies $1.20; fifty copies $5; one hundred copies $8

The Vatican versus the Public Schools

By PAUL BLANSHARD

A thirty-two-page booklet containing four recent articles by Mr. Blanshard dealing with the Vatican and public education in France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Italy, plus a 3000-word introduction and conclusion in which the author relates his facts to the problem in America.

One copy 25¢; ten copies $2.25; fifty copies $9; one hundred copies $15

Peace with Russia— Can It Be Negotiated?

We have in stock a limited number of *The Nation's* 85th anniversary number which sent a surge of hope through the free world. This exciting 124-page issue provides a clear insight into the most critical problem of our time—how atomic war could be averted—how peace could be achieved without surrender of basic principles.

25¢ a copy. Rates for copies in bulk furnished on request.

THE NATION
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N. Y.
Please mail me postpaid _____ copies of

_____

_____

for which I enclose my remittance of $_____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

6/23/51

you find it means engagingly boisterous, aggressively free, democratic and spiritual, charmingly aspiring and grandiose. Mr. Schyberg has a weakness for this engaging Americanism, and sometimes, in praising Whitman, he gives us the impression that he is thinking of a kind of barbarous and bardic Daisy Miller, rather than of a poet—a very fallible one—among poets.

Schyberg's last chapter, on Whitman in World Literature, is not so solidly argued as the long section on "Leaves of Grass," though it contains much useful information. The author's knowledge knows no national borders, and it is unlikely that another Whitman critic will soon appear to write sentences such as "Like Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Almquist, Hugo, Carducci, and Johannes V. Jensen, the poet pauses before the animals." We learn that Whitman figured as "a sexual Zwischenstufe" in a German morals scandal of 1907, that Nazi propagandists in Denmark represented Whitman as a Hitlerite, and that German editions of his poetry have tended to suppress the homosexual poems but not the heterosexual, while British editions have tended to do the opposite. Some of Schyberg's comparisons of Whitman with other writers—such as the Persian Rumi, Angelus Silesius, and Franz Werfel—are pretty vague. Some are meaningless: "Like Whitman, Hugo is all-encompassing in his poems (so are Blake and Wergeland)." But several of the relationships he traces are distinctly worth tracing—as, for example, the influence of Whitman on Rilke, Gide, and Laforgue, the latter of whom translated "A Woman Waits for Me" and "O Star of France."

RICHARD CHASE

Shaw's Political Novel

THE TROUBLED AIR. By Irwin Shaw. Random House. $3.75.

IN HIS brisk, journalistic second novel Irwin Shaw describes the plight of a politically liberal radio director who finds himself embroiled in a purge of Communists and fellow-travelers touched off by a super-patriotic magazine. With impressive circumstantiality he demonstrates what a great many people have been suspecting for some time: that radicalism is no longer fashionable on the air waves and can, as a matter of fact, spin careers downward to economic ruin and suicide. The story has the tantalizing suggestiveness of a *roman à clef* and in its breathless argumentation can well serve as an index to the political anxieties of our time, but the speech-making is easy and tedious, after all, and Shaw's rather arbitrary handling of motives makes "The Troubled Air" something less than a literary achievement.

One overhears numerous conversations as Clement Archer, the hero of the novel, interviews the five accused members of his staff, the sponsor of his program, "University Town," and other harrying or harried characters. One learns that Manfred Pokorny, composer of incidental music for the program, faces deportation to Vienna because of a brief flirtation with communism in the 1920's; that Atlas, the Negro comic, cherishes a hatred for white people that transcends mere politics; that Frances Motherwell, a gold-plated beauty, finds it hard to distinguish between politics and sex; that Alice Weller, a fading, bit-part actress, hastens her descent to oblivion by taking part in a Communist-supported peace rally; and that Victor Herres, Archer's closest friend, joins the ranks of the Communist Party out of an overweening intellectual pride. Designed as dramatic scenes, the chapters consist almost wholly of dialogue. For verisimilitude Shaw relies on the accuracy of this talk and on painful, often trivial detail that disturbs the reader into recognitions of a kind of reality.

Certainly the surfaces are conveyed more ably than the motives. It seems incredible, for example, that Archer should be unaware, after fifteen years of intimate association, that his friend Herres is a Communist. Exercising astonishing self-control, the latter makes no attempt to influence Archer's political thinking or to recruit him for the party's various agencies and drives. Equally unbelievable is the characterization of the beauty, Frances Motherwell, whose nymphomania is a convenient cliché masking male resentment of women in public affairs. An actress of her reported sexual potential needs no political party to assist her to a bed. The behavior of O'Neill, the advertising-agency representative, of Sandler, the sponsor, and of the script writer, Bar-

bante, cannot bear any closer scrutiny. All these people seem to understand the exigencies of the plot and out of loyalty to the author perform their assigned parts deftly but without inner engagement.

That the political novel is difficult to shape has been the discovery of many writers since 1945. There is always the danger of oversimplifying human desire and of losing the thickness of actual experience. Few people are primarily politicians, the cold war notwithstanding. Shaw is aware of the problem, of course, and meets it by introducing such subsidiary themes as the pregnancy of Archer's wife and the sexual awakening of his teen-age daughter. But since the fusion is incomplete, the secondary elements seem irrelevant, posing still another problem. So exacting is the form of the political novel that for successful examples one must still turn to Dostoevsky, Kafka, and Malraux.

STEPHEN STEPANCHEV

What the Roll Call Shows

LET'S LOOK AT THE RECORD. By Thomas R. Amlie. Capital City Press. $10.

IN APPLYING the sage advice of Al Smith, Tom Amlie has come up with a convincing indictment of the Republican Party as being "more completely reactionary than . . . the conservative party in any other parliamentary country during the past seventy-five years." This conclusion, based on analysis of 650 roll-call votes in Congress over a period of twenty years, will neither surprise nor alarm students of American politics. It should be an eye-opener to the ordinary Republican voter who likes to think of his party as one of sensible conservatism as opposed to the "experimental" liberalism of the Democratic Party.

"Let's Look at the Record" sets out to demolish the general assumption that Congressional "liberals" and "conservatives" are lined up fairly evenly on either side of a theoretical center line of politics. On the evidence of research into the voting pattern of Democrats and Republicans in the past Congresses, Mr. Amlie asserts that the line of demarcation "is drawn so far to the right that fully 75 per cent of the American people would identify themselves as being to the left of the line that separates liberals from conservatives in the United States Congress." The hopeful corollary of this, concludes the former Congressman from Wisconsin, is that "if the people knew the facts, they would retire three-fourths of the present members of the United States Congress at the next election." The expendable three-fourths make up the coalition of conservatives and reactionaries of both parties which today control the Congress.

There may be basis for disagreement with Amlie's percentage evaluation of the present Congress, but there can be no quarrel with the usefulness of the exhaustive research which has gone into this project of presenting the facts to the people. "Let's Look at the Record" should be a required sourcebook for anyone who works in the field of politics —whether as party committeeman or as trade unionist engaged in political action. It is well to recognize the limitations of "record votes" as a complete guide to Congressional behavior, but given the cloak of secrecy about committee votes and cloakroom agreements, this compendium of recorded votes, accurately and effectively selected to reflect the conflict between conservatism and liberalism, is an invaluable encyclopedia of political ammunition.

VIOLET M. GUNTHER

Books in Brief

AN INTRODUCTION TO SHAKESPEARE. By Marchette Chute. E. P. Dutton and Company. $2.25. Miss Chute has retold simply and succinctly the story of Shakespeare as an actor and playwright, evidently aiming at younger readers than those for whom she composed her "Shakespeare of London." The resulting primer sacrifices few of the qualities of that deservedly popular book.

UNITE OR PERISH. By Paul Reynaud. Simon and Schuster. $3. An energetically argued proposal for organic European unity in political, military, and economic affairs. As usual, M. Reynaud's presentation is digressive, repetitive, and not free from personal spite. What he seems to want is a unified European army (Germans included) under a single Defense Ministry, a European customs union, and a single democratically elected European Parliament. Without minimizing the difficulties inherent in its accomplishment or exaggerating the progress so far made, M. Reynaud indicates the great advantages that would proceed from such an organization. To the disadvantages expressed in the objections of the European Socialists and the British he gives far too short a shrift. His plea is a special one, but one that nevertheless appears to be in the final best interests of Europe and the Western world.

THE GENIUS OF EUROPE. By Havelock Ellis. Rinehart and Company. $3. Six discursive compositions on the dominant temperaments in England, Russia, France, Spain, and Germany. Unpolished and out of date, the essays are packed with fact and reflection. But though one was written as late as 1939, by and large the resemblance to a period piece embodying the good-will, massive knowledge, and favorite superstitions of the early twentieth century is already unmistakable.

Coming Soon in *The Nation*

"Failure in Japan"

By Robert E. Textor

Reviewed by Sir George Sansom

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS from the U S S R

FOR THE LATEST IN SOVIET LITERATURE — A CLOSE-UP OF THE SOVIET ART WORLD

SOVIET LITERATURE

Published Monthly in English, French, Polish, German and Spanish

SUBSCRIPTION RATE — One Year $2.50

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
81 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss La Pack
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

Drama Note

"COURTIN' TIME" (National Theater) has been a long time getting to Broadway, and it shows the marks of some rather desperate working over. Still, it has a number of pleasant aspects. Joe E. Brown, with his big mouth and his expert miming, carries off his part as a Maine farmer with an old trouper's competence that I always find endearing—though the part is pretty thin and some of the jokes should have been let lie. Billie Worth, as the housekeeper whom the farmer looks right past when he starts searching for a wife, is so attractive that one doesn't believe for a moment in the given situation, but that hardly matters; and she plays with great verve and skill. Then there is Carmen Mathews, who plays the part of the happy spinster with genuine wit. The young lovers—there are four—are much more engaging than usual. Two of them—Gloria Patrice and Peter Conlow—head the very lively dancing troupe.

George Balanchine had charge of the dancing. None of it is important Balanchine, but the one ballet, "Johnny and the Puckwudgies," is effective, and the incidental routines show his touch. The best musical number is "The Sensible Thing to Do" sung by Miss Worth and Earl Williams with movements by Balanchine.

M. M.
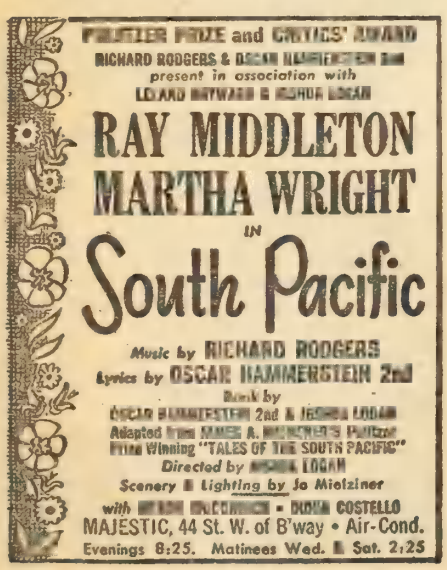
30% to 50% DISCOUNT ON ALL LP RECORDS

Up to 75% on 78 rpm Records

Write for details to

ELAINE MUSIC SHOP

8 EAST 44th STREET, bet. Fifth & Madison — NEW YORK CITY 17, MUrray Hill 2-8154



Records

B. H. HAGGIN

ANOTHER fantastic operation, I would say: the continuing publicity about Landowska and her recording of Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier, with even Jinx Falkenburg reporting the "high priestess of the harpsichord" in her archly prayerful attitudes about the work that is to be her "last will and testament"; and on the other hand the actual recording—e. g. the latest instalment, with the unrelenting pounding out of Nos. 17 to 24 of Book I which the high priestess offers as divine revelation and I hear as unmitigated murder (RCA Victor).

For magnificent playing of music on the harpsichord get Fernando Valenti's performances of Bach's Toccata in C minor, one of his finest instrumental works, the Toccata in D, another fine work, and the Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue, of which the Fantasy is impressive (Allegro).

Bach's English Suites Nos. 2 and 3, as played on the harpsichord by Alice Ehlers, I find uninteresting (Allegro).

The Scarlatti Sonatas recorded on the piano by Clara Haskil, most of them unfamiliar, are very fine or made to seem so by her playing, which—with its sharply contoured articulation and powerful tensions—is her best so far, and the best playing of Scarlatti in years. Her piano is unresonant (Westminster).

Mozart's Sonata K.333, with engaging moments and a startling development in the slow movement, is played beautifully by Lili Kraus. The recorded sound (dubbed from a Parlophone 78) is dull and occasionally distorted and the surface is noisy in the first movement, but sound and surface are better in the other movements. On the same record is the resourcefully written but inconsequential Duo K.423 for violin and viola, beautifully played by Szymon Goldberg and Frederick Riddle. Crackling surface (Decca).

In Mozart's fine Sonata K.448 for two pianos the quietly sensitive but strong playing of Demus and Badoura-Skoda (Westminster) is to be preferred to the affected playing of the Iturbis (Victor). Demus and Badoura-Skoda also play a Mozart Andante and Variations K.501 for piano four hands and a J. C. Bach Sonata in G for two pianos that are pleasantly inconsequential; the Iturbis play Chabrier's "Trois Valses Romantiques," of which the third is one of his outstanding pieces and was used by Balanchine in one of the most affecting episodes of "Cotillon."

The Mozart Sonatas K.357, 358, and 381 for piano four hands recorded by Demus and Badoura-Skoda are charming (Westminster).

Except for the occasional excessive *sf* Kurt Appelbaum's playing in the first movement of Beethoven's Sonata Opus 10 No. 3 was so satisfyingly competent that I was unprepared for its disturbing defects in later movements—the lingering over, and separating of, measures which destroyed continuing impetus from one to the next, the violence of crescendos and accents, with mistreatment of the piano that hurt my ear. These defects reappeared in Opus 2, No. 2, Opus 53 ("Waldstein"), in which there was also lack of clarity and precision in passage work, and Opus 111—but least in the second movement of Opus 111, which was played very well. Surfaces were gritty (Westminster).

The Erwin Bodky performances of Mozart pieces on a Stein piano of Mozart's period (Allegro) and the Byron Janis performance of Beethoven's Sonata Opus 31 No. 2 (Victor) are things to skip.

Of Bach's "The Musical Offering"—one of the works that resulted from his setting himself elaborate technical problems—the opening three-voiced ricercare, the trio sonata, and several canons continue to be uninteresting for me; but I have found canons Nos. 3, 4, 5, 8, and 10 impressive, and the concluding six-voiced ricercare as always a superb piece of music. The performance by eight strings and winds under Scherchen is good (Westminster).

Vivaldi's Flute Concerto Opus 3 ("Bullfinch") is a rather charming piece in which Philip Kaplan produces big tones with no phraseological inflection that I can hear, and a string orchestra plays stolidly under Attilio Poto. The Cello Sonatas Nos. 2 and 6 have fine slow movements which are superbly played by Samuel Mayes over harpsi-

chord accompaniments pounded out by Erwin Bodky; the Flute Sonata No. 6 played by Kaplan and Bodky is good; the Pastorale for flute Opus 13 No. 4 is uninteresting (Allegro).

Couperin's Four Concerts Royaux, played by Kaplan, Mayes, and Bodky, I found mostly uninteresting (Allegro).

Engaging works of Mozart: The Violin Sonatas K.304, 305, and 570 well played by Shumsky and Mittman except for the excessively fast minuet movement of K.304; piano sound dull, violin not sweet and clear (Allegro). The Trios K.502 and 542, excellently played by Ruth Posselt, violin, Samuel Mayes, and Abba Bogin, piano; surfaces gritty (Allegro). The Serenata Notturno K.239, which gets a burly, graceless performance by the Zimbler Sinfonietta that is reproduced with strident and heavy sound; with it Telemann's Suite for flute and strings—pleasant music well played by James Pappoutsakis (Decca).

Haydn's "Seven Last Words of Christ," intended as a series of *Adagio* interludes between the spoken words of a religious service, I again find uninteresting. It is well performed by the Amadeus Quartet, which also plays the engaging *Andante grazioso* and powerful minuet movement of an uncompleted Haydn Quartet Opus 103, and the charming Quartet Opus 3 No. 5, with the famous Serenade that is a remarkable piece of melodic writing (Westminster).

CORRECTION: A sentence in Manny Farber's column on the comic strip, in last week's issue, spoke of humor "of a jaundiced, whip-lashing, Goyaesque type, too sour for articulate emphasis." The last phrase should have read, "too sour for articulate laughs."

CONTRIBUTORS

NORMAN THOMAS is the author of "A Socialist's Faith" and other books.

RICHARD CHASE, a member of the English Department of Columbia University, will publish next fall a critical biography of Emily Dickinson.

STEPHEN STEPANCHEV is a member of the English Department at Queens College.

VIOLET M. GUNTHER is a legislative representative for Americans for Democratic Action.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Affront to the Dead

Dear Sirs: An important new work on Dreiser, such as the recently published study by the late F. O. Matthiessen, deserves adequate coverage in *The Nation*. The editors of a magazine seriously concerned with American cultural history would try to assign the book to a good critic with sound judgment. They should at least look for a reviewer who knows his trade: someone willing to read the book and tell what it is about, what it apparently sets out to do, the extent to which it succeeds.

The Nation printed, instead of a review, a fancy little essay larded with irrelevant personal speculation. Its author, Richard Hofstadter, revealed his attitude toward his trade by inventing an imaginary book of his own, instead of carefully reading the real one. His patronizing dismissal of his own fabrication was followed by a bizarre attempt to squeeze Dreiser into some symbol of "the common man thinking." There was no visible effort to understand Dreiser as a significant novelist of uneven performance.

This book received several acceptable reviews based on conscientious reading and honest reporting. That by John Berryman in the Sunday *Times* of March 4 was exceptional. Clearly a discriminating critic, familiar with his field, Berryman gave the completed works of Dreiser and Matthiessen a judicious appraisal which included sympathy and respect.

The Nation should have searched for a reviewer holding comparable standards. Even if its present editors cannot recognize an affront to the dead, they ought to know their current duty to their living readers.

JOHN RACKLIFFE

Boston

Reviewer's Rebuttal

Dear Sirs: I hope anyone whose interest is aroused by Mr. Rackliffe's letter will read my review (in *The Nation* of April 28) and Mr. Matthiessen's book. Most discriminating critics will agree that the volume cannot be compared favorably with the rest of Mr. Matthiessen's criticism—which I admire very much. This, indeed, happens to have been Mr. Matthiessen's own view of it, as I learned after my review had been written. The task of a reviewer, as I understand it, is to exercise his own judgment, not to try to anticipate those of others, however competent. Presumably he does his work best if he is free of blinding ideological commitments or fierce personal loyalties. One of his elementary aims, as it is of everyone who deals with ideas, is to experience differences of opinion without losing his composure. RICHARD HOFSTADTER

New York

Art and Ideology

Dear Sirs: It may interest the readers of Peter de Mendelssohn's article, Bert Brecht Produces an Opera, in *The Nation* of May 19 to learn that both composer Paul Dessau and author Bert Brecht did respond to the pressure of the East German authorities, and that they have decided to revise their opera "The Trial of Lucullus" in accordance with the expressed wishes of Eastern ideologists.

Strange as it may seem to Western minds, such revisions are sometimes made voluntarily. I discussed this once with the celebrated painter, Diego Rivera. When I asked him whether he would yield to the request to delete from his murals figures who are no longer in sympathy with the Soviet Union, he immediately answered in the affirmative; he showed he was perfectly willing to make such a *sacrificium intellectus*, just as Prokofieff and Shostakovich yielded to the totalitarian authorities in Moscow.

MANFRED GEORGE
Editor, *Aufbau*

New York

Another Loyalty Oath

Dear Sirs: When Governor Peterson signed the public-employees'-oath law on May 22, Nebraska became the newest in the parade of states requiring extraordinary test oaths.

Unlike some others, the Nebraska oath is an omnibus document that carefully avoids use of the word "communism." After an introductory section in which the employee swears that he "will not advocate nor become a member of any political party or organization that advocates the overthrow of the government of the United States or of this state by force or violence," there

RESORTS

BREEZEMONT PARK
ARMONK N.Y.

A Wonderful Place for Children— and Parents

If you—like many modern parents—prefer to watch your child develop, here is the ideal combination for you. Breezemont Park and Camp Alyssum offer gracious hotel accommodations—including golf and all sports facilities—for parents, together with an outstanding camp that children love! Since 1936, intelligent parents have shared a delightful summer's adventure here *with* the children. Recommended by Child Study of America. Ages 4–11 only. Season Starts July 1. *Only 35 miles from N. Y.*

PHONE ARMONK VILLAGE 3-8155, 3-3162

CIRCLE PINES CENTER

A Cooperative Camp which welcomes all people regardless of race, age, creed or politics. A family Camp.

$30, 1st week — $25, 3rd week
$27, 2nd week — $24, thereafter

Farm—Folk Dancing—Swimming, etc.
Write for folder to
William Knox, Circle Pines Center, Cloverdale, Mich.

Stonegate LODGE

Informal Resort Estate in the Adirondacks
Limited to 90 • 14-mile Lake • Pollen-Free
Tennis • Fishing • Golf • Motor Boating
Folk-Sq. Dances • Concert Trio • Dance Band
Bachelor Club Rate $60-$65
N. Y. Office: 250 West 57th St. Circle 6-6380
• 10% less to July 10—Louis A. Roth, Dir. •

WINDY HILL
ON COLESIDE LAKE

A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Books, Records, Ping-pong, a two-mile lake for boating, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity.

Pre-Season: $45 weekly, $7 daily
65 miles from N. Y. C.
JANE C. ARENZ, R. D. No. 1, Walden, New York
Phone: Newburgh 115W2

the dream resort you've been looking for and looking for and looking for!

THE NEW
Glenmere
PRIVATE GOLF COURSE

Chester, N. Y. in the beautiful Ramapos
Phones: Chester 2151 – N. Y. REctor 2-5047

What'll you have in June?
CHESTER'S ZUNBARG,
in Woodbourne, N. Y.,

offers all sports, informal entertainment, dancing, tavern and television . . . plus fine food and modern accommodations. The nicest people ever. Inviting low spring rates.
Write or phone Woodbourne 1150 for brochure.

Green Acres
LODGE
CENTRAL VALLEY, NEW YORK
Open All Year • New Cocktail Lounge
Swimming Pool, Golf, Tennis
DELICIOUS FOOD
45 Miles from N. Y. C. Tel.: Highland Mills 3071

GLORIOUS MUSIC in the Berkshire Hills at Tanglewood, July 5–August 12. Write for complete program and accommodations. The H. Ningers, Canaan, New York. "20 minutes from the Shed."

are different sections for different classes of public employees. Among other things, teachers are required to inculcate in their pupils "love and devotion to the policies and institutions that have made America the finest country in the world in which to live and . . . opposition to all organizations and activities that would destroy our present form of government."

Many of the state's teachers believe that swearing to teach such naive and chauvinistic theories would be incompatible with objectivity and the search for truth but have nevertheless used every care to conceal their opposition. The Nebraska State Education Association was able to make some alterations in the original bill but would have no part in opposing the oath *per se* or in its present form. Still less vocal was the University of Nebraska chapter of the American Association of University Professors. The few individuals who undertook even the mildest forms of peaceful protest were regarded by their fellow-educators as impractical martyrs or unstable radicals.

The oath was approved by only twenty-three to thirteen—in Nebraska's unicameral legislature twenty-two votes are required for passage. Thus even a small amount of organized opposition might have been effective.

For fear of discharge, for fear of opposing public opinion, Nebraska's teachers have declined to protect their professed ideals. Unless teachers in other states defend more valiantly the "principles of education" they have studied so hard and spoken of so glibly, democracy can, indeed, be destroyed piecemeal.

WARREN WESTON
Chaldron, Nebraska

Threat or Demagogy

Dear Sirs: Because two lines were omitted in my article The Gaullist Threat in *The Nation* of June 9, I was made to say: "He [De Gaulle] is against the Communists because they are allowing France to be enslaved by the United States."

No, even De Gaulle stops short of accusing the Communists of that! The passage should have read: "He is against the Communists because they are 'inviting a Russian invasion'; he is also against the 'parties' (i.e., the government parties) because they are allowing France to be enslaved by the United States." The latter was, as I said, largely demagogy.

ALEXANDER WERTH
Paris, France

RESORTS

MUSIC INN for any mood—Concerts at Tanglewood next door; inquiries into Jazz; 100 acres, tennis and two lakes. Write for detailed programs Music Inn, Lenox, Mass.

CHAUTAUQUA LAKE—near Chautauqua Institution and four symphony concerts weekly. Private house, acre of beautiful lawns and gardens, beach. Excellent cooking, garden-fresh vegetables. Room and meals $50 weekly. Anderson, Lighthouse Point, Mayville, N. Y.

SUMMER RENTAL

ATTRACTIVE 6 rooms, 1½ bath, studio barn, orchard, 55 miles N. Y. C., Hunterdon Co., N. J. Season $400. BU 2-3993.

FOR SALE

TWO adjoining Adirondack cottages, (Keene Valley), fully equipped; fully electrified; fireplaces, shower baths; two-car garage; mile from village, on mountain side, with view. G. F. Bowerman, The Ontario, Washington 9, D. C.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

ATTENTION ALL WRITERS! Do you have an idea suitable for story or book? We will develop that idea for publication. Complete cooperation. No "stuffed shirt" reception but friendly sympathetic discussion over editor's desk. Phone or write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, $5.00.

PERSONALS

CABINET MAKING, PICTURES, FRAMING. Large selection prints, choice frames and finishes. Furniture built to suit your needs. Radio–Phono–Tele cabinets built, designed to engineering specifications. BERAN-ORBAN – OR 4-6123, 22 Astor Place, upstairs (near Wanamakers). Open Mon.-Sat. 6-9 P.M., by appointment.

DRIVING car PROVINCETOWN between June 30–July 3 inclusive? Can you accommodate two more? Will share expenses. WAtkins 9-3420, weekdays after 5 P.M.; Sat., Sun. before 1 P.M.

Butcher... Baker... Candlestick Maker ?

Where will they spend their vacations this year?

Why not tell them about your resort in the pages of

THE *Nation*

RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch, one insertion
Generous discounts for multiple insertions.
Write or phone today for further information.
ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT
The NATION
20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.
BArclay 7-1066

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JUNE 30, 1951 NUMBER 26

The Shape of Things

GENERAL MACARTHUR'S SOMEWHAT PETTISH refusal to reappear before the Russell committee made it possible for Senator Russell to adjourn his coroner's jury, which had sat for seven weeks in preposterous post-mortem over what happened at Yalta and why Chiang Kai-shek fell. Now work on a report can begin. MacArthur, who has become something of a forgotten man, complained that disclosure of Mr. Truman's part in his ouster had been prevented by Presidential order. This reference to the refusal of General Bradley and other witnesses to reveal private conversations with the President is scarcely pertinent, since Mr. Truman has made it perfectly clear that he himself decided on the removal. When Patrick J. Hurley took the witness stand to tell fantastic tales about what he believed the late President Roosevelt finally decided about the Yalta agreements, MacArthur was not even mentioned in the committee room. In all probability, the long hearings have had little influence on the twenty-six Senators who participated. Knowland and Hickenlooper undoubtedly still suspect that Dean Acheson, rather than Chiang's own ineptness, was responsible for the collapse of the Nationalists; and presumably whatever report they file will reflect this view. Sparkman and several others have suggested that they will criticize the "manner" in which MacArthur was fired. It may still be hoped that a substantial bi-partisan majority will reaffirm categorically the doctrine of civilian authority which Mr. Truman was forced to apply.

*

INDO-CHINA RESEMBLES KOREA IN MANY OF its aspects, and just as the first anniversary of the Korean war has provided the American people with a disturbing reminder of what a "police action" may amount to, so developments in the French-Vietminh fighting have jolted French complacency. Instead of breaking and running as they had been doing in recent months, the Vietminh forces are now making a stand along the inner edges of the abrupt mountains southwest of Hanoi, and increasingly bloody encounters are taking place. The battle for the rice lands has started. The Vietminhese are trying hard to maneuver themselves into a position from which they can capture a considerable part of this summer's rice harvest in the deltas. The French have countered by bombing Vietminh-held villages west of the Phuly-Ninhbinh line to seal off all the places through which the rice might be smuggled. Here we have another analogy with Korea: if Seoul is only a pile of ruins, the important village of Ninhbinh which fell into the hands of the Vietminh on the third day of their offensive retains little more than its name—almost every building has disappeared under the rain of bombs. As in Korea, first the Vietminhese advance, next time it is the French who succeed in pushing back the enemy. It is a war without end, and recently there has been some talk in official circles of using the "General-Diplomat" Catroux to try to find a way out of a situation which as in Korea seems to be impossible to solve by purely military means.

*

A LITTLE MORE THAN FOUR WEEKS AGO Hessell Tiltman, writing from Japan (see Japan's Peace Treaty, *Nation,* June 2), predicted that after the signing of the peace treaty drafted by John Foster Dulles the Japanese could "be relied upon to reverse all [of the occupation-sponsored democratic reforms] that can be reversed without an international outcry." This forecast is rapidly becoming an accomplished fact—and well in advance of the formal promulgation of a peace pact. Last week Premier Yoshida's Cabinet "depurged" some 70,000 men hitherto barred from public life because of their association with the militarist regime of war-time Japan. Still on the black list are about 80,000 persons who belonged to the ultra-nationalist elite, but the Premier's subsequent announcement that the national police force would be expanded from its present strength of 75,000 men to an estimated 500,000 troops should give hope to those still cast into darkness. For an army of half a million men requires senior commanders, and where would it be more logical to look for them than among the top-ranking officers who were purged? Now that England and France have allowed last week's mass restoration of respectability to pass without protest, it is hardly likely that we shall witness that "international outcry" which Mr. Tiltman warned would be the only factor that might deter Japan from resuming the road to imperial glory.

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 597
Membership Is Obsolete 598
Malik's Move *by Freda Kirchwey* 599

ARTICLES

Bonanza, Unlimited *by Willard Shelton* 601
Europe After the Elections *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 602
California: There She Goes! *by John Beecher* 603
Not So Deep in the Heart of Texas *by John McCully* 605
De Gasperi's Grim Future *by Mario Rossi* 607
Dangerous Dosage *by Leonard Engel* 609
Partners in Reaction *by Fritz Sternberg* 611

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Japan: Has the Occupation Failed? *by George Sansom* 614
More Rebel Than Radical *by H. H. Wilson* 615
On a Certain Engagement South of Seoul *A Poem by Hayden Carruth* 616
Soviet Purges and Prisons *by Warren B. Walsh* 616
People and History *by Lloyd Frankenberg* 618
Philosophies Old and New *by Justus Buchler* 619
Drama Note *by M. M.* 620
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 620
Films *by Manny Farber* 622

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 623

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 419 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 624

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo — *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Washington Editor: Willard Shelton

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch — *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

IT WAS NOT A NOVEL EXPERIENCE FOR DR. Percy L. Julian when he was named "Chicagoan of the Year" in 1949 by the Junior Chamber of Commerce and the Chicago *Sun Times* for his important research on cortisone. Over the years this distinguished Negro scientist has received quite a collection of awards of all types and from men of all races, colors, and creeds; even in the deep South a public school has been named in his honor. But last week while Dr. Julian was on his way to Baltimore to attend the funeral of his father he received, in absentia, a sinister "award" from some fellow-Chicagoans. For the second time a dynamite bomb was tossed at his home in proper, "lily-white" Oak Park. This is the sort of crime, as the Chicago *Tribune* has sharply reminded the authorities, that any good police force should be able to solve without too much trouble —given the will, that is, to solve the crime. Since Dr. Julian also received a threatening letter through the mails—"You and your family will be killed if you don't move"—the federal authorities will now conduct an investigation.

Membership Is Obsolete

THE indictment of twenty-one Communist Party leaders for criminal conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence underscores the basic dangers in the Supreme Court's decision upholding the Smith act. From this decision it is quite impossible to determine what types of political activity fall within the Chief Justice's definition of unlawful advocacy. It is necessary, of course, for the Attorney General to prove in each case that the persons indicted sought to overthrow the government by force and violence, but this has now become more a matter of ritual than of proof. And he must also show that they participated in Communist Party activities knowing of the party's purpose to overthrow the government. But it now remains a matter of expediency rather than of law which individuals and groups are subject to prosecution.

Had Congress outlawed the Communist Party by direct fiat, the consequences to individual freedom would have been less serious than under the Supreme Court's decision. To say, therefore, that the Supreme Court has "in effect" outlawed the Communist Party is to miss the point: to outlaw the party would be to define a crime in terms which would enable any citizen to determine the boundary between permissible and non-permissible political behavior. Whereas to outlaw the party "in effect" but not as a matter of law is to confer a virtually unlimited discretion upon the Attorney General to determine what individuals and groups are to be banished from political life.

Any doubt as to the scope of the power which the

Supreme Court's decision has conferred on the Attorney General disappears the moment the problem of membership is considered. Quite recently J. Edgar Hoover said that since the indictment of the eleven Communist leaders in 1948, the phrase "card-carrying Communist" had become obsolete. As he pointed out, the party has been purged of "unreliables," the various avenues of infiltration have presumably been closed, and by inference all membership lists and other written records have been destroyed. According to Mr. Hoover, the ratio of invisible to visible members of the party is ten to one, there being in his estimate about 43,000 actual members—the new phrase is "professional members"—and between 450,000 and 500,000 fellow-travelers and other categories of sympathizers. It is quite clear, therefore, that the fact of membership is not important in Mr. Hoover's view and that what he regards as controlling are such factors as activities, ideological similarities, and a rebellious or nonconforming disposition—in short, all the characteristics which were used to identify witches and heretics in the fifteenth century.

This conclusion is strengthened by reference to the position which the government took in the recent argument on the appeal of William Remington. In this case the government argued that it was not necessary for the trial judge to define membership in his charge to the jury, since membership could be proved by a series of acts. In view of this position, there is slight comfort to be found in Assistant Attorney General James M. McInerney's statement in San Francisco the other day that the number of grand-jury indictments now being sought would be nearer 2,500 than 25,000.

For the time being the government will doubtless restrict indictments to "professional members," meaning bona fide card-carrying members of the Communist Party, but with the green light given by the Supreme Court it could also proceed against any individuals who had at any time been identified with any movement which the Communists are said to have controlled. That the government has not thus far proceeded against "other categories of sympathizers" does not mean that it will fail to do so at a later date. For the plain fact is, as Justice Douglas pointed out in his dissent, that we have started down a one-way road which leads into "territory dangerous to the liberties of every citizen." The territory is dangerous precisely because the citizen can no longer determine when he is safe and when he has trespassed on subversive ground, and not even the Chief Justice of the land is willing to provide a guide or a map.

No boundaries have been fixed for the practical reason that the boundaries must be kept flexible so that they can be expanded or contracted as need may arise. But this is to confer on administrative officials a wholly unconstitutional discretion to define as crimes political activities which may be objectionable from a partisan point of view but which present no clear and present danger that the government might be overthrown.

Eventually the Supreme Court may restore the civil liberties which it has momentarily suspended, and popular revulsion against the excesses implicit in the court's decision may some day force Congress to repeal the Smith act. But the immediate issue is political, and it rests squarely with President Truman. Is he going to permit ambitious careerists in the Department of Justice to regress to the administrative level of the Palmer raids in the hope of winning judicial appointments, or did he mean what he said when he vetoed the McCarran act? Actually the current situation is far more dangerous than the Palmer raids, whose unconcealed violence and uncomplicated brutality notified every citizen that his liberties were in danger. Today we no longer crack skulls; we simply make a distinction between "discussion" and "advocacy" and vest in appointive officials the right to define a whole new category of political crimes and then change the definitions as they deem necessary. There will now be, of course, not one but a series of Foley Square mass prosecutions which will advertise to the world that we lack the courage of our traditional political convictions.

Malik's Move

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

ALTHOUGH his cease-fire proposal was dressed in the conventional Soviet language of self-righteousness and abuse, Mr. Malik's intention, I am convinced, was not merely to let out a new propaganda blast. It was that, too, of course. Coming just after the collapse of the four-power deputies' conference and just before the anniversary of the Korean war, its propaganda value was considerable; it both celebrated Russia's steadfast devotion to peace, at a moment when the West was charging Gromyko with responsibility for the breakdown at Paris, and captured the headlines that would otherwise have been devoted to the U. N.'s first military action against aggression. But Mr. Malik's talk was more than a sample of nicely timed psychological warfare. The nub of the speech was the carefully edited but unconditional proposal that "discussions should be started between the belligerents for a cease-fire and an armistice providing for the mutual withdrawal of forces from the Thirty-eighth Parallel." That this was said simply for effect is not at all likely.

In the United Nations, Western and Asian delegates who have good contacts with the Soviet representatives have been saying for several months that Moscow wanted to end the Korean fighting. The Russian peace feelers reported a few weeks ago and denied by Malik

were of course the real thing. Several attempts to translate them into a formula acceptable to both sides were, according to report, rejected in Washington as premature. Whether or not Peking had been consulted about the Russian moves was not known: some delegates suggested that Moscow was acting behind China's back. In any case a military truce, such as Malik proposed, is the only kind of agreement that would enable both Peking and Washington to by-pass the formidable diplomatic obstacles raised by the aggressor and embargo resolutions in the Assembly and by the State Department's increasingly stiff stand on Formosa and Chinese representation in the U. N. The very fact that Malik said nothing about Peking's demands or the thorny question of Korea's political future is strong evidence that his basic purpose was peace.

Why should Russia want peace in Korea? The predominant view in Washington has been that Moscow's ends would be best served by a long-drawn-out war which would drain American power into the soil of Asia and delay the remobilization of Allied strength in Europe. This view seemed to be borne out by Gromyko's insistence on including the Atlantic Alliance and the whole Western rearmament program among the causes of East-West tension to be discussed at a Big Four conference. But obviously there are many factors that argue the other way, for while the struggle in Korea is using up American men and equipment, it is doing so at an immense cost to the Communists. First, China's armies are being badly chewed up and its own meager resources drained. Second, Mao Tse-tung may be pressing Stalin for more help than Russia wants to give—or even for active intervention. Third, if the war were to end on the Thirty-eighth Parallel, the threat of hostile forces or a Syngman Rhee regime on the Soviet-Manchurian border would be over. Fourth, the policy of "limited war" almost insures a war without victory: Manchuria will not, while the policy holds, be attacked or invaded, but neither can the Chinese hope to "push the U. N. forces into the sea." Instead, they face the unrewarding prospect of war without visible end but with increasing losses.

There are also broader reasons why Russia, at least, may now seek military peace in Korea. Assuming Stalin does not intend to start a world war but prefers to gain his ends by political means, fortified when expedient by military coups, he may well have reached the conclusion that the time has come for a new course. As Western armed strength increases, the possibility of successful military actions declines. But as Western armed strength increases, so do unrest and political instability in the West. The recent elections in France and Italy, analyzed elsewhere in this issue, clearly exposed the unstable political situation existing after several years of American aid. But if the two extremist parties gained in France and the left gained in Italy, despite E. C. A., what is to be expected as increasing military budgets eat away the limited benefits reaped by Europe's workers and peasants since the last war? Asia, the Middle East, and the other "backward" areas will be even more sharply affected by American concentration on war preparations. Throughout the world Point Four has become a bitter joke. And now it has been given a New Look by Nelson Rockefeller, whose report, "Partners in Progress," is severely examined by Fritz Sternberg on page 611. Under the Rockefeller scheme it would become an instrument to obtain needed raw materials rather than to create a decent life for millions of men and women whose misery inevitably inclines them to the one political faith that promises pie on earth—and a slice of freedom. The argument that Russia and communism will give neither would sound more impressive to them if it were accompanied by some evidence that it didn't apply equally to America and free enterprise. As long as Point Four is no more than a minor adjunct to our rearmament program, its political value will be—and will deserve to be—zero.

In Iran, as these words are written, an inexperienced, foolish oligarchy is busy taking over an oil concern which it cannot possibly run. It is doing this to prove its right to rule the country. If it did less or yielded to American urgings or British pressure it would doubtless be thrown out and supplanted by a still more extreme and fanatical party, a party whose chief political weapon is assassination and which could conduct even less successfully the huge and intricate operations of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. When this group in turn failed, when oil revenues dried up and misery in the country grew greater, no doubt the Tudeh Party would take over, and then, perhaps, things might look up a bit, for the Tudeh Party is Communist-controlled and the government it ran might get help from Russia. That it would pay in political coin—as well as oil—for such help one may confidently assume. But the real moral would be hidden deeper: it is that socialistic Britain and the democratic world as a whole must suffer because the system to which they are still tied apparently cannot adapt itself fast enough to the need for revolutionary change.

What has Iran's crisis to do with Malik's cease-fire proposal? This. Russia, I believe, would like a settlement in Korea because its team cannot win there in the long run. But meanwhile the growing Western power that rules out a military victory for communism is increasing communism's chance of a social-political victory—in Europe because of the impact of the arms program, in the Middle East and Asia because of the failure of the West to recognize that poverty and unrest are things it must deal with imaginatively, generously, cooperatively, and fast.

Bonanza, Unlimited

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, June 21

"CONTROLS," in the philosophy of Leon Keyserling, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, "are a tool for obtaining production." Thus if the government thinks higher steel prices are necessary to persuade the steel companies to expand facilities, price boosts should be granted. If wages need to be raised to attract workers into an essential field, that should be permitted. And if a promoter wants a certificate of necessity, clearing his way for a quick tax write-off of a new industrial plant he was going to build anyway, the government should give to to him. Keyserling might not say this in so many words, but he did tell a meeting of Americans for Democratic Action that liberals should be praising the tax-amortization program instead of criticizing it. Only one high official in the Administration, Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman, has questioned the lavishness with which tax advantages are handed to industrialists, who can assuredly recognize a bonanza when they see one.

In fact, after an Executives Expenditures Subcommittee of the House, headed by Porter Hardy, Jr., of Virginia, criticized the "legal profiteering" that goes on under the tax-amortization program, the Administration started a counter-offensive. Mobilization Czar Charles E. Wilson, whose disregard of labor sparked a serious union revolt against him, believes that tax-amortization favors to industry are highly desirable. Secretary of Commerce Sawyer said in St. Louis that a corporation which "demonstrated" it was "prepared to go through with an expansion program" for defense purposes was entitled to special tax favors. Sawyer's reasoning was the classic one: if an industrialist builds a new steel or aluminum plant to meet the country's mobilization requirements, he should not suffer loss when the need is ended. But neither Wilson nor Sawyer answered the Hardy committee's specific charge that the principle was being abused.

To put it briefly, the emergency program allows a corporation to write off the cost of new facilities in five years instead of the normal twenty or twenty-five years. If a new factory costs $100,000 to build and equip, depreciation can be reckoned at the rate of $20,000 a year instead of $4,000 or $5,000. When the company is calculating its taxes, the $20,000 depreciation figure is used to offset profits on which normal taxes, and perhaps excess-profits taxes, would otherwise be payable.

Speeded-up amortization was first used during World War I to meet the needs of business firms which were asked by the government to build facilities for indisputable war purposes, such as powder plants. Presumably these plants would not be operated after the war ended, and the construction cost could properly be written off during the actual years that they were in use. During World War II tax-amortization privileges were extended to a great variety of business firms. Since many of the plants built had a clear post-war value, speeded-up tax write-offs became, in effect, a generous gift from the Treasury. An investigating committee headed by Senator Brewster of Maine, a Republican conservative, later charged that the cost of the war was boosted $3,000,000,000 through tax-amortization certificates covering new plants and facilities costing less than $6,000,000,000. The lucky corporations got the benefit and the people paid the bill.

Ever since the Defense Production Act was signed on September 8, 1950, government agencies have gone hog-wild in passing out certificates of necessity for tax benefits. In all World War II the investment granted such certificates totaled $7,300,000,000; in the current defense program, according to the Hardy committee, it amounted to $5,000,000,000 after five months.

Certificates of necessity have been issued for new steel mills which would have been built if the Korean war had never broken out. Certificates have been issued for aluminum and power plants which will clearly be needed for our expanding population and economy unless, at the end of the cold war, we fall into a crippling depression. One case cited by the Hardy committee was the certificate granted to the Lehigh Valley Railroad for 1,650 new freight cars, although the road desperately needed the cars and had actually bought and placed them in service before November 15, 1950. Freight cars have an estimated useful life of twenty-eight years; so that if a railroad were allowed to depreciate them at 4 per cent a year, it should be able to build up replacement funds. But on the recommendation of the Defense Transportation Administration and by the decision of the National Security Resources Board, the Lehigh was issued a certificate of necessity authorizing it to write off 80 per cent of the cost of the cars in five years.

The Hardy committee exposed some deals in which certificates of necessity were granted to small groups of promoters who obviously hoped to strike it rich through the exploitation of government loans and tax benefits but whose operations were clearly doomed to collapse once they were publicized. In one of these deals promoters of the Hazleton Steel and Tubing Corporation had an investment of $600, plus 27.7 acres of land, on the basis of which they wanted to obtain a government loan of $7,800,000 and a tax-amortization certificate in order to build a steel-tubing plant, meanwhile paying themselves salaries of $90,000 a year.

The larger question about the tax-benefit program, however, concerns its application to well-established companies. Benjamin Fairless, of United States Steel,

said recently in New York that the whole uproar about tax amortization was nonsensical, and that corporations would realize no genuine tax advantages. This claim is denied by the stampede of business men to apply for the certificates. Applications in six months reached a total of $19,000,000,000, and the Defense Production administration was finally forced to refuse to accept any more until those in hand had been processed. A corporation which gets a certificate is betting that during the quarter-century following the amortization of the original investment taxes will be lower than during the next five years of remobilization and cold war. Unless the bet turns sour, the public will have paid for facilities guaranteed a long and profitable future.

Beyond the immediate benefits of tax amortization, big corporations will enjoy other ways of increasing profits during remobilization. The possession of a certificate of necessity allows a company to mark up its prices to the government and to protect its profits from renegotiation to the extent of the tax allowance. Big corporations get the principal advantage because with their research departments and other expert services they were able to move fast and file requests for tax benefits before little companies could act.

In a letter to the Hardy committee Secretary Chapman suggested that tax write-offs should be limited to the proportion of investment which would really expire with the end of the emergency. The Hardy committee, by implication, approved his ideas, but no corrective legislation has resulted. Remobilization is a national need; for business men smart enough to profit from it, it is rapidly becoming Bonanza, Unlimited.

Europe After the Elections

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

I AM well aware that people who feel confused and uncertain are sometimes irritated when presented with disagreeable realities. Failure to understand a situation generates a false optimism, and any attempt to subject the facts to a dispassionate analysis seems negative, destructive, even malicious. A few weeks ago, for example, rumors of peace in Korea caused general rejoicing, but I could not honestly join in it after having listened to the long and distressing debate in the United Nations, where the very men who were expected to work out a peaceful settlement were destroying any possible basis for negotiation. Last Saturday something much more precise and sensational developed. In a timely and intelligent move Jacob A. Malik proposed a cease-fire in Korea without raising the controversial issue of Formosa or China's seat in the U. N. But Washington, instead of reacting positively, was represented by James Reston in Sunday's New York *Times* as most skeptical and "even slightly fearful that it might find that the Russians really do want to talk peace." If this is an accurate diagnosis of the official mood, how is the Korean war ever to be brought to an end?

As to Europe, the recent elections in Italy and France raise political questions which Western statesmanship can scarcely ignore. As a point of departure I will quote a passage from an editorial in the New York *Herald Tribune* of June 20:

> It is true that the Communist vote declined and that the new election law succeeded in reducing drastically their representation in the national assembly. Yet the results remain potentially grave. All that has happened in the world since 1946 has not disillusioned the wide portion of the population which would put France in subjection to Soviet ideals and Soviet power.

This description of the situation in France is even more applicable to Italy, where the Communists polled a larger popular vote than in the elections of 1948.

Unfortunately, the European elections have reinforced current misconceptions, for they have left in power a De Gasperi in Italy and a René Pleven or René Mayer in France who head government coalitions committed apparently to a "moderate" program of democratic collaboration in defense of peace. Most people, whether in public or in private life, say to themselves, "It is too bad there are still so many Communists in Italy and France, but after all they are not in the government." Since the countries of Western Europe know that their destiny is tied to the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact, they will stand with the United States in what they believe is a policy to prevent war or Communist domination.

A different view would prevail if the facts were fully understood. The first and most important is, as the *Herald Tribune* observed, that in spite of everything that has happened since 1946, in spite of the volume of American aid, the unceasing anti-Russian propaganda, the Voice of America, the exploitation of Titoism, the splits caused by the Tito controversy in the various Communist parties of Europe, including the French and the Italian; in spite of the Kravchenko case and the David Rousset case in France, with their denunciations of Russian concentration camps—in spite of all this and much more, the Communist forces in the two countries where the elections were so hopefully awaited did not take the beating that had been predicted.

What political developments are to be expected in these countries in the coming months? De Gasperi is unquestionably a skilful politician, and if Henri Queuille can be persuaded to remain as Prime Minister of France he will be able to handle the complex situation facing the next government. Though his health is poor, M. Queuille is much more capable of "reconciling the irreconcilable" than the younger men who may succeed to his office—René Pleven, Maurice Petsche, or René Mayer—as was demonstrated in the hectic period before

the elections. But there is a limit to what a clever politician can do. The need of enlarging the basis of the governing coalition in view of the Communist showing in the elections, will force concessions to the right, and the reactionaries are not going to give their support to the leaders of the Third Force for nothing. A government tending to the right will inevitably favor big business at the expense of the workers and will thus create more and more Communists.

The second thing to remember is that a great deal of American aid was required to give the government parties even the limited success they obtained in the French and Italian elections. This aid must continue if the governments are not to collapse under the strain of a growing inflation and mounting living costs. The need for more help from America will in turn increase the dependence of France—and all Western Europe—on the United States and weaken its capacity to resist policies which are generally opposed, such as the present extreme emphasis on the containment of Russia and communism by arms rather than negotiation.

Such is the panorama presented to the observer of the European scene who has the courage to look the facts in the face. Of course the situation would change if Russia made some move which convinced Western Europe that it was not going to send its armies across the Elbe unless it was attacked. As long as the Russian danger looms large, the new Third-Fourth Force can probably be held together through fear. The moment Moscow adopted a different policy, the difficulty of holding together the heterogeneous government in France, and also in Italy, would become much greater.

California: There She Goes!

BY JOHN BEECHER

San Francisco, June 18

CALIFORNIA seems to have become reaction's favorite laboratory for developing and testing repressive legislation. Evidence is mounting that this formerly progressive state has been selected as the place to try out the newest weapons for the destruction of free institutions and popular rights.

The offensive against the people of California opened more than two years ago with the imposition of the now famous "regents' oath" on the University of California faculty. Made bold by this apparent victory, reaction stepped up the pace of its drive. A far more severe and sweeping loyalty program was prepared to cover all public employees in the state. Though it has received less publicity than the regents' oath, the Levering act to enforce loyalty has already curtailed the basic civil liberties of more than a million Californians and cast the shadow of intimidation over the state's once magnificently free system of public education. And the end is not yet. Measures are before the state legislature which if adopted will turn California into an advance model of an American police state.

The passage of the Levering act shows how schemes for repression which originate elsewhere in the nation are "improved upon" in California. On September 8, 1950, W. Stuart Symington, chairman at that time of the National Security Resources Board, submitted to President Truman a plan for organizing the civil defense of the United States. Exhibit D of Symington's report was a model state civil-defense act, one of whose provisions was a requirement that civil-defense workers take a loyalty oath disavowing membership in "any political party or organization that advocates the overthrow of the government of the United States or of this state by force or violence. . . ." Two weeks later an almost identical oath was incorporated into a bill which, without the customary committee hearings, was jammed through a special session of the California legislature as a "must" in the Governor's program. By Warren out of Symington, the Levering act conscripted into the civil defense all public employees in California. Without being given any protection for their wage-and-hour standards or working conditions, these draftees were made subject to whatever orders might be issued by their superiors and were required to perform any additional duties that might be assigned them. The crux of the act was the loyalty oath imposed on every public employee in his capacity as a civil-defense worker.

The Levering oath differed from the one proposed by Symington in being more ambiguous and hence more menacing. The words "any political party or organization" were changed to "any party or organization *political or otherwise,*" so as to include associations of any description which could be smeared as "subversive." The classic and one would have thought unalterable phrase, "the overthrow of the government by force and violence," was expanded by four new words—"or other unlawful means." By this addition a masterpiece of indefinite reference was created. As a final "improvement" the Levering act required the public employee to swear

---

JOHN BEECHER is an instructor in social sciences at San Francisco State College and one of those who refused to sign the oath prescribed by the Levering act.

that he had not been a member of "any party or organization, political or otherwise, that advocated the overthrow, etc," *for five years previous.* Vague as the oath is, the penalties for swearing falsely are precise—a minimum sentence of one year and a maximum of fourteen years in state prison.

Apparently the attack upon the civil liberties of Californians has only begun. In the 1951 session of the legislature bills have been introduced to enforce the "loyalty" of other large classes of the population, to set up five separate inquisitorial boards, to control education even more rigorously than at present, and to wipe out the rights of organized labor. If these bills should pass, the Levering act would be written into the state constitution and put beyond the reach of simple repeal. Not only public employees but all business and professional people licensed by the state would be required to take the loyalty oath. Among the 400,000 in this category are barbers, dry cleaners, doctors, dentists, real-estate brokers, morticians, pest exterminators, and persons in many other occupations. The 15,000 members of the state bar would also have to affirm their "loyalty" as a condition of pleading in the courts.



Governor Warren

Teachers would be dismissed "for any utterance of any treasonable word or words." Spies from the Attorney General's office would be planted in classrooms, augmenting the volunteers already functioning in this capacity. Teachers would be subjected to the intimidation of fingerprinting and of being shadowed in their private lives. No persons with unorthodox political opinions would be permitted to make use of school property for meeting or debate.

Employers would be authorized to discharge "Communists" or any other persons who could be accused of engaging in "activities involving disloyalty." Out would go the union shop and the inclusion of professional workers in unions. The records of labor organizations would be open to the employers' scrutiny.

Another group of bills would create extraordinary police powers to handle the presumed danger of subversion. All public employees would be fingerprinted and their prints checked against criminal-identification files. Applicants for change of name would be fingerprinted, and the courts would investigate their "loyalty." Wire-tapping would be legalized and evidence so gathered made admissible in criminal cases. A "little McCarran act" would require members of alleged Communist organizations to register, with violation punishable as a felony. "Anti-Communist civil-liberties defense commissions" would be set up to police education, science, art, and politics. The commissions would have the power to force individuals and organizations considered "subversive" to register; severe penalties would be imposed for failure to register. Under the procedures prescribed in the bills the accused would be deemed guilty until he could prove his innocence.

THIS mass of proposed legislation constitutes a complete blueprint for American totalitarianism. But there are signs that the people of California are beginning to realize that it *can* happen here. Far too few as yet have taken action, but a democratic opposition exists, at least in embryo.

A spontaneous faculty-student revolt at San Francisco State College was its first manifestation. Opponents of the oath at the college began to organize their fight against it on the day that the introduction of the Levering bill was announced in the press. The genteel tactics used by the University of California faculty were abandoned. At Berkeley the participation of students and general public was discouraged, the faculty choosing to consider the matter a professional controversy revolving around such abstract concepts as tenure and the authority of the faculty versus that of the regents. The faculty at State College sought to find allies among the students and other sections of the "laity."

The first move in the campaign was made while the Levering act was still before the legislature. Barred by the administration from meeting on the campus, the faculty foes of the oath and their student supporters held a huge assembly in a downtown church. Out of this meeting emerged a Students' Committee for Academic Freedom which was to play a brilliant and responsible role in the struggle. Not too often have American college youth lived up to the great tradition of European and Asiatic students in fighting for democratic liberties. The students of San Francisco State, however, wrote a new chapter in that tradition and gave an example of unshakable solidarity that is almost unique in these times of division and distrust.

The Levering act was signed by Governor Warren early in October. Public employees were given thirty days in which to take the prescribed loyalty oath. Into this thirty-day period the faculty resisters and the Student's Committee at State College packed an educational effort that drew ever larger sections of the student body and the general public into the fight. With no aid from any other quarter, they broke up an attempted news blackout and forced the press to open its columns to reports of the resistance. Slowly the state began to be

awakened by the clamor on the San Francisco campus.

Strictly speaking, the clamor was not "on" the campus but in the surrounding street, parks, and halls. President J. Paul Leonard was concerned less with upholding the intellectual integrity of his college than with obtaining appropriations for a football stadium and new buildings from the legislature. Discussion of the Levering act was therefore taboo on the campus. Anti-oath meetings had to be held elsewhere, with the police usually in attendance. The Students' Committee was denounced by the college authorities, the president hinting that it was under the control of sinister outside forces. The college administration stooped even to collaboration with the Hearst press in a futile effort to scotch the protest movement. All these maneuvers failed. Attempts to divide the students only united them more firmly around their democratically chosen leaders, who represented the whole political spectrum.

The students actually took the lead away from the faculty in the fight against the oath. It was the students who furnished their instructors with copies of the law, together with a legal analysis of it, at a time when most of the faculty were ignorant of the content and significance of the oath they were being asked to sign. It was the students who hired halls for anti-oath rallies, furnished soapboxes and big audiences on street corners for faculty speakers, ceaselessly agitated about the issue in classrooms and college lounging places, despite the official ban. They knew that academic freedom was *their* concern because it was *their* education that was at stake. As a final proof of their determination they dug down into their pockets and made substantial contributions to sustain the fired non-signing teachers.

THE student movement at San Francisco State was an example of the kind of unity that alone can turn back the reactionary offensive. Unfortunately no such unity seems obtainable today among the people of California, so successfully has reaction masked its drive under the colors of patriotism and the requirements of national security. Several organizations have been formed, however, to work for the repeal of the Levering act and to oppose the other police-state measures now before the legislature. An active educational campaign is being carried on through mass-meetings and pamphlets. A number of non-signers are bringing suit to challenge the Levering act in the courts.

Despite these heroic efforts, the immediate outlook for California can only be described as critical. Nothing like this repressive drive has been seen in many years, and it is hard for people to believe what is happening until they are themselves hit. The intimidating pressures are already having serious effects. Influential individuals and organizations that would normally be fighting on the side of democracy, such as the bulk of the labor movement, have not joined the ranks of those who are trying to defeat the measures threatening the extinction of California liberties. The present public mood presents a somber parallel to that hysterical paralysis of the popular will which has always preceded fascism.

Not So Deep in the Heart of Texas

BY JOHN McCULLY

Austin, June 20

MAYBE the build-up was overdone. Or maybe General Douglas MacArthur just doesn't have the crowd appeal his fond admirers think he has. Whatever the reason, there is no denying that Texans stayed away from the General's platform appearances in droves.

They did turn out, about a million of them, to catch a fleeting glimpse of the great man as he was driven in an open touring car from airport to hotel or from hotel to stadium. But in a six-city, five-speech tour the deposed U. N. commander was able to get fewer than 100,000 people to listen to his speeches, despite the biggest crowd-promotion campaign in the history of the state.

In Austin, where the General addressed the legislature in a special afternoon session with no admittance fee, about 10,000 Texans gathered on the spacious Capitol lawn, which would have accommodated 100,000. By the end of the speech a fourth of their number had drifted away. Probably not more than half the 181 members of the legislature bothered to show up, although they had overwhelmingly voted to invite MacArthur to appear.

In Houston the oil millionaires Glenn McCarthy and H. R. Cullen learned that they couldn't order 800,000 people around. Despite a last-minute announcement by Cullen that it was the duty of the people of Houston to go to hear MacArthur in the 76,000-seat Rice Stadium, only from 10,000 to 20,000—depending on the estimator—took the trouble. Glenn McCarthy had even had the adjacent old stadium wired for sound to accommodate the overflow!

Galveston, with no speech scheduled, turned out a good crowd for the parade. It got what it came for—a look at the most-talked-about military leader of all

JOHN McCULLY is a Texas newspaperman who covers the political scene from the Capitol in Austin.



Brandel

General MacArthur

time, who had returned to his native country after a fourteen-year absence. San Antonio, the military capital of Texas, produced the biggest crowd of the six cities, but the annual Battle of Flowers parade draws twice as many. In Dallas the mob went wild at sight of the General, but only about 25,000 people filed into the 75,000-seat Cotton Bowl to hear him attack the Truman Administration's foreign policy. This was the best audience of his tour. Fort Worth estimated its parade crowd at 150,000, but only 7,500 went to Farrington Field to hear the charge that the country is drifting into socialism.

An Associated Press reporter who followed MacArthur every step of the way through Texas wrote:

> It was MacArthur the hero and not MacArthur the foreign-policy disputant who aroused the emotion of Texans this week. They came by the hundreds of thousands to cheer his open convertible through bunting-lined parade routes. . . . But they came only by the tens of thousands, and cheered little beyond the margin of politeness, to hear the man sound his charges of appeasement and false fears. . . . They saw the man they had come to see, they clapped, they wondered if the General was really looking right at them when he waved. "Well, we've seen him," they said, and put their children in their cars and went home.

MacARTHUR'S Texas junket was planned before he had returned to the United States, but it took the insistence of McCarthy and Cullen to turn it into reality. The idea originated when both houses of the Texas legislature adopted a resolution inviting the General to address a joint session. Texans assumed that he would jump at the chance to line up their state on his side. Naturally, the United States would then fall in line. MacArthur, however, didn't jump at the chance; perhaps he was too busy with the tumultuous welcomes accorded him in San Francisco and New York.

The Texas legislature first learned that its invitation was accepted through a telephone call from Glenn McCarthy in Houston to Representative Max Smith, sponsor of the resolution. Simultaneously, McCarthy told the press that the General would speak in Austin on June 13 and in Houston on June 14. He gave the impression that he had persuaded MacArthur to come to Texas, but Cullen, the other oil millionaire, announced that he had known it all along, and indicated that it was all his good work. Mayor Oscar Holcombe, no MacArthur man but a practical politician who has held his office off and on for twenty years, soothed injured feelings by naming McCarthy chairman of the arrangements committee and Cullen chairman of the reception committee.

The legislature wound up its business and went home on the Friday before the General's scheduled Wednesday appearance but not before the principal sponsors of the invitation had pondered the question of keeping the members in session the extra five days—at a cost of about $10,000 a day. The House voted two to one not to stay in session; members were expected to return to Austin at their own expense to sit in a special session on the Capitol steps. Perhaps half of them did.

Meanwhile rumors of the tour's political significance were spreading. Drew Pearson reported that it was designed to do a hatchet job on Senator Tom Connally, who heads the Foreign Relations Committee and has supported Truman's foreign policy. Connally will be up for reelection in 1952, with Governor Allan Shivers and former Representative Martin Dies possible opponents. Shivers, as Governor, could scarcely afford not to do his part in receiving the General and in introducing him at the joint legislative session, but he clearly showed that as a Democrat he did not intend to have any part in a Republican plot to capture Texas. When the time came, he introduced MacArthur, but he turned down all invitations from other cities to appear with the visitor.

Most Democratic politicians apparently felt the same way. Although they fulfilled their duties as genial hosts in the Texas tradition, they didn't overdo it. It was the backers of the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition like McCarthy and Cullen who hovered around MacArthur. The old-line Democrat, Amon Carter, oil man and publisher of the Fort Worth *Star-Telegram,* rode in the parade in Fort Worth, but that was as far as he went. Carter's paper already had indorsed Senator Connally for reelection, the first in Texas to do so.

Fulton Lewis, Jr., who had had a hand in the anti-Tydings campaign in Maryland, came to Austin for the MacArthur speech. He told Texans that the only way to save the country was to elect a Republican Administration. His ticket: MacArthur and Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia, to be nominated by the Republicans and Southern Democrats.

In the attempt to swing the leading Democratic state in the country into the Republican camp MacArthur and his Republican-Dixiecrat backers can chalk up the strenuous Texas tour as wasted effort. Texans wanted to see MacArthur, but once they had seen him, 90 per cent were satisfied, and didn't bother to listen to what he had to say on either foreign or domestic policy.

De Gasperi's Grim Future

BY MARIO ROSSI

THE pleasure felt in this country over the outcome of the Italian municipal elections has been replaced by a sense of puzzlement. At first the fall of the Communist local administrations in almost all the large cities was thought to mark the success of America's expensive endeavors. Now, after an analysis of the voting, it is seen that all is not so rosy. Although the Christian Democrats won many communes previously held by the left, the Communists and Nenni Socialists increased their popular vote. Both Communists and anti-Communists therefore claim a victory, hailing their gains and discounting their losses.

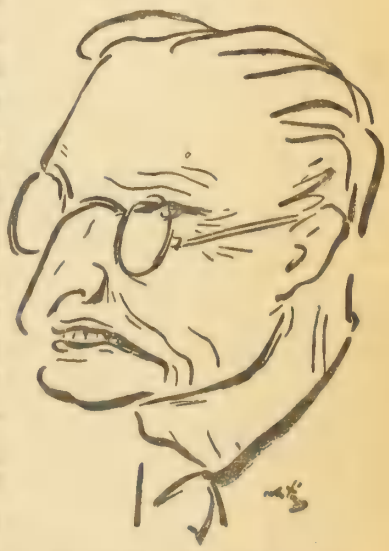
Actually the balloting showed that Christian Democrats and Communists face each other with about equal strength, having received 6,495,000 and 6,427,000 votes respectively. Italy's future government will be decided by the parliamentary elections in 1953. If there were only winners this year, the problem boils down to which party made the most important gain: in terms of political advantages, is De Gasperi's tighter control of the large cities worth more than the Communists' growing popular support? That question also can only be answered in 1953.

The Christian Democrats insist that the Communists' strength has been due in large measure to their firm grip on the administration of the northern industrial cities and of countless smaller towns and villages. This may or may not be true. In Italy administration is highly centralized, provinces are under the direct supervision of government-appointed prefects, and the police are controlled by the Christian Democratic Minister of the Interior in Rome. The mayor, therefore, has only limited power. The new city officials, it is true, may make it their aim to undermine the leftist General Confederation of Labor, but it is not certain that they will succeed.

That this election would replace the Communist mayors with members of the government parties was generally expected. In 1946 the left won in most of the large cities in northern and central Italy thanks to the prestige it had gained in the war of liberation; these cities had been freed by the partisans, most of whom belonged to leftist parties. Moreover, the East-West split had not yet occurred, and the country was governed by a coalition Cabinet in which the left participated.

By 1948 the picture had changed. The Christian Democrats ran ahead almost everywhere, even in the communes with a leftist administration. In the next three years there were signs that De Gasperi's overwhelming majority was evaporating, and the Prime Minister doubted that he could gain control of the large cities in the 1951 elections if his party ran independently. He therefore had the Minister of the Interior push through Parliament a new election law providing that several parties could form a coalition and run one list. The list receiving a plurality of votes would be assigned two-thirds of the seats in the municipal councils. This law assured the victory of the anti-Communist coalition.

Nevertheless, the Christian Democrats did not do nearly so well as in 1948, their percentage of the total vote dropping from 55 to 37.3. For this defeat the Catholic church is in part responsible. The Vatican's militant intrusion into politics, thundering threats of excommunication, has revived anti-clericalism. Italians have not entirely forgotten that their country's unity was achieved in a struggle against the church, and that the heroes of the Risorgimento from Victor Emmanuel II to Cavour, Garibaldi, and Mazzini, were all excommunicated. The party has also suffered from the wear and tear of its long term in power. Being more an anti-Communist coalition than a regular party with an ideology accepted and shared by all its followers, it was rent by differences of opinion as soon as its rule was secured. De Gasperi's cunning gift for compromise has maintained a semblance of unity, but the left wing is dissatisfied because reforms are not carried out and the right wing because reform is discussed. Financial scandals involving party leaders have contributed to the alienation of the workers.



Prime Minister De Gasperi

THROUGHOUT the campaign each side emphasized its foreign policy. Togliatti's offer to support any government, even De Gasperi's, that would follow a policy of neutrality was well-timed and appealed to many war-shy Italians. A huge military budget is now before

MARIO ROSSI was formerly The Nation's *correspondent in Italy.*

Parliament, and the left argued that the funds required for it could be more usefully employed to solve the urgent problems of land reform, living standards, and unemployment. The effectiveness of this argument was demonstrated by the large vote the left rolled up in the agricultural regions of southern Italy and Sicily.

The departure of the Social Democrats from the Cabinet also weakened De Gasperi: his government lost the semblance of coalition and became clearly clerical. In the elections the Social Democrats allied themselves in almost every commune with the Christian Democrats, but in Italy today the Third Force has no great popularity.



Drawings by Ernesto Valentino

Togliatti

The new Social Democratic Party is an amalgamation of the Italian Workers' Socialist Party headed by Giuseppe Saragat and the Socialist Union Party headed by Giuseppe Romità. The fusion occurred after long and laborious parleys which underlined rather than reconciled the divergence of aims and ideals. Saragat's followers have been consistently pro-American, while Romità's have looked to British Labor for inspiration. Saragat maintained that the Social Democrats should support De Gasperi's foreign policy and share in his governmental responsibilities; Romità opposed the Atlantic Pact and any collaboration with the Christian Democrats. In the compromise finally reached, the Saragat group consented to abandon the Cabinet, and Romità engaged his followers' support of the Atlantic Pact. Vigorous protests have come from both groups, and the new party contains the seeds of further splits. Ever since the first schism in Socialist ranks (January, 1947) the Social Democrats have formed so many splinter groups that even those most favorably inclined toward them are bewildered. Their disagreements do not further an understanding of Social Democratic principles among the working class. Workers want a party with a clear-cut policy and determined leaders such as only the Christian Democrats and the Communists have had in the past.

The elections revealed a disturbing upsurge of neo-Fascism, especially in the south and in Sicily. Even in the north the movement showed remarkable strength, obtaining 50,000 votes in Milan. As the flag-bearer of aggressive nationalism, it appeals strongly to the youth of Italy, who are sensitive to their country's loss of prestige and power. Young people are inclined to wonder whether Italy would not have been better off if Germany had won the war. They say that Italy could not have been more dependent on Germany than it is now on America, and that a victorious Germany would not have exacted the sacrifice of national territory or of colonial possessions. Most neo-Fascists are too young to remember the Fascist dictatorship; they grew up in the depressing atmosphere of the greater tragedy of defeat.

In the south most of the Fascist vote came from the landowners, who once supported the Christian Democrats but now think the government is not strong or dynamic enough to protect them against land seizures or agitation for reforms. At present the neo-Fascists do not represent a serious threat, but should conditions degenerate further and conservatives use them as vigilantes, violence might result.

OF THE two main conclusions to be drawn from the Italian elections the first is that the Communists, contrary to all forecasts, are stronger than in 1948. As the Vatican organ, the *Osservatore Romano,* noted, the dramatic resignation of two Communist deputies, which aroused so much hope in Rome and Washington, "not only has not shaken the position of the extreme left wing but in a sense has confirmed the existence of unitarian discipline unswayed by any form of deviationism." The second is that the Christian Democracy is still the main pillar of the anti-Communist coalition and that no other party has a chance of replacing it in that capacity.

It is important to keep these two facts in mind, for they will influence the whole future course of Italian politics. Unless De Gasperi is able to recapture his lost ground—and nothing indicates that he will be, since the conservative vote is tending to drift away from Christian Democracy—he will not command an absolute majority in Parliament after the next election. Instead of being in a position to dispense, if he pleases, with the support of the minor parties, he will need their vote to form a government. Nothing indicates that the Social Democrats will be strong enough to hold the balance of power, and in any case the Christian Democrats would not want to be at their mercy. It must be remembered that the Social Democrats, while anti-Communist and therefore supporters of the Premier's foreign policy, are also strongly anti-clerical, as their staunch opposition to the inclusion of the Lateran pacts in the Italian constitution demonstrated. In domestic legislation they would oppose the church's effort to infiltrate every aspect of Italian life. Thus the Christian Democrats would have no alternative but to turn to the right for support. The right could be expected to support De Gasperi's foreign policy, but its price would be

that no social or economic reforms should ever be mentioned again. A program of social conservatism would of course solidify the left and isolate the Social Democrats, who would then be inevitably thrown into some sort of alliance with the Communists. Obviously, if the Social Democrats abandoned the reforms which make up their platform, they would cease to exist as a Socialist party. Thus the extreme right and the extreme left would face each other without a chance of compromise.

In this political atmosphere some of the old and experienced moderate politicians can play an important role. That is why the election of Enrico de Nicola to the presidency of the Senate, on the death of Ivanoe Bonomi, was a happy event. As first President of the Italian Republic, De Nicola won the gratitude and confidence of all Italians. A Neapolitan monarchist, with the fine intellectual traditions of the south, he had persuaded the strongly monarchist southern provinces to follow his example and support the Republic. Since then he has gained the confidence of rightists and leftists alike by his uncompromising fidelity to the Italian constitution. Men of Enrico de Nicola's honesty and prestige can help to prevent open conflict in Italy over opposed world philosophies.

Dangerous Dosage

BY LEONARD ENGEL

CANCER of the colon is responsible for more deaths than any other single form of cancer; nearly 50,000 Americans will die of it this year. An uncounted number of these deaths can be charged to irresponsible laxative advertising. For a generation various laxative manufacturers have plugged their wares in full-page advertisements as remedies for what they like to call "middle-age irregularity." Persistent change in bowel habits after the age of thirty-five, however, is often a symptom of cancer; what is needed for middle-age irregularity is not a laxative but a physical checkup. The widespread use of laxatives to correct bowel difficulties is unquestionably to blame in part for the fact that colon cancers—which are easily diagnosed and respond fairly well to early treatment—are usually seen too late for the patient's life to be saved. Laxative advertising, moreover, has had a part in thousands of deaths from appendicitis.

This is not to say that laxatives should never be used or that all laxative manufacturers are unconscionable exploiters of the public. A mild laxative is proper treatment for occasional constipation. In some cases of chronic constipation also prolonged use of a laxative may be necessary—under the eye of a doctor rather than an advertising copy writer.

In order to boost their products, laxative manufacturers have sold the public a choice assortment of myths. One is that it is necessary to have a bowel movement every day. But human beings are not cast in such a rigid mold. For some a daily movement is normal, but others have a movement every other day or every three days, and there are healthy persons who have one only once a week. A number of years ago Dr. Walter C. Alvarez of the Mayo Clinic, a physician with a gift for studying medical problems in a homely, commonsense way, fed glass beads to a group of healthy medical students. He found wide variations in the length of time the beads remained in the alimentary canal and in the frequency of bowel movements. Only two of the students passed most of the beads in as short a time as twenty-four hours; the great majority took four days or more, and several needed nine days to pass 50 per cent of the beads. Moreover, those who had the fewest movements and took longest to eliminate the beads gave evidence of extracting the greatest amount of nutrients from their food—in other words, had the most efficient digestive processes. Medical opinion now holds that an individual is constipated only if evacuation is difficult or painful or leaves a sense of incompleteness.

Dr. Alvarez was instrumental in demolishing another bogy featured in the laxative ads—that the accumulation of waste matter in the large intestine poisons the system and leads to auto-intoxication, which causes fatigue, depression, irritability, and numerous other terrible disorders. Auto-intoxication is a serious condition, but it occurs as the result of kidney failure, not constipation; neither toxins nor anything else, except water, is absorbed through the lining of man's large intestine. The headaches that sometimes accompany prolonged constipation are due simply to mechanical distention of the bowel, a point Dr. Alvarez demonstrated by producing headaches in student volunteers by artificially distending the bowel. Chronic fatigue and irritability, it is hardly necessary to add, reflect a deeper disturbance and require other treatment than a laxative.

The list of substances found in laxative preparations

LEONARD ENGEL, writing on scientific subjects, is a frequent contributor to The Nation. *This is the third article of a series on abuses in the food and drug trades. The next will be on bread, by Clive M. McCay.*

make strange reading. One remedy—fortunately no longer on sale—had sand as a principal ingredient. Most laxative agents fall into one of three categories: chemical irritants such as phenolphthalein, podophyllin, strychnine, aloes, and cascara; saline cathartics of the type of milk of magnesia, epsom salts, and citrate of magnesia, which act largely by preventing the absorption of water in the stomach and thus lead to flooding of the large intestine; and bulk producers such as agar, psyllium seed, various gums, and synthetic derivatives of cellulose. In addition, mineral oil, roughage foods, and lemon juice ought to be mentioned.

It takes no great knowledge of medicine or chemistry to recognize that many of these agents have no place in the human digestive system—at any rate, should not be taken more than occasionally—and that some are downright dangerous. One of the commonest types of constipation is spastic constipation, in which there is a cramp-like tightening of the colon muscles, so that the contents of the colon are retained as in a vise. This is not a disorder of the bowel but a nervous reflex—a consequence, perhaps, of the extreme nervous tension under which many live. Stimulation with irritants is the treatment best calculated to make it worse. Podophyllin and strychnine, moreover, are violent poisons; although the quantities involved are too small to do serious harm to most adults, laxatives containing strychnine have caused several deaths among children.

Most of the saline cathartics are alkaline and therefore neutralize the digestive acids of the stomach. Taken occasionally in moderate doses, they do little harm; taken often, they interfere seriously with normal digestive processes. Psyllium seeds are tough and needle-sharp, and can tear the lining of the stomach and intestines; psyllium flour, often used in place of the whole seed to eliminate the tough fiber, has been shown to injure the kidneys. Mineral oil is useful for occasional constipation, but it should not be used regularly as it prevents the absorption of essential nutrients like vitamins A and D. As to bran and similar foods, the human digestive system has no organ comparable to the second stomach of the cow, in which bacteria break down coarse cellulose foods. One might as well eat metal filings as bran; the fact that many faddists have eaten bran for years without apparent harm proves only that the digestive system can stand unbelievable abuse. Leafy vegetables are about as coarse a food as human beings should eat.

Finally, for the past several years, citrus-fruit packers have been advising us to "keep regular" by taking a glass of lemon juice every morning on arising. Lemon juice has no special laxative properties; a glass of water, hot or cold, or a cup of tea or coffee the first thing in the morning will do as much. The important thing is to take fluid after the long night fast; this seems to stimulate the bowels. In any case, lemon juice should be avoided; it is highly acid and may harm the teeth. Recent Mayo Clinic studies have shown that a glass of lemon juice daily causes significant erosion of tooth enamel in less than six months.

IT MAY be asked why the promotion and sale of such doubtful preparations are not halted by government action. The answer is, first, that the two agencies with responsibility in this field—the Food and Drug Administration and the Federal Trade Commission—have limited powers and, partly for that reason, have been less than enthusiastic about using the powers they do have. Bran and lemon juice are foods rather than drugs; and the F. D. A.'s authority over foods is limited, broadly speaking, to preventing adulteration. The agency's difficulties are well illustrated by the outcome of its attempt to halt the sale of the "health foods" advocated by Gayelord Hauser. The federal courts rejected the F. D. A.'s contention that the sale of Hauser's book, with its weird claims, in conjunction with that of "health foods" constituted mislabeling. Second, the most harmful laxative drugs have been on the scene since before 1938, when the present Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act was passed. The drug-licensing requirements of the 1938 law apply only to drugs introduced since that date—except for narcotics and similar special items, no license is required to sell drugs previously in use.

If it were so minded, however, the Federal Trade Commission could do a good deal to curb irresponsible promotion of laxatives. It has authority to ban misleading advertising and can even compel changes in brand names. In fact, it has just done exactly that in the case of Carter's Little Liver Pills. A laxative containing aloes and podophyllin, Carter's pills have been sold for sixty years as a liver stimulant—precisely what you need to get rid of that tired feeling, according to Carter's ingenious ad writers, who have thought up no fewer than thirty-seven pungent synonyms for fatigue. Carter's pills will even permit you to "overeat and overindulge without morning-after effects." "Wake up your liver bile," a Carter jingle urged, "when you feel sour and sunk, and the world looks punk, take a Carter's Little Liver Pill."

The F. T. C. has ordered the word liver struck from the name of the product and forbidden Carter to claim that the pills stimulate the liver. The pills have no effect whatever on the liver, the commission declares; and even if they did stimulate the flow of bile, there is no evidence that this would relieve fatigue. Carter can claim that its pills relieve fatigue and related conditions only to the extent that "such conditions are benefited by evacuation of the bowels."

The action against Carter's pills is the only one the F. T. C. has pressed against a widely promoted laxative

in many years. The commission contends that proceeding against a falsely advertised medicine is extremely difficult—eight years of special experiments and a 10,000-page record of evidence were needed to erect a court-proof case against Carter. However, I can cite one situation, involving several companies, in which the advertising misrepresentation is self-evident and in which the only thing the F. T. C. needs is the will to prosecute.

Among physicians, one of the most highly regarded of the currently popular laxatives is methylcellulose, a synthetic derivative of the plant constituent cellulose developed by the Chilcott Laboratories. Methylcellulose is a bulk-producer, like agar; its advantage over agar is that it can be made into tablets, although the process is rather tricky. Because of this difficulty a number of companies have elected to use a related compound, carboxymethylcellulose, which appears to have less desirable characteristics but is easier to work with. One of these firms, labeled and advertised its product as "the methylcellulose laxative" for several months.

This company's promotion material also includes citations from medical journals—the newest form of medical testimonial—actually referring to methylcellulose, not its own different product. Ads for another carboxymethylcellulose product, Pells, make the same misuse of medical literature. Ads for a third, Bulk-Tabs, proclaim that users can disregard the cautions in the use of laxatives, since Bulk-Tabs are entirely safe no matter how they are used or by whom, a generalization that cannot be made about any medication.

There are many other cases in which eight years of experiment and 10,000 pages of testimony would not be needed to prove misrepresentation. And even if they were, the proper procedure for the government agencies concerned is to make a start, despite their shortage of funds and personnel. The health and lives of a good many people are at stake.

Partners in Reaction

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

TODAY the conviction is widespread that if war is to be avoided the United States and the Atlantic Pact countries should not only strengthen their military potential but should compete with the Russians in the economic and social fields as well. With half the world's population living in industrially backward areas on annual incomes of barely 5 to 10 per cent of the present American average, nearly everyone has now come to see the connection between standards of living and world peace.

But it would be taking the word for the deed to assume that significant progress has been made in the implementation of this idea. At the present time we are spending about thirty to forty million dollars a year for President Truman's Point 4 program, but our military expenditures now amount to fifty billion a year; in other words, the present outlay for Point 4 amounts to less than one-tenth of one per cent of current military expenditures. Today 800,000,000 people live in Asia outside the Russo-Chinese orbit. If the forty million dollars allotted under Point 4 really went to non-Soviet Asia—part goes to South America—this would mean an expenditure of about 5 cents per capita. No one can be cynical enough to maintain that such a feeble expenditure would mean real progress. Indeed, the Gray report concluded that we should spend twenty times this amount.

Nothing much has been done, however, since the Gray report was published. In this vacuum a new report has appeared, the Rockefeller report, which makes certain proposals for the further development of the industrially underdeveloped areas but without any substantial government expenditures.

The salient part of the Rockefeller report deals not with conditions in the undeveloped areas but with American dependence on raw materials. Most of the report, in fact, centers on the point that although the United States accounts for more than half of the world's heavy-industry production, it mines only about a third of the world's annual output of the fifteen basic minerals. The areas from which we get 73 per cent of the strategic and critical materials which we import—tin, tungsten, chrome, manganese, lead, zinc, copper—send us more than half of all our imports. And these areas will become increasingly important: first, because raw-material imports will be stepped up as a result of rearmament, and, secondly, because part of these raw materials now come from countries in the Russian orbit. According to the report, an attempt will be made to reduce American dependence on these areas.

How, then, can raw material production in the un-

FRITZ STERNBERG, author of "How to Stop the Russians Without War," will bring out a new book this summer, to be entitled "Capitalism and Socialism on Trial."

developed areas be increased to meet American needs and also to reduce our dependence on countries in the Russian orbit? Is this to be done by doubling or possibly tripling investments of American private capital abroad? Here is the answer from a section of the report entitled "Materials for Defense and Peace":

> The Advisory Board recommends that the new Overseas Economic Administrator lose no time in organizing and pressing a sizable development program which will both step up sources already available and bring into production new untapped resources. An investment of two billion dollars in production facilities over the next few years could swell the flow of critical materials to this country and to Europe by a billion dollars a year. The Advisory Board feels this increased production can best be carried out under private auspices.

In view of this reliance on private capital, it is important to note what the report has to say of the role of private enterprise to date:

> In the five-year period of 1946-50 roughly $3,500,000,000 of private United States capital have been invested in the underdeveloped areas, or about $700,000,000 a year. Although this is a considerable sum the bulk of it has been concentrated in a few countries and in a few fields of activity. To meet the capital needs of the underdeveloped areas the Advisory Board estimates that the current flow of private United States capital to these countries should be at least doubled, and perhaps tripled.

The report then goes on to suggest a number of measures, such as a tax-incentive program and the underwriting of the transfer risk on foreign debt obligations, which might encourage American enterprises to invest more capital in underdeveloped areas.

IT SHOULD be noted that the report states only in general terms where American capital has been invested during the post-war period. The Gray report was more precise. In the three years from 1947 to 1949, according to the Gray report, the annual average of all net United States foreign private investment was $800,000,000. Of this amount 74 per cent was distributed mainly among the few countries possessing exploitable petroleum resources. Apart from investment in the petroleum industry, an annual average of only $128,000,000, went into Latin American republics and only $28,000,000 into other underdeveloped areas. This means, of course, that the role of American private capital in the development of Asiatic areas was practically nil.

The Gray report gave this answer to the question of whether American private investments might be considerably increased: "It must be recognized that there are now substantial obstacles to an expansion of such investment. Present international tensions are a controlling deterrent in those areas where an actual military threat exists." Indeed, it was precisely these factors which motivated the authors of the Gray report to emphasize the need for American government initiative in the development of backward areas. It is significant that no mention is made in the Rockefeller report of those portions of the Gray report which explain why we cannot expect a large-scale expansion of American private investments abroad. If American military expenditures amount to forty or fifty billion dollars in the early 1950's, American private enterprise is unlikely to double or triple its investments beyond American borders.

BUT assuming that American private enterprise would be willing to increase foreign investments to two or three times what they were between 1946 and 1950, what then? Would this change the factors responsible for a standard of living in large parts of the underdeveloped areas which is only 5 per cent of the American standard? Hardly any improvement in this direction has been accomplished by private investments to date. Instead, the gap between the underdeveloped and the industrially developed areas has actually widened in the post-war period. A United Nations report says:

> A measure of the problem that confronts the underdeveloped countries in their attempts to narrow the difference between their own standards of living and those of the developed countries is afforded by the figures for per capita income in 1949, available for seventy countries. Twelve of the seventy countries, comprising almost one-third of the world population, disposed of only 4 per cent of the total world income, and had a per capita income of under $50 a year. Forty of the countries, comprising two-thirds of the world population, disposed of only 15 per cent of its income and had an average annual per capita income of under $200. Such figures as are available for a period immediately before the war indicate that at present income is less evenly distributed among the countries of the world.

That the gap between underdeveloped and industrially developed countries has widened does not mean, however, that certain classes in the former countries have not improved their standard of living. Some comments of the Bell report on the post-war Philippines—no mention of which is made in the Rockefeller report—are important on this point:

> The basic economic problem in the Philippines is inefficient production and very low incomes. . . . Although home production has been supplemented by large imports, the standard of living of most people is lower than before the war. In Manila real wages of industrial workers are about the same or slightly higher than in 1941; but in the provinces real wages in agriculture are lower than before the war. For many agricultural workers wages are wholly inadequate, in some instances less than one peso (50 cents) a day. . . .

> The failure to expand production and to increase productive efficiency is particularly disappointing because investment was exceptionally high and foreign-exchange receipts were exceptionally large during most of the post-liberation period. Too much of the investment went into commerce and real estate instead of the development of agriculture and industry. . . .
>
> A considerable part of the large foreign-exchange receipts were dissipated in imports of luxury and non-essential goods, in the remittance of high profits, and in the transfer of Philippine capital abroad. The opportunity to increase productive efficiency and to raise the standard of living in the Philippines in the post-war period has thus been wasted. . . .
>
> The inequalities in income in the Philippines, always large, have become even greater during the past few years. While the standard of living of the mass of people has not reached the pre-war level, the profit of business men and the incomes of large landowners have risen very considerably. Wages and farm income remain lower than the economy can afford because of the unequal bargaining power of workers and tenants on the one hand, and employers and landowners on the other.

THE Philippines experience is crucial because there the power of the United States is incomparably greater than in most other underdeveloped areas. We have large private investments in the Philippines. But the fact remains that today, five years after the end of the war, social antagonisms have become more pronounced in the Philippines than before the war. The gap between the over-all standard of living in the Philippines and in America has widened, and the same is true, of course, of the difference in living standards between social classes in the Philippines. The Rockefeller report refers to poverty, illiteracy, disease, undernourishment, and warfare as factors which must be overcome in the underdeveloped areas, but the social structure of these areas is never mentioned as a factor which might account for poverty, illiteracy, disease, and undernourishment. A recent United Nations report is far more candid and courageous on this vital consideration:

> Low national incomes in the Middle Eastern countries are aggravated by the marked inequalities which characterize their economic and social structures. The population consists largely of very small landholders or tenants whose income barely provides the necessities of life and leaves little or no surplus for investment. The same is generally true of the small but growing group of industrial workers. At the other end of the scale are large landowners, who rarely invest in anything but land, and the important merchants who do not generally invest their capital in long-term projects.

As long as feudal cliques remain in power, statements like those in the Rockefeller report that agricultural production should be increased by 20 per cent remain empty formulations. The same is true of a passage in the report on fair labor standards. The maintenance of feudal power is irreconcilable with fair labor standards. For a large part of the underdeveloped areas, therefore, the important question is: By what methods is the abolition of the feudal system to be attained? Are the gigantic upheavals attendant on the liquidation of feudalism in Asia to come about gradually, as Nehru is trying to accomplish in India and as the British Colombo Plan for Southeast Asia proposes, or will these upheavals assume the character of violent revolutions? The Rockefeller report ignores this basic problem; in fact, it fails even to mention the Colombo Plan.

WE NOW live in an era in which some of the nations for whom the Point 4 program was designed have freed themselves from colonial dependence; others are fighting for independence; still others will probably enter the struggle in the near future. It is also an era of opposition to the corrupt feudal classes which rule these areas. The decline of European colonial imperialism has already shaken the strength and undermined the influence of its long-time allies, the native feudal lords. Whatever form the political movements in these countries may assume, one thing is certain: feudal power will be broken in one country after the other. The entire trend of historical developments is against the continuance of feudal power.

The old European colonial imperialism was primarily concerned with making profits for those who had invested capital in the colonies; it was not concerned with the well-rounded development of these countries. Colonial imperialism supported the feudal lords in order to have strong allies against the native peoples. It increased the production of raw materials needed at home or which could be sold for high prices on world markets, but it prevented the development of coordinated industries in terms of the well-being of the native peoples.

Despite many high-sounding phrases, the Rockefeller report simply restates this imperialistic policy as adapted to the American economic requirements in a period of rearmament. It places the emphasis on the development of raw materials which America needs and does not today produce. It makes private investment the focal point of economic policy despite the evidence that the investment of private capital has hitherto failed to improve living standards in the underdeveloped areas. Nor does it touch on the problem of feudal power which is the decisive barrier to the development of these areas. If this report becomes the basis of American economic policy in the underdeveloped areas, America will not be a "partner in progress"—the title of the report—but a "partner in reaction," concerned with the perpetuation of a parasitic imperialism.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Japan: Has the Occupation Failed?

FAILURE IN JAPAN. By Robert B. Textor. The John Day Company. $3.

THIS is an interesting book, by a writer who has done good service as a civilian in the Occupation of Japan. It is described in an introduction by Owen Lattimore as the fruit of intimate personal experience and as a "sober but echoing call for a new democratic anti-Communist policy in Japan."

It ought, therefore, to be valuable and convincing, but I must confess that I have found it in some respects disappointing—a curious mixture of good observation and common sense with optimistic assumptions about human behavior which, I fear, have no deep foundation in reality. Mr. Textor thinks that the Occupation started successfully but has deteriorated. He considers that the American representatives in Japan have been paying lavish attention to strategy and but scant attention to democracy. Therefore American policy must change or the whole experiment will be a failure. His view, expressed in his own words, is: "We must help build the kind of daily-life democracy that Japan—and Asia—need. Only if we win democratic friends will our own strategic position become sound."

Nobody can quarrel with that as the statement of a proper attitude toward Japan, since it is probable though not axiomatic that an undemocratic state cannot be a reliable ally of the countries composing what we now call the Free World. But how, in practice, can one people build in the country of another the foundations of a new political system, a new kind of economy, and a new social outlook? That was the superhuman task envisaged by the allied powers at the end of the war and undertaken by the American government with characteristic courage and self-confidence.

Would it be surprising if such an ambitious experiment failed in many particulars? Was it to be expected that a military Occupation authority—or a civilian authority for that matter—would be able to find enough men of enough talent, wisdom, and experience to perform with success duties involved in reshaping the life of a people with a distinctive culture and a strong national tradition? Evidently not, for Mr. Textor himself shows, by plentiful and cogent examples, what blunders were made in both policy and execution—some tragic, some ludicrous, but all due as much to ordinary human fallibility as to what one might term an occupational disease of heart or brain. He writes with just indignation about those aspects of failure, and one cannot but sympathize with his disappointment, for he is so evidently earnest and sincere. But I confess that I am less disappointed than he is, because I expected less.

Indeed, I think that, for all its errors, the Occupation cannot fairly be regarded as a failure, except in so far as it attempted the impossible. Mr. Textor himself says in his book that "much good work has been done by the Occupation." The land reforms, the encouragement of trade unions, in general the erection of a democratic apparatus which is there for use if it is wanted, are conspicuous examples; and in addition to specific projects the Occupation has, in my belief, rendered a valuable service to the Japanese people by stirring up their minds and putting new ideas into their heads. Those ideas may not all "stick," but I certainly felt on a recent visit to Japan that some kind of intellectual ferment was taking place; and I, being perhaps essentially a more orthodox democrat than Mr. Textor, find this a fairly satisfactory situation. He is a missionary, while I am satisfied if I can communicate my ideas to others, and should think it undemocratic to impose them.

It is here in particular that I take issue with Mr. Textor. Among his "Six Suggested Keystones for a Positive Japan Policy" (which I recommend to readers for critical study) he includes a proposal that, once a peace treaty is signed, there should be a "watchdog commission" with wide inspection powers, to prevent—presumably by the exercise of some kind of sanctions—"the committing of official acts inimical to the fundamental reforms or inimical to a useful non-exploitative Japanese role in intra-Asian economic affairs." Having had some experience of international commissions and bearing in mind the sequels of the Treaty of Versailles, I could feel no confidence whatever in such an organ. I can easily imagine the futility of its discussions and the weakness of its conclusions.

I do not disagree with the aims set forth in the remaining five "keystones," though I fear that Mr. Textor underrates the practical difficulties in certain points of detail. For instance, it may be desirable to free Japan from excessive concentrations of economic power; but it is easier to destroy than to construct, and I doubt whether the economic basis of Japanese life is solid enough to justify the risks of experimenting, at this stage, with "sound plans" for government control, government ownership, and cooperative ownership. Who is to guarantee the soundness of such plans? Even in the United Kingdom, where we have long experience, an enlightened public, and a democratic tradition, we cannot yet be sure that our great economic experiment will succeed; and it certainly would not succeed if it were dictated by some other country. These, however, are matters of opinion, and I do not pretend to any special knowledge on this point. I do, however, emphatically disagree with the view—expressed by Ambassador Pauley and apparently approved by Mr. Textor—that "the Zaibatsu were as responsible for Japan's militarism as the militarists themselves." To my mind that statement is less than a half-truth and reveals a lamentable ignorance of the political history of modern Japan. In one or two other places I seem to detect a slightly tendentious character in Mr. Textor's words. He says, for example, that Mrs. Yoshida was a "daughter of nobility" and her father the Emperor's closest adviser, thus giving the impression that Mr. Yoshida moved only in aristocratic and highly reactionary circles. Mrs. Yoshida's father was in fact a justly distinguished statesman of very liberal views, who was regarded as dangerous by the military extremists. He narrowly

escaped assassination at their hands more than once.

Such, however, are trifling errors, and I hope that I have not been too harsh in my other comments on this book. I like the author's idealism and I wish I could share his faith in political evangelism. But I fear that he has yet to learn *quantula sapientia*, with how little wisdom, the world is governed. By standards less exacting than those of Mr. Textor, I repeat, the Occupation has not been a failure. It has been a reasonably successful compound of good, bad, and indifferent. It is high time it should come to an end; but I think that on the whole it reflects credit upon the government and people of the United States. What country would have treated Japan better than that gigantic, generous, fallible conqueror?

GEORGE SANSOM

More Rebel Than Radical

THE POLITICAL CAREER OF FLOYD B. OLSON. By George H. Mayer. The University of Minnesota Press. $5.

PROFESSOR MAYER has made a significant contribution in presenting this study of Floyd B. Olson, Farmer-Labor Governor of Minnesota from 1930 to 1936. In addition to providing shrewd insights into the strengths and weaknesses of an American radical movement, especially the uneasy relations between farmers and city workers, Mr. Mayer reminds us of the explosive conditions existing in the early days of the 1930 depression. In this time of labor-management cooperation, of "democratic" capitalism which has found the answer to economic depression, of farmers thriving under price supports, and when we are assured that class conflict is only a problem of semantics or improved public relations, Professor Mayer's book serves to remind us that not so long ago all was not so smooth. Conservative Minnesota farmers burdened with mortgages contracted at the height of the post-war land boom and faced with steadily falling agricultural prices turned back foreclosing sheriffs with their shotguns and turned to the Farm Holiday Association in an effort to organize collective action. Not convinced by Secretary of Agriculture Hyde's explanation that the Russians were responsible for the low price of wheat the association sought to raise prices by withholding non-perishable commodities from the market. When undisciplined farmers persisted in shipping their produce to market, members of the association sealed off main highways with nail-studded planks and resorted to forcible tactics to discourage truck drivers. To impress the legislature with their need for feed appropriations, farmers brought their emaciated cattle to pens on the Capitol lawn. In the cities conditions were as desperate, with at least one-third of the labor force unemployed. On the Iron Range conditions were more severe, with the result that by October, 1932, 70 per cent of the workers were either totally unemployed or were working but six days a month. Given these conditions, it was no surprise that farmers and workers became disgusted with the old-line parties and demanded positive action. They turned to the Farmer-Labor Party, an offshoot of A. C. Townley's Nonpartisan League which had been founded in North Dakota in 1915. From the beginning this coalition was looked upon as merely a device for securing specific legislative objectives. At no time was there any serious effort to claim an identity of interests between the two groups.

By 1923 Floyd Olson had already established himself as a courageous defender of labor. As county attorney in a case involving the dynamiting of a contractor's house he exposed the operations of a Minneapolis association of business men, the Citizens' Alliance, dedicated to the maintenance of the open shop. Long before the La Follette committee's exposure of the nation-wide use of industrial strike-breaking agencies, Olson exposed and condemned employers' use of stool pigeons in dealing with labor. But to win nomination by the Farmer-Labor Party, Olson had to overcome an initial handicap of being almost unknown to the agrarian wing of the coalition. With the aid of indorsement by Charles A. Lindbergh he won the primary in 1924 but lost the governorship to Republican Theodore Christianson. An anti-capitalist platform combined with impressive price rises for agricultural commodities served to defeat Olson in his first major political effort. As Mayer observes, "agrarian radicalism had always been a rebellion against low prices rather than against the capitalist system." From this experience Olson learned lessons which served to guide his conduct both in future campaigns and as governor for three terms.

Concluding that voters were reluctant to accept any basic reforms, and then only under crisis conditions, Olson fairly consistently watered down the socialist doctrine of the Farmer-Labor Association. Although he frequently expressed socialist ideas, in practice his legislative programs were largely forerunners of New Deal measures—public works, conservation programs, regulation of securities, mortgage moratorium, banking legislation, and labor measures outlawing the yellow-dog contract, limiting hours of women in industry, and banning the use of injunctions in labor disputes. Fifteen months before President Roosevelt introduced his court-reorganization

"Some form of Humanism will be the world's next important religion. . . ."

Julian Huxley

The HUMANIST

Bi-monthly ▪ 35¢ the copy ▪ $2 a year

Says Edwin H. Wilson, "World democracy is necessary for human survival and can only be realized through the universal respect for man, implemented by a socially responsible science, that Humanism requires." Dr. Wilson's recent interview of Julian Huxley is featured in the August issue of *The Humanist.*

Featuring Also

The Sectarian Battlefront on the Church-State Struggle

SAVE $1.00 — SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTION-BOOK OFFER

☐ I enclose $3.50 to cover one annual subscription to *The Humanist* PLUS a copy of *Humanism versus Theism* ($2.50) by J. A. C. F. Auer and Julian Hartt.

The American Humanist Association
Yellow Springs, Ohio

On a Certain Engagement South of Seoul

A long time, many years, we've had these wars.
When they were opened, one can scarcely say.
I was a boy in a house among sycamores

When Italy broke her peace so far away,
And that was not the beginning. The following years
Grew crowded with destruction and dismay.

When I was nineteen, once, the surprising tears
Stood in my eyes and stung me, for I saw
A soldier in a newsreel clutch his ears

To hold his face together. Those that paw
The public's bones to eat the public's heart
Said far too much, of course: the sight, so raw

And unbelievable, of people blown apart
Was enough to numb us without that bark and whine.
We grew disconsolate. Each had his chart

To mark on the kitchen wall the battle-line,
But many were out of date. The radio
Droned through the years, a faithful anodyne.

Yet the news of this slight encounter somewhere below
Seoul has stirred remembrance: we were a few,
Sprawled on the stiff grass of a small plateau,

Afraid. No one was dead. But we were new—
We did not know that probably none would die.
Slowly, then, all vision went askew.

My clothing was outlandish; earth and sky
Were metallic and horrible. We were unreal,
Strange bodies and alien minds; we could not cry

For even our eyes seemed to be made of steel;
Nor could we look at one another, for each
Was a sign of fear, and we could not conceal

The hatred for these friends. There was no speech.
We sat alone, all of us, trying to wake
Some memory of the selves beyond our reach.

That place has now been conquered. We undertake
Another campaign now, in another land,
A stranger land perhaps. And we forsake

The miseries there that we can't understand,
Just as we did before. And yet my glimpse
Of a scene on the distant field can make my hand

Tremble again. How many of us? One limps.
One cannot walk at all. Or one is all right.
But one owns this experience that crimps

Forgetfulness, especially at night.
Is this a bond? Does this make us brothers?
Or does it bring our hatred back? I might

Have known, but now I do not know. Others
May know. I know when I walk out-of-doors
I have a sorrow not wholly mine, but another's.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

scheme Olson proposed that the Supreme Court be brought into line with public opinion by increasing the number of judges.

His relations with President Roosevelt were friendly, but Olson never hesitated to attack the Administration when he was convinced it was moving too slowly. Faced with the impossibility of resolving economic problems on a state basis, he brought pressure on the New Deal to provide national legislation for agriculture, social security, and labor.

Any evaluation of Olson's administration must be tempered by the consideration of two factors—his chronic ill-health and the nature of the coalition he led. Throughout the early period in office Olson was able to keep control largely through personal magnetism and ability, but as he became more and more exhausted, the petty spoilsmen and professional politicians increasingly turned an idealistic reform party into another political machine. To insure their control as Olson's last term expired they tricked the Governor into appointing Elmer Benson as United States Senator to replace Thomas D. Schall. That Olson was "more a rebel than a radical" is as apparent as Mayer's conclusion that "the effort to relieve human misery was the most consistent policy of his political career." H. H. WILSON

Soviet Purges and Prisons

RUSSIAN PURGE AND THE EXTRACTION OF CONFESSION. By F. Beck and W. Godin (pseudonyms). Translated from the original German by Eric Mosbacher and David Porter. The Viking Press. $3.50.

UNDER TWO DICTATORS. By Margarete Buber. Translated by Edward Fitzgerald. Dodd, Mead and Company. $4.

ELEVEN YEARS IN SOVIET PRISON CAMPS. By Elinor Lipper. Henry Regnery Company. $3.50.

ALL three of these books are memoirs of non-Russian Communists who were caught up by the Soviet police during the great purge. Margarete Buber and her husband, Heinz Neumann, were prominent members of the German Communist Party. They were sent to Moscow by the Comintern in 1935 and worked there until Neumann was ar-

rested in 1937 and Buber in 1938. Elinor Lipper was also a member of the German Communist Party, though not an important one. She went to Moscow, apparently of her own free will, in 1937 and was arrested within two months of her arrival. Of the two collaborators, Beck and Godin, one was a German, the other a Russian. They are not otherwise identified except as to occupations: the German was a scientist; the Russian, a historian.

Miss Buber was sentenced to five years in a labor camp as a "socially dangerous element." She was sent to Karaganda in Central Asia, where she worked mostly as a farm laborer until 1940. Then her Russian hosts handed her over to the Gestapo, and she endured five years in the Nazi concentration camp at Ravensbruck before she was liberated in 1945 by American G. I.'s. "Under Two Dictators" is her prison autobiography.

Miss Lipper was kept fourteen months in prison before a special court sentenced her to five years in a labor camp "for counter-revolutionary activity." Actually she served not five years, but eleven—most of the time in the Kolyma region. Her prison experience and her slave-camp experience were both much longer and more varied than Miss Buber's. Miss Lipper knew at first hand four slave camps—Magadan, Balagannoye, Talon, and Elgen—nine "transit camps," two prisons, several prison hospitals, and three "repatriation camps."

"Russian Purge" differs from the other two books in several ways. The collaborators explain their aims and methods in these words:

> . . . we have tried to draw a systematic picture of the purge, the sections of the population affected by it, and the part played by the NKVD in the country as a whole. We have deliberately avoided the method of personal reminiscence and chosen instead a historical, descriptive method which must inevitably result in a loss of vividness and humanity.

They follow their plan faithfully, but nevertheless there is much of the memoir about their study, since they base a large share of it on their personal experiences. Their experiences, however, were more limited in time and variety than those of Miss Buber and Miss Lipper.

These three books, then, are all additions to the steadily growing body of information about the Soviet system as it actually has operated. They are also additions to the steadily growing literature of disillusionment. Their greatest value, taken as a group, is that they constitute independent, corroborative evidence of the main patterns. The three accounts jibe on such major points as the scope of the arrests and purges, the nature of the charges, the methods of interrogation, general conditions of prison life, and the contrast between the treatment accorded to politicals—to use an old Russian term—and that given to criminals. And since they agree with many other sources on these and other major points, there can be no serious question as to the general patterns.

The Soviet regime is a government of men, not a government of law. It is a regime which has no regard for the individual *qua individual*. It has developed an almost ubiquitous system of police terrorism under whose shadow all Soviet citizens exist. The police system itself has methodically and skilfully developed the techniques of breaking the men and women who become its victims to the point where these unfortunates have no longer either a life or a will of their own. Arrests, convictions, and sentences bear no relation to guilt or innocence or degrees thereof—the system and its operators are arbitrary and amoral. The use of slave labor is an integral and indispensable element of the Soviet economy, just as police terrorism is an indispensable element of the Soviet political system. The evidence supporting these and other generalizations about broad patterns—evidence steadily building up in the literature to which these three books belong—is incontrovertible.

On the other hand, some questions may properly be raised as to matters of detail. Both Miss Buber and Miss Lipper make extensive use of quotation marks. Is one to believe that these are truly accurate quotations of remarks made and of conversations held many years before? Neither author, of course, was able to make any notes at the time. Human memory being what it is, the chances of absolute accuracy are slight. Beck and Godin quite properly warn the reader that their account of the labor camps is second-hand, that is, derived from other prisoners with whom Beck and Godin talked. There is similar hearsay evidence in the other two books, although it is not so clearly identified. These points are raised—and others might also be made—not in an attempt to discredit the witnesses but merely to warn the reader not to abandon all critical caution. The stories told by the four authors are undoubtedly true in the main. They may also be true in every detail, but this is still unproved.

It may be added that Miss Lipper's account is by far the most interesting and the most readable. It has in full measure that "vividness and humanity" which Beck and Godin deliberately avoided. Miss Buber also manages to achieve a good deal of human interest, but her style is somewhat less facile than Miss Lipper's. The latter's account has a special interest for Americans because of her comments on the reports of Kolyma made by Henry Wallace and Owen Lattimore. She does not think much of them.

WARREN B. WALSH

Coming soon in *The Nation*

"The Tenney Committee"
by Edward L. Barrett, Jr.
Reviewed by Francis Biddle

"Defense Without Inflation"
by Albert G. Hart
Reviewed by J. K. Galbraith

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS from the U S S R

Just Arrived! HANS LEBERECHT

LIGHT in KOORDI, Illustrated

Novel, Stalin Prize Winner 1948

In English — 400 pp. — $1.00

Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts

1951 SUBSCRIPTIONS OPEN FOR ALL SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

55 W. 13 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

Available
AT A LOW PRICE:

Government by Whitaker and Baxter

By CAREY McWILLIAMS

An eight-page reprint of three articles which appeared in recent issues of *The Nation*, giving the inside story of the American Medical Association's gigantic scheme to defeat a national health-insurance plan, and the advertising apparatus used to persuade the people to sell out their own health — the story of a new political phenomenon, namely, government by public relations.

One copy 15¢; ten copies $1.20; fifty copies $5; one hundred copies $8

The Vatican versus the Public Schools

By PAUL BLANSHARD

A thirty-two-page booklet containing four recent articles by Mr. Blanshard dealing with the Vatican and public education in France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Italy, plus a 3000-word introduction and conclusion in which the author relates his facts to the problem in America.

One copy 25¢; ten copies $2.25; fifty copies $9; one hundred copies $15

Peace with Russia— Can It Be Negotiated?

We have in stock a limited number of *The Nation's* 85th anniversary number which sent a surge of hope through the free world. This exciting 124-page issue provides a clear insight into the most critical problem of our time—how atomic war could be averted—how peace could be achieved without surrender of basic principles.

25¢ a copy. Rates for copies in bulk furnished on request.

THE NATION
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N. Y.
Please mail me postpaid _____ copies of

_____

_____

for which I enclose my remittance of $_____

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

6/30/51

People and History

THIS IS THE HOUR. A Novel about Goya. By Lion Feuchtwanger. Translated by H. T. Lowe-Porter and Frances Fawcett. The Viking Press. $3.95.

THE NICE AMERICAN. By Gerald Sykes. Creative Age Press. $3.

THESE two novels, so different in style, motive, and length, have one point of comparison. Both may be considered explorations of the idea of maturity. In "This Is the Hour" it is the maturity of an artist in nineteenth-century Spain, exhibited in his work if not in his life. In "The Nice American" emotional maturity is the wished-for goal of an American colonel in Algiers at the end of World War II.

Lion Feuchtwanger's lengthy fictionalization of events in the life of Francisco de Goya is the Book-of-the-Month Club selection for June. It is designed for that apparently large public that likes to buy its literature by the pound. In many respects these readers are getting their money's worth. The history of Goya's Spain, a period when immaturity was at least flamboyant, is interwoven with the progress of the painter's career, his rivalry with his predecessor, Velasquez, and the contemporary classical school of David, his growing fame, his increasing deafness and fears of going mad, the conflict in his mind between French liberalism and medieval superstition, and his conveniently on-again, off-again, historically unverified affair with the beautiful, perverse Duchess of Alba. Her perversity seems to consist primarily in sharing the inclination of her contemporaries for more than one lover at a time.

On the whole Feuchtwanger writes more about gusto than with it. The love story has that quality of adolescent daydreaming that is, I suppose, symptomatic of the historical novel. His attempts to dramatize the technique and work habits of the artist, seldom dramatic in themselves, often approach travesty of the "suddenly-an-intent-look-came-into-his-eyes-and-he-seized-a-brush" variety. It is a role for George Sanders, from the first long, devouring stare at the Duchess on to the last feverish contemplation of the bare wall where, a dying man, he intends to set down his demonic visions.

In between, without going to the sources, the reader is given the customs and intrigues of the Spanish court, the costumes and behavior of the people, a history of the Inquisition, an auto-da-fé and a public execution, and so on. These expository passages arrive at such judicious intervals that one can smell the outline. This will probably not disturb readers who have acquired a taste for competent if rather humdrum rewriting. Even they, however, are likely to be put off by the inept versification that closes, inexorably, each chapter.

"The Nice American" is at once a less ambitious and a more serious work. If anything, it suffers from an overseriousness of the modern clinical sort, which tends to regard maturity rather colorlessly as the ability to meet and solve problems. While this has its value as a diagnostic concept—the phenomenon itself, as Dr. Sullivan used to say, rarely being encountered on the analytic couch—it can hamper the artistry of a novel. It leads Gerald Sykes to pose his problem in a Prologue rather than have it emerge in the action of the story; and from time to time, in the story, action and characterization are stated rather than portrayed. Yet with these reservations this is a novel of people as well as of ideas; its picture of high-echelon life in Algiers is convincing; and that life is itself organically related to the central theme.

Colonel Childress, an engineer before the war, is the "nice American." Three women symbolize the possible directions of his life. The remembered girl of his TVA days represents the single-minded dedication to welfare from which he has been persuaded by his ambitious journalist wife into more lucrative but less socially useful work. His resistance to her growing desire for power rather than achievement has estranged them. Now, at the close of the war, stationed in the comparative tranquillity of Algiers, he is tempted to give up engineering for the arts; in his case a gift for photography in which he is encouraged by his French mistress. A meeting and partial reconciliation with his ex-wife make a deliberate choice necessary.

It is in the manner of arriving at this choice that the book achieves, I feel,

its deepest penetration. Twice he comes to clear-cut, thoroughly rational decisions, only to find himself, in the immediate situation, reacting almost oppositely to his intentions. His inability to carry out an interior decision ruthlessly, without regard to others, is the "niceness" of the title, which is gently ironic rather than satiric. And the course he steers between the various political factions—Mohammedan, English, French, and Russian—in Algiers is an unobtrusive corollary. Significantly, he can behave more understandingly and diplomatically with all of them than he can with the reactionary Senator, his wife's uncle, who comes on a whirlwind "fact-finding" tour. This is history too, not on a panoramic but on a more human scale.

LLOYD FRANKENBERG

Philosophies Old and New

THE RISE OF SCIENTIFIC PHILOSOPHY. By Hans Reichenbach. University of California Press. $3.75.

THE principal thesis of this book is overwhelmingly simple: More than two thousand years have witnessed the persistence of philosophy as "speculation"; the last few years, the emergence of "scientific" philosophy. Traditional speculation, vainly seeking certainty, is a body of "errors," of "pseudo-explanations" and pseudo-problems; its answers "can be explained only from psychological motives." Scientific philosophy (or logical empiricism), rejecting absolute claims, has achieved "a body of philosophical knowledge."

Now Professor Reichenbach is a man who has written with distinction in formal methodology and the philosophy of natural science. The present book contains many excellent discussions of problems in this field—for instance, of time, geometry, evolution, and predictive knowledge—and no one can deny that logical empiricism has contributed solidly to the philosophical heritage. This is the reason why it is necessary to glance, even if briefly, at the preposterous structure in which Reichenbach has incarcerated some useful analyses.

After examining several historical systems of philosophy, Reichenbach disclaims "exhaustive treatment." But he *appraises* the systems and the thinkers as if he *had* discussed them exhaustively. His method is to single out a theme that interests him, show how poorly the philosopher's analysis compares with his own, and then indict the philosophy as dominated by "extra-logical motives." Thus Descartes's pursuit of certainty represents a "desire to return to the early days of infancy, which were not troubled by doubt." Kant's emphasis on duty represents the "ethics of a [Prussian] military caste," or the bourgeois "pleasure derived from subordination and . . . servitude." Hegel's system is "the poor construction of a fanatic."

But Kant as well as Descartes, and others before and after, sought a principle of certainty. Did they one and all desire to return to the early days of infancy? And what are the psychological motives behind Professor Reichenbach's own philosophic bias? Since he does not ask the question, the following choice statement may be his implicit answer: "In the face of error we can ask only for a psychological explanation; truth calls for logical analysis." (Waiving the peculiarity of the view that error is not logically analyzable, and waiving the inadequacy of his particular psychoanalytic inquiry, it is

THE

STATE OF ISRAEL

announces its

first bond issue

$500,000,000 INDEPENDENCE ISSUE

on the occasion of its third anniversary

•

State of Israel

INDEPENDENCE ISSUE

two types of bonds are offered

a) Interest Bearing Bonds Denominated as
Fifteen Year 3½% Dollar Coupon Bonds
(in denominations of $500 to $100,000)

b) Capital Appreciation Bonds Denominated as
Twelve Year Dollar Savings Bonds
(in denominations of $50 to $10,000)
Maturity Value: 150% *of issue amount*

This is not an offer to sell these securities. They are subject to the registration and prospectus requirements of the Federal Securities Act. Information about the issuer, the securities and the circumstances of the offering is contained in the prospectus required by that Act. Copies of the prospectus may be obtained from the undersigned.

AMERICAN *financial and development* CORPORATION FOR ISRAEL
STATE OF ISRAEL BONDS
120 Broadway, New York 5, N. Y.

HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR., Chairman,
Board of Governors, American Financial and Development Corporation for Israel
State of Israel Bonds
120 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 5, N. Y.
Please send me a copy of the prospectus describing the $500,000,000 State of Israel Independence Bond Issue.

NAME .....
ADDRESS .....
CITY..... STATE..... ZONE .....

astonishing that Reichenbach the logician should in practice confound questions of psychological motivation with questions of conceptual evaluation.)

Professor Reichenbach's catalogue of classical sins may impress the neophyte; it certainly will not impress anyone who sees the folly of interpreting complex conceptual structures by checklisting them as though they were weather reports. Reichenbach has a genuine gift for economy of exposition, and it is therefore the greater pity that his accounts of other men's thinking are so full of distortion. The only version by which he is able to render Plato's theory of ideas is the one that Plato himself warns us against in the "Parmenides." To Aristotle he ascribes the absurd view that the future literally causes events in the present. And Spinoza, he thinks, constructed "an ethics that disparages emotion." This last, incidentally, of the philosopher who interpreted desire as "the very essence of man"; who defined as good "anything that satisfies longing"; and who ultimately equated understanding with love.

A reader unacquainted with contemporary philosophy would believe, on reading Reichenbach, that there is only one philosophic movement today. Apart from a casual reference to "pragmatists" by way of comparison, Reichenbach does not mention a single current trend or school other than his own, or a single contemporary philosopher of another persuasion. For him there is only "the old and the new philosophy," past error and present truth. Apparently scientific thoroughness and dispassionateness do not apply to the study of philosophic method, or to the writing of contemporary history.

This book characterizes—or prescribes—philosophy as "logical analysis of all forms of human thought." Professor Reichenbach tells his readers that such a discipline requires technical knowledge of mathematics and the sciences, but he pays scant attention to the adequacy or exactness of his conception. He fails to mention the wide divergence among philosophers with respect to the nature and scope of logic. Nor does he say even approximately what is to be included in the purview of "thought." He complains that most of the principles of "speculative" philosophy are not "translatable into verifiable experiences." Yet like the great majority of his school, he hardly bothers to analyze the possible levels of verifiability or the possible modes of experience.

As a champion of scientific caution and a professed enemy of dogmatism Professor Reichenbach might have expressed some hesitation before bluntly defining "art" as "emotive expression," and before polishing off the subject with a ten-line paragraph. In his desire to endow philosophy with "cognitive" significance he might at least have asked the question whether linguistic symbols must always take the form of direct assertion in order to have cognitive value. Instead, he deplores "the intrusion of poetry into knowledge." But a theory which thus cavalierly divides vast bodies of human thought into either "poetry" or "pseudo-explanation" scarcely deserves the name of "scientific." Professor Reichenbach might also have indicated that on many of the views which he confidently sets forth—for instance, on the nature of induction and the status of causality or on the alleged "clear-cut distinction between ethics and knowledge"—there is considerable difference of opinion within his own school.

Reichenbach and the logical empiricists are not the first, nor will they be the last, school to claim the title of "scientific philosophy." Future historians of ideas may see in them, not indeed a Quest for Certainty, but a Dread of Imprecision. The best commentary on this book is contained in one of its own sentences. What it says about unobservable entities in atomic physics may be said about the data of philosophic interpretation, that they "can be described in various languages, and that there is no question of one being the true language." JUSTUS BUCHLER

Drama Note

"SEVENTEEN" (Broadhurst Theater), the musical play based on Booth Tarkington's story, bears down heavily on nostalgia for the old home town before the wars when young Americans, not to say Americans in general, were still innocent, when an automobile was a sensation, and a dollar was worth at least a dollar and a half. The material has excellent possibilities—the play might have been a homely American counterpart of "Ring Round the Moon"—but there is too much nostalgia and too little irony, and the poetic overtones it might have had are missing.

This last is partly due to the fact that Ann Crowley is miscast as Lola Pratt. She has a prosaic face to begin with, and she looks more like a contemporary glamour girl than a girl of seventeen in 1907. Kenneth Nelson, on the other hand, is very well cast as the lovesick Willie Baxter, and there are some other accomplished players and performances. Harrison Muller is particularly good as the college boy who lords it over the high-school generation, and his dance turn at the end of Act I is the best bit in the show. King Calder is very funny as the exasperated parent whose front porch is overrun by adolescents in the throes of puppy love; Frank Albertson and Doris Dalton are excellent as Willie's long-suffering parents; and Alonzo Bosan, as Mr. Genesis, does a turn in song and rhythm that is really of the period. M. M.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

MOST of the people who read in their newspapers a couple of years ago that the Philadelphia Orchestra's season might be canceled because of the musicians' demand for an increase in their weekly minimum salary from $115 to $120 probably multiplied these figures by 52 and got a very wrong idea of orchestra musicians' earnings. The minimum is paid only for the number of weeks of the season; and this year, for example, the members of the Philadelphia Orchestra were paid a minimum of $120 a week for 32 weeks—a total of $3,840. Add $120 for the one-week spring tour, $90 a week for the six weeks of the 1950 Robin Hood Dell summer season, about $650 for recording sessions, and the total becomes $5,150. These, moreover, are the earnings of royalty among orchestra musicians: in Houston the minimum is $85 for 28 weeks; in Indianapolis $65 for 19 weeks.

Similarly the public which read about the threat of a strike by New York radio

musicians recently and about the final settlement must have thought the dispute had been over the usual matters of wages and hours. These certainly were involved; but they were subsidiary to the issue of primary importance for the musicians in their negotiations with the networks—that of the recently accelerated displacement of man by the machine, of live musicians by recordings. The musicians affected are not the 235 staff men employed by the four networks on weekly salary, but the outside free-lance men hired at single-engagement rates for rehearsals and performance. These men are the outstanding players who form the orchestras on commercial musical programs like the Telephone Hour and Voice of Firestone; and they also used to provide the music required by variety, dramatic, and other script programs. Since 1948 some thirty script programs have dropped live musicians and now use music dubbed on tape from recordings of their own previous broadcasts, from the special recordings of library services, and even from standard commercial recordings;* and those which have kept live music have reduced the number of musicians to make up for higher costs of network time, actors, and stagehands. Nor is it only script programs: the Longines Symphonette program is now using repeatedly the old recordings which the orchestra made originally for one broadcast; C. B. S. last summer substituted records for the Sunday afternoon concerts of the C. B. S. Symphony, which had employed thirty outside men in addition to the thirty-five staff men; Voice of Firestone, when it had to pay $2.10 more per man in 1947, cut the orchestra from sixty-five to forty-seven men.

So with television, in which Studio One, for example, began with a live staff orchestra but was sold without live music. Television also is using films—old silent films with music dubbed in from records, old March of Time films with their musical soundtracks already in, and new films, some made here, with soundtracks which musicians here will have been paid to record, but some —*e. g.*, of operas—to be made in Europe.

By last fall the employed single-engagement musicians in New York's Local 802 had dropped from 1,000 to less than half that number; and of these many who had formerly played two or three programs a week were playing only one (half the men in the Firestone Orchestra now have only this one engagement, which makes their weekly income about $75). This resulted in an unprecedented special meeting attended by 1,000 members of the local, who not only adopted a set of proposals for the local's officials to present to the networks for the new contract, but set up a rank-and-file committee to sit in at the negotiations and directed the negotiators to report back to the members and to submit the final agreement to them for ratification (a matter of course for automobile workers but something new for members of the American Federation of Musicians).

Of the proposals for negotiation the first in order and importance was the one for limiting—not eliminating—mechanization. But on this issue the networks, in their meetings with the local's representatives, would concede nothing. Moreover, on this issue the union's president, James C. Petrillo, when he pushed the local's representatives aside and took over the negotiations himself, demanded nothing. And on this issue the agreement which averted the threatened strike—the agreement which, exercising his constitutional dictatorial powers in what he declared to be an "emergency," Mr. Petrillo signed "for" the local without membership ratification—contained nothing.

The agreement did contain wage increases for staff and outside men, and a two-week vacation with pay for the staff men (but still no annual contract). But its important provision, for Mr. Petrillo, was a fee for the televising of new films, to be paid into a fund similar to the one that was set up in 1944 to receive the royalties from records. That fund was to be used to provide musicians with the employment they had lost through mechanization; and by paying for public performances by the members of some 680 small locals it has assured Mr. Petrillo the votes at the union's conventions which have maintained him in office* and in the dictatorial power that enabled him to impose on the New York musicians a contract contrary to their desires and damaging to their interests, and that would enable him to punish rebellion by taking away the local's charter.

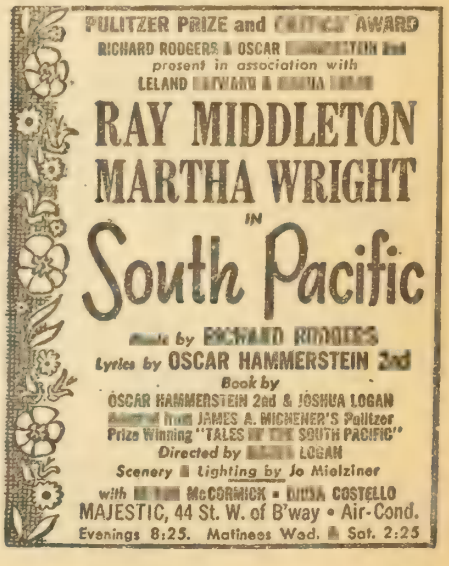
The public has several reasons to feel concern over the episode. For one thing it must be concerned over the fact that in a nation well protected against political dictatorship there exist smaller tyrannies like those of Petrillo, and that the victims shrink from appealing for help to a Congress which they fear would use the situation as a pretext for anti-union legislation. In addition the public must be concerned over the radio networks' policy—not over the substitution of a recorded for a live opening fanfare in a script program, but over the substitution of recordings for live performances in musical programs. And

*This in addition to a use of these recordings which musicians have long objected to. Because standard commercial recordings made for home use are not protected by copyright as books are, they can be broadcast without fee and are used as program material—with profit to radio stations, advertisers, and disc jockeys, but not to the musicians who made the records.

*The small locals might outvote the dozen or so large ones even without the constitutional provision which gives each local one vote for each 100 members or majority fraction thereof, with ten votes as the maximum; so that New York's 802 with 32,000 members has no more than the ten votes of a local with 965 members.

25% Less than List on LP Records
Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:
DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB
DEPT. N-20
Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.
Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges (50¢ minimum) SAME-DAY SHIPMENT

30% to 50% DISCOUNT ON ALL LP RECORDS
Up to 75% on 78 rpm Records
Write for details to
ELAINE MUSIC SHOP
9 EAST 44th STREET bet. Fifth & Madison
NEW YORK CITY 17 MUrray Hill 2-6154



the public must also be concerned over a possible long-range consequence of this policy: that with steadily diminishing employment possibilities fewer and fewer youngsters—among them a number of the exceptionally gifted—will study to become professional musicians, to the point where the country's cultural life may suffer from an insufficient supply of musicians for its orchestras and of highest-caliber musicians for its greatest orchestras.

And the public should act on the concern it feels—at least to the extent of writing a letter, and even further. The National Federation of Music Clubs recently called on its 500,000 members not only to write individually to local stations and networks in support of good musical programs and in protest against their cancellation, but to exercise additional pressure through the clubs, through watchdog committees, and through all other community organizations, and even to try to persuade local and national businesses to sponsor musical programs.

Films

MANNY FARBER

IN "A Day in the Sun"—the latest and glummest re-re-remake of "An American Tragedy"—there is enough gimmicky, pretentious footage to keep one's eyes glued to the screen while one's common sense and muscles beg for respite. For all its flash, occasional power, and streaks of frighteningly natural acting, this extra-earnest Paramount production is one long, slow, hyperbolic attack on ordinary American existence—an attack whose renewal in one recent film after another is obviously part of Hollywood's strategy to jerk its audience back from the ingenuous attractions of television.

We are given, for instance, the oh-so-lanquid rich; the pious, magisterial M. D.; billboards that out-Petty Petty; distant sirens playing a counterpoint of doom to ordinary phone calls; the beefy, hysterically shrill D. A.; a thick undergrowth of portable radios everywhere the camera goes; juke-box joints sprawling with drunks. And I am getting very tired of stock shot 32-B, which feeds us the myth that all the windows in depressed urban areas face out on huge, blinking neon symbols of wealth and achievement.

The script by Harry Brown is remarkably faithful to the plot of Dreiser's bleak novel: the complicated love life of a not quite bright social climber (Montgomery Clift) puts him finally in the electric chair. But Brown's dialogue is so stylish and unalive ("You seem so strange, so deep, so far away") that it appears to drift out of the walls and furniture rather than the twisted, jittery, or guppy-like mouths of Clift and his two ladies—Elizabeth Taylor and Shelley Winters. An even more troubling factor is Brown's determination to modernize a tale that is hopelessly geared to an outdated morality and a vanished social set-up. ("An American Tragedy," published in 1925, was based on the Chester Gillette case of 1906. By its contortionist avoidance of the *verboten* subject of abortion—or less drastic alternatives—and its black-white demarcation of the worlds of luxury and drudgery, this "modern" version cuts the ground from under its own feet.)

But Producer-Director George Stevens turned Brown's arty, static nonsense into something almost as visually interesting and emotionally complex as "Sunset Boulevard" or "The Asphalt Jungle"—one more key example of Hollywood's recent desperate commitment to misanthropic expression via elegant, controlled, mismated power effects. Ordinarily a soft-hearted poetic realist, Stevens is particularly good at getting natural performances out of his actors and at putting across the gauzy, sentimental *Gestalt* of a popular song, a kiss, an important dance, a ritualized seduction. Here he has blown such elements larger than life—building them into slow, parabolic choreographies of action and camera movement in which you are more dazzled by the incredible control and purposefulness than repulsed by the schmalz of the whole thing. The Clift-Taylor kiss—repeated in three double exposures—is a huge, intimate, extended business that practically hammers an erotic nail into your skull. It is preceded by Taylor's curious Tin Pan Alley line: "Tell Mama—tell Mama all!"

Stevens squeezes so much of their "real" personalities out of his actors that the story is congested with discordances. Most of the honors go to Miss Winters, who at long last gets to show that she can do a Mildred—just like Bette Davis; but a far more complex one-man show is that of the non-aging late adolescent, Montgomery Clift. To some spectators his performance expresses the entire catalogue of Greenwich Village effeminacy—slim, disdainful, active shoulders; the withdrawals, silent hatreds, petty aversions; the aloof, offhand voice strained to the breaking point. To others he is a sensitive personification of all those who knock themselves out against the brick wall of success. Clift can stare at a Packard convertible or slump down on his spine with fatigue and by simply not acting make you aware of every dejected, mumbling success-seeker on a big city street. Finally, for the more perceptive he is a childish charade on all the fashionably tough, capable outcasts who clutter up "hard-boiled" fiction: cigarette dangling from mouth, billiard cue carelessly angled behind his back, Clift makes a four-cushion shot look preposterously phony.

The exploitation of a talent like this goes far to prove that ace directors no longer make movies as much as tight-knit, multi-faceted Freud-Marx epics which hold attention but discourage understanding in a way that justifies Winchell's name for their makers—"cinemagicians."

CONTRIBUTORS

SIR GEORGE SANSOM, author of "The Western World and Japan," was the British member of the Allied Far Eastern Commission in 1946-47.

H. H. WILSON, a member of the Department of Politics of Princeton University, is the author of "Congress: Corruption and Compromise."

WARREN B. WALSH is chairman of the Board of Russian Studies at Syracuse University.

LLOYD FRANKENBERG is the author of "Pleasure Dome: On Reading Modern Poetry."

JUSTUS BUCHLER, assistant professor of philosophy at Columbia University, is the author of "Toward a General Theory of Human Judgment," to be published in the fall.

Letters to the Editors

Another Englewood?

Dear Sirs: Those who read the article called Our Town in Turmoil in *The Nation* of June 16 will be interested in the following log of events in Port Washington, a commuter community on Long Island:

On February 5, 1951, Lucille Cardin Crain, publisher of the *Educational Reviewer,* which is sponsored by the Conference on American Small Business Organizations and widely ballyhooed by Fulton Lewis, Jr., spoke on the subject Education is Everybody's Business at the invitation of the Port Washington Educational Association. Citing passages from various "objectionable" textbooks, Mrs. Crain directed her principal criticism at passages which she said implied approval of the "collectivist" philosophy. Neither Mrs. Crain's background nor that of the *Educational Reviewer* was known when she was invited to speak.

The February 9 issue of the *Port Washington News* carried a story with the headline: "Rap Speaker in Turbulent E. A. Meeting," in which a local resident took exception to Mrs. Crain's speech in these terms: "The most disturbing thing to me was the constant equating of communism with anyone who suggests a change in our social or economic orders. . . . As a matter of fact, Mrs. Crain observed that anyone who agreed with President Roosevelt and his New Deal was a collectivist and hence a Communist."

The February 16 issue of the same paper carried a number of letters defending the position taken by Mrs. Crain. This same issue also carried a full page ad, signed by thirty-nine residents, defending Mrs. Crain. Among the signers was Dr. Lewis Haney, one of the sponsors of the *Educational Reviewer* and financial columnist for the Hearst press. The signers of the statement all seemed prepared to vouch for Mrs. Crain as an educational expert well-qualified to say what should and should not appear in school textbooks.

On February 23 another group of residents paid for the publication in the Port Washington *News* of an ad captioned: "They Sow Distrust." The ad was a reprint of a statement from *The Nation's Schools* of January, 1951, which listed Lucille Cardin Crain, the *Educational Reviewer,* and the Conference on American Small Business Organizations as among the organizations currently sowing distrust of the public-school system.

On March 5 Ted Kirkpatrick, managing editor of *Counter-Attack,* spoke in the Senior High School under the sponsorship of the Port Washington Educational Association and also of the Immaculate Conception Post 687 of the Catholic War Veterans. Mr. Kirkpatrick defined communism as "a disease of intellectuals." In the question period he was asked, "Has communism infiltrated any particular religious group?" He replied, "Yes . . . the greatest infiltration has been in Protestant denominations."

I wish the Public Education Association or the National Education Association would assess the qualifications of Mrs. Crain and Mr. Kirkpatrick as educational experts and examine their competence to pass on the merits of school textbooks. Port Washington needs to be included, therefore, along with Englewood, Scarsdale, and Pasadena as among the communities that have been given "the treatment" prescribed by those who would guard democracy's schools by attacking intellectualism and by setting themselves up as censors of school texts.

PORT WASHINGTON RESIDENT

Is Fair Trade Fair . . .

Dear Sirs: Your editorial in the May 19 issue and Carey McWilliams' article How Free Is Fair Trade? are so full of half-truths that I should like to take this opportunity to set the facts straight. In the first place, the fair-trade laws do not really restrict competition; they merely give the manufacturer the right to set the retail price of his product. Manufacturers have always set the price for the jobber or wholesaler. Secondly, under the fair-trade laws the retailer and his employees enjoy a decent standard of living, a point which should be included in an impartial study of the fair-trade laws.

Now that the Supreme Court has killed these laws, some independent retailers will be forced to close shop and monopoly will increase. At the same time, the consumer has gained very little in the price war because the number of articles reduced in price has been small. The price war was not "a refreshing rain" but a cheap advertising stunt.

However, I do agree that the consumer should have some protection when fair-trade laws are abused. In any new fair-trade legislation provision should be made for a commission, to be composed of manufacturers, retailers, and consumers, which would have the power to review any fair-trade agreement. To have no fair-trade law at all would lead to chaos in retailing.

SEYMOUR ZELMANOFF

Philadelphia

. . . or Unfair?

In reply to Mr. Zelmanoff's letter I would merely repeat certain points made in the second article in the series on fair trade (issue of June 2): fair-trade laws have a tendency to raise retail prices and maintain them at artificially high levels; if retail margins are sufficiently attractive, more outlets will be opened, and the demand will then arise for state licensing or control measures to limit the number of such outlets; at the same time "fence jumping" will increase, and supermarkets will soon be selling drugs as well as groceries. It may be that consumer representation on a commission of the type proposed could protect the public against exorbitant prices, but the general pressures on the independent retailer would still operate. In the long run, it is highly debatable whether fair-trade laws or similar devices can offset these pressures.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

Peace-Treaty Plea

Dear Sirs: Readers of Hessell Tiltman's article Japan's Peace Treaty (*The Nation*, June 2) may be interested to know that the Fellowship of Reconciliation has just made available a translation of the memorandum presented to Mr. John Foster Dulles in Tokyo, on February 6, 1951, by women members of the Japanese Parliament.

These women believe that there should be no peace treaty until all the nations with which Japan was at war, including the Soviet Union and Communist China, are ready to sign it.

RESORTS

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK



MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
RIDGEFIELD, CONN.
Phone 6-7000
A beautiful country estate converted into a delightful retreat for vacations and weekends. All outdoor activities. Mile-long lake. Tennis. Golf nearby. Informal, congenial atmosphere. Television, recordings. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates.

"An Artist in the Kitchen"
pody's LOCUST GROVE
Hopewell Junction, N. Y.
Accommodations for 20
Beautiful colonial home on 100-acre farm. 55 miles from N. Y. 15-mile mountain views. Acres of lawn, century-old shade trees, private lake, sports, counselor. Complete carefree summer including gourmet meals, informal fun, art classes if you like. Low season rates.
N. Y. Infor.: PL 8-2486, box N, 459 W. 21 St., N. Y.

Year 'round Adult Activities
Hathaway Lodge
Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate. Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Swimming pool, clay tennis courts, handball, badminton. Horseback riding, hiking—magnificent mountain trails. Recordings. Library, informal dancing. Delicious American-Jewish food. Easy transportation. Attractive Rates. For reservations or booklet N:
HATHAWAY LODGE
Haines Falls, N. Y. ■ Phone Tannersville 299

Stonegate LODGE
Informal Resort Estate in the Adirondacks
Limited to 90 ■ 14-mile Lake ■ Pollen-Free
Tennis ■ Fishing ■ Golf ■ Motor Boating
Folk-Sq. Dances ■ Concert Trio ■ Dance Band
Bachelor Club Rate $60-$65
N. Y. Office: 250 West 57th St. Circle 6-6380
■ 10% less to July 10—Louis A. Roth, Dir. ■

SUMMIT LODGE
ROSCOE, NEW YORK ■ Elevation 2,500 feet
- Famous for our Viennese Home Cooking
- The Continental Cafe on The Green
- Spacious, shady lawns
- Swimming and boating
- Sports
- Library, recordings

Rates $43 up, semi-private bath $50
Rooms with hot and cold running water
ROscoe 2-3412
LO 8-1745

Meanwhile, they want the present occupation to end, and want Japan to remain permanently disarmed—as the Constitution provides—and free of foreign military control.

Single copies of "Let Us Keep Our Constitution and Our Honor" can be obtained free of charge by writing to The Fellowship of Reconciliation, 21 Audubon Avenue, New York 32, N. Y.

New York A. J. MUSTE

Redistricting Called For

Dear Sirs: Your editorial America's Rotten Boroughs in the issue of June 9 makes it plain that our national House of Representatives is not truly representative. But a little research would show that the situation is even worse in state legislatures. Here in Connecticut rural districts with a population of less than one thousand have the same representation in the legislature as the cities of Hartford, New Haven, and Bridgeport.

CHARLES A. DUNHAM

Hartford, Conn.

Repeal the McCarran Act!

Dear Sirs: May we call the attention of your readers to the fact that Representative Adolph J. Sabath of Illinois has introduced a bill (H. R. 3118) which provides for repeal of the un-American McCarran act.

The National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act was organized in January for the express purpose of initiating a repeal campaign throughout the country. Members of the planning committee include Dr. Mark A. Dawber, Mrs. Welthy Honsinger Fisher, Professor E. Franklin Frazier, Rabbi Leo Jung, Professor Robert S. Lynd, Professor Arthur L. Swift, Jr., and Dean John B. Thompson.

We would like to urge your readers to support the repeal campaign by writing their Congressmen urging support of H. R. 3118; sending contributions for the repeal campaign to the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act, 2 Stone Street, New York 4, N. Y.; and giving volunteer time.

New York OLIVE O. VAN HORN

CORRECTION: Englewood correspondents have sent in the following corrections on the article Our Town in Turmoil, which appeared in the June 16 issue: (1) The Negro minister referred to as an ally of the Anti-Communist League never actually gave permission for the use of his name and later informed the local press to that effect. (2) The chairman of the tumultuous meeting of October 17 was eighty-two, not seventy-two, years of age. (3) The remark of Cartwright, "Before I get through there will be fighting . . .," was not made in court but at a committee meeting.—EDITORS THE NATION.

SCHROON CREST
IN THE ADIRONDACKS
POTTERSVILLE, N. Y.
ON SCHROON LAKE

SEASON-LONG FESTIVAL

Resident Staff	Guest Artists
Oscar Brand, Director	David Randolph
Anita Adolphe	Peter Seeger
Jules Adolphe	Juan Leon Destine, and his group
Pat Brooks	Hadassah
Ellen Carroll	The Duke of Iron
Eugene Flam	Jean Ritchie
Marcia Lee	Betty Ancona
James Paust	And others . . .

Hal Etkin Orchestra & Dance Band
All Sports—Private Beach, Boating, Canoeing, Saddle Horses, etc. Cozy Bar—Excellent Food.
■ CHAMPIONSHIP CLAY TENNIS COURTS
Booklet and Rates on Request. Phone Chestertown (N.Y.) 2830 or 9681. LEAH OKUN, Director
City Office: 142 Montague Street, Brooklyn 2, N. Y. MAin 4-8570 or MAin 4-1230

Enjoy an ELF-LAND Vacation
"It's Out of This World"
All the beauty and facilities of a luxurious country estate —a charming resort for adults at New Windsor near Newburgh, 52 miles from N. Y.
Excellent accommodations, wonderful food, beautiful swimming pool, sports, social activities, dancing, nearby golf course. Reasonable rates.
New Windsor, N.Y.
R. D. 4, Route 94
Newburgh, N. Y.
ELF-LAND
Telephone Reservations
Newburgh 5993

CHAUTAUQUA LAKE—near Chautauqua Institution and four symphony concerts weekly. Private house, acre of beautiful lawns and gardens, beach. Excellent cooking, garden-fresh vegetables. Room and meals $50 weekly. Anderson, Lighthouse Point, Mayville, N. Y.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

ATTENTION ALL WRITERS! Do you have an idea suitable for story or book? We will develop that idea for publication. Complete cooperation. No "stuffed shirt" reception but friendly sympathetic discussion over editor's desk. Phone or write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

PERSONALS

CABINET MAKING, PICTURES, FRAMING. Large selection prints, choice frames and finishes. Furniture built to suit your needs. Radio–Phono–Tele cabinets built, designed to engineering specifications. BERAN-ORBAN – OR 4-6123, 22 Astor Place, upstairs (near Wanamakers). Open Mon.-Sat. 6-9 P.M., by appointment.

exit loneliness
Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified 'social introductions.'
Write for booklet, or phone
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033

